”Working With Vulnerable Children”: Listening to the Views of Service Providers Working With Street Children

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Abstract

‘Working with Vulnerable Children’: Listening to the views of the service providers working with street children in Istanbul

Introduction:

As in other developing countries with metropolises, ‘street children’ have constituted one of the most important problems in Turkey, particularly in Istanbul, over the last two decades. The General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection Agency (hereafter SHÇEK), is the state agency responsible for street children and their protection. The main focus of the study has been to explore the nature and organisation of state welfare service provision for street children in Istanbul and to develop conceptual framework, which describes, illuminates and conceptualises the state welfare service provision for street children in Istanbul from its service providers’ point of view.

Methodology:

Critically prepared grounding through the literature survey and preliminary field projects have provided the guidelines for the selection of methods and approaches which have yielded meaningful and reliable results in the hitherto uninvestigated aspects of the fields of service provision for street children in Turkey. The qualitative methodology like the ‘Narrative Interview’ method has been utilised to collect data on the services for street children.

Results:

The approach taken in research participation with the service providers ranging from senior management through the frontline workers down to the support staff employed by the SHÇEK organisations has been richly rewarded by data amassed on the modus operandi and the shortcomings of these organisations not only supporting the reported results of similar research globally but also providing useful explanation for the apparent perpetuation of the street children problems of Istanbul.

Conclusion:

The most important result of the research is the demonstration that service provision cannot be assessed without the direct investigation of service providers because the service providers themselves determine the scope and the quality of the service provision. The research has proven that SHÇEK reproduces its marginalisation in the society, consequently of its employees which adversely promotes remarginalisation of the service users.

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1. Introduction

The 'street children' phenomenon has constituted one of the most important problems in Turkey, and particularly in Istanbul, as in all metropolises of developing countries, over the last two decades (Duyan, 2005). In Turkey, the core agency responsible for the protection of street children is a state agency, the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection Agency (hereafter SHÇEK).

SHÇEK, in being a government agency and by the nature of the service it gives, is among the state organisations closed to public access. Information on its services is received only through the often very critical and negative comments in the media, which can be said to stem from there having been no comprehensive study on SHÇEK service provision to street children. Consequently, the present research has awakened a new interest in the performance of SHÇEK as a government institution with significant social responsibility.

The investigation reported in this thesis is, therefore, mainly focused on the 'state welfare service' given to street children of Istanbul by the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection Agency (hereafter SHÇEK). It examines the nature and organisation of state welfare service provision for street children in Istanbul in order to identify the factors facilitating and/or impeding service delivery, and the links between policy and practice by specifically engaging with its service providers. Thus, a deeper understanding of the position of the frontline workers in service provision is developed, and its impact on the quality of care they deliver is examined. The findings have been formulated so as to develop a conceptual framework which describes and illuminates the state welfare service provision for street children in Istanbul from its service providers' point of view.

In this chapter, after a presentation of the study's aims and objectives, the methodology aspect is briefly described. This is then followed by a brief overview of the background to and the rationale for the study. The chapter ends with an outline of the structure of the thesis, including a synopsis of the chapters.

1.1. Aims and objectives of the study

Street children are certainly not a new phenomenon (Lusk, 1992). The researcher's interest in this global phenomenon has developed by covering the related literature, which is mostly related either to the demographic features of street children, emphasizing structural causes like the macroeconomic problems behind the emergence of this social phenomenon, and /or to studies of a wide range like service models for street children at a treatment level. However, the voice of the frontline workers on the ground level has been neglected as the majority of research on street children has not incorporated the experience and educational background of those most directly involved in providing the services (Kidd, et al., 2006). It was acknowledged by Lipsky (1980) that national policy formulations offer only a broad framework for practice, and often say little about the

lived experiences of street children and service providers 'on the ground' or at 'street level bureaucracy'.

Laws, organisational statutes and international agreements on the problem of street children only determine on paper the general outlines or details of the service that needs must be given. Knowledge of the service actually given can only be acquired on the field. This is the only way to determine whether these programs have been successful or not. Those who determine the quality of a service are the very people who give the service. They, as well as the recipients of this service, know best about the successes and the failures of the service and the reasons behind these. Therefore, any academic study with the intent to improve this service has to be made through direct contact with those who provide the service in order to assess the service in all respects. This can be compared to the necessity of knowing about the dynamic of a family to understand a child.

Discovering the importance of service providers as actors who know best what is going on the ground and as mediators who have a profound impact on the service provision, has led to the tailoring of this study's objectives more clearly. Consequently, the findings of the main line of the research have been evaluated to assess staff views and attitudes to their jobs, and, thereby, the significance of how these affect the quality of services provided to street children. Consequently, the study's objective has been formulated to examine the fine details of service delivery in order to identify the factors facilitating and/ or impeding the welfare services program for street children in need of it.

After considering a variety of research methods to suit the study's aims and objectives, the 'Narrative Interview' method, a qualitative research methodology, was chosen as the best suitable methodology for collecting data on the services for street children. Thus, the researcher would be concerned primarily with 'process rather than outcomes or products' and maintain the interest in how service providers make sense of their work experiences, and the structuring of their work environment.

The research participants have been recruited from SHÇEK. Research participants consist of staff like administrative officers and support staff, also including psychologists, social workers and sociologists who, under the current circumstances of shortage of qualified staff in these types of organisations, are considered as social service staff with a qualification in social sciences. More details of the above have been examined in the methodology chapter.

The permit to conduct an academic study through interviews with service providers in their work environment in the state organised welfare service provision for street children in Istanbul cannot be easily attained. Therefore, the venture had to be started long before the main study could be carried out, in order to establish rapport and build trust in the organisational environment. The researcher first had to work voluntarily, in a non-governmental organisation (NGO) called Children of Istanbul Foundation which also functions under Istanbul provincial government and offers a relatively easier access to SHÇEK organisations.

Before an in depth analysis, some factual information has been given on street children and

Istanbul, where the study has been carried out, as well as on historical background with respect to socioeconomic and familial determinants of the phenomenon of street children in Turkey. This chapter also provides an overview on the comparisons in terms of the characteristics and assessments of street children in Turkey and the street children elsewhere in the world.

1.2. Street children in Istanbul

Turkey is a large developing country with the fastest population growth rate in its region and possesses one of the largest populations' of youth in the world. According to the 2007 population census in Turkey, less than 13 percent of the population was 40 and over and the youth between the ages of 15-24, totalling 12 million, made up 17.6 percent of the population. Ankara is its capital, but Istanbul is the largest city of the country.

Istanbul is not only the largest but also the most industrialised city in Turkey. Therefore, it attracts many migrants from all over the country, and especially from the eastern and southeastern regions (Erman, 2001). Istanbul's population grew from 1 million in 1950 to 5 million in 1980 and 10 million in 2000, 12 million in 2007 due to migration from rural areas and the high population growth rate among the new comers (Değirmencioğlu et al., 2008). Almost half of the population living in Istanbul is aged 25 or below.

According to the United Nations' 2008 development report, although there have been steady improvements in recent years, the situation of children and women continue to be marked by serious problems in Turkey and face a wide variety of challenges. The issue of street children is one of the tragic evidences for the serious problems that disadvantaged people face.

In Turkey, the term 'street children' refers to both those working and/or living in the streets. Children working on the street can be classified into two groups (Aksit et al., 2001). The first group of children works on the street during the day, sometimes during the evening and night, but finally go home to stay with their family. The second group of children, coming mainly from disintegrated families, work and live in the streets. Akşit et al. have written that the majority of children working in the streets in Turkey belong to the first group and are involved in selling small seasonal items, for example: napkins, chewing gum, water, nuts, ballpoint pens and others. The children in the second group, working and living in the streets, are involved in scavenging recyclable litter from containers in the streets as well as at local municipal garbage dumps and transporting these to buyers.

A review of the global literature reveals that street children are highly mobile and often move fluidly back and forth from street to home life, so that it is very difficult to arrive at a reliable number of how many street children there are in the large urban centres (West, 2003) which reflects the situation in Turkey. SHÇEK, for example, cannot give any statistical information on the number of the children working in the streets. There are also big discrepancies in the reported numbers of children living in the streets of Istanbul. While SHÇEK claims that there are only 70-100 children living in the streets, other sources present a completely different picture. Doğru et al., (2007) reported that the number of street children living in the streets of Istanbul was thought to be

about 1500-2000, with the counts rising daily. According to the Turkish Daily News (December, 2005), for example, there were thousands of children "crowding" Istanbul, six to seven thousand according to the police sources, some as young as six or seven, working and/or living on the streets. The government reported that some 625,000 children were facing the risk of becoming street children in Turkey. The Prime Ministry's Human Rights Presidency (BİHB) has developed a map, for the first time ever in Turkey, showing the distribution of street children and those forced to beg on the streets across the country. According to a report released by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in 2006, Istanbul was home to 30,000 street children. Research in Turkey has revealed that some 41,000 children are forced to beg on the streets, more than half of whom are found in Istanbul (Güler, 2008). The discrepancy between the figures given by SHÇEK and the other sources was also an effective factor in the decision to orient this research to the service provision by SHÇEK.

1.3. Historical background of the street children phenomenon in Turkey: Migration and urbanisation

Street children in Turkey were first seen in the 1950s, but the numbers rapidly increased in the 1980s (Duyan, 2005). This was because since 1980, a radical shift has taken place in Turkey's status in terms of both international and internal migration (İçduygu and Keyman, 2000). In order to understand the reasons behind this big population movement in the 1980s and its relation to the street children phenomenon, it is important to look briefly at recent Turkish history.

After the Turkish Republic had been established in 1923 by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Turkey started a strong process of modernisation. Up until the 1950 elections, the Republican People's Party ruled Turkey as a single party whose major aim was to modernize the society with the West taken as the model (Rumford, 2003). In 1946 Turkey adopted a multiparty political system. The Democrat Party, known for its liberal economic policies, came to power in 1950. Industrialisation was given priority by the new government (Keyman and Koyuncu, 2005). Erman (2001) writes that as a result of this change, in the 1950s, Turkish society experienced structural and political transformations in the process of its integration into the capitalist world economy which challenged the elitist approach dominating the society. Consequently, the 1950s witnessed the rapid urbanisation of the population with a large number of peasants migrating from their villages in search of a new livelihood.

In the mid 1980s, when a neo-liberal policy package was established, rural to urban migration was even more accelerated (İçduygu and Keyman, 2000). Internal migration has increasingly become one of the main survival strategies of poor families, especially those from the eastern part of the country because of the persistence of broad geographical, economic and cultural disparities between eastern and western Turkey. While western Turkey, especially the coastal region, went through socio-economic transformation during the first three decades of the second half of the twentieth century, eastern and south eastern Turkey did not experience these transformations until the last two decades (Erman, 1998). This fact itself can be considered the

main reason behind the rural-urban migration and can be analysed in two categories or the pull and push factors. The pull factors of the cities that attract people are the high demand for manufacturing labour as a result of the industrialisation especially in Istanbul and Izmir, the level of manufacturing wages, the better quality of life. The push factors that cause people to leave their villages include political unrest in eastern and south eastern Anatolia, the high percentage of the populations living in the sub-districts and villages, the relatively limited extent of cultivatable land, the low agricultural productivity, killings (punitive or revenge killings 'to clear one's name and honour- shortly honour killings- De Santis, 2003) as well as unrest caused by terrorist activities. Some families migrate directly from the village to cities where they have relatives, tribal kin and/or people from the same village who can help them to find jobs and build a shanty house, while some families migrate to cities without any connections. There are also some children who leave homes in rural areas as migrants in their own right (Erman, 2001).

Similarly to other developing countries, the rate of urban expansion is commensurate with economic growth in Turkey (Kuntay, 2002). This is why since the 1950s massive migration from rural to urban areas has caused enormous problems related to housing, employment, adjustment to the new environment and earning an adequate income (Duyan, 2005). In the mid 1980s, when internal migration was even more accelerated, there was very little room for social security. For example, the state was not in a position even to address the housing needs of the newcomers through social policies (Tok, 2005). A significant number of migrants settled down in urban areas creating the slums where they live in unhygienic environmental conditions and houses, without sufficient employment opportunities and income (Erman, 2001). In addition, the hardships caused by unemployment and poverty have further aggravated the urban life of the displaced population most of whom lack sufficient education and constitute an unskilled labour force, which in turn has triggered the social problem affecting not only displaced persons and immigrants but the established inhabitants of cities as well. Increasing migration to large cities, unemployment rates, hence social discontent led to acute poverty among the migrant populations. The widening economic gap between the rich and the poor further intensified the discontent in the economically disadvantaged strata, particularly among rural migrants in the city (Keyder, 2005).

1.4. Socioeconomic and familial determinants of the phenomenon of street children in Istanbul

As outlined above, similarly to other developing countries, the street children phenomenon in Turkey is related to social change and migration (Altanis and Goddard, 2004). Structural factors such as development shocks, structural adjustment and social exclusion resulting from internal migration and acute poverty, consequently created unfavourable circumstances for families and their children. Besides structural factors, loss of support from an adult family member due to illness, death or abandonment; or an episode of domestic violence, chronic impoverishment are the contributing factors for children to leave home (Duyan, 2005). In the

global literature family pathology such as alcoholism, child abuse (physical or sexual) or neglect is also emphasised in relation to the street children phenomenon (Grundling and Grundling, 2005).

In Turkey, the majority of the families of children working in the streets can be considered as newcomers to the urban centres. People have moved to big cities in the hope for a better life, but opportunities or the services were not there and they couldn't use their skills. They have found it hard to fit in. Instead, they have faced a totally new life even more challenging than the one they had left behind. They have encountered many changes in terms of 'village versus city life'. The majority of the families owned only small plots of land or none at all, and had been occupied in agricultural work and animal husbandry before coming to the city centre. When they migrated to the cities they had no vocational skills that would help to survive in an urban environment. Therefore, the heads of the families are either unemployed or have ended up working in the black economy sector on a daily basis and without social security (Erman, 2001). Street children mainly originate from the households of these unemployed migrants.

In Turkey, structural factors, family pathology, the cultural expectation from children as a work force, and the absence of a social security suitably explain the issue of street children problem. Children, especially in the rural areas of the country, have been traditionally considered as a work force (Kagitcibasi and Ataca, 2005). After families come to the cities, children are sent out by their parents to work out of necessity for family survival. In these circumstances, children are not provided for by their families; theygenerally beacome providers for their families (Duyan, 2005). Children living and/or working in the streets are also an outcome of this social cultural situation. All of these children have been confronted with the need to work for a living; and, may end up working in exploitative and hazardous jobs or begging, which mostly the younger children are occupied with.

1.5. Street children in Turkey and in the World

According to Duyan (2005), Turkish street children are both similar to and different from children in other countries. The similarities, as for example poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, extended family structures are the major factors. When the family moves to urban sites, it has to leave the support of the extended family back in village. As to the differences, Duyan has argued that the families of street children in Turkey are still intact, which proposal is open to debate since the togetherness of the members of the family in the same abode is not necessarily the strong interlocking of relationships. Those who have investigated the street children in Turkey have shown familial reasons as well as migration and poverty among the causes. For example, according to Uslu (2004) the absence of a caring mother figure and the sense of belonging at home are found to be important psychological factors affecting the "decision" to live on the streets. Similarly, Uluğtekin (1997) gave the reasons for escaping from the home as mainly domestic violence and the influence of friends. Both Uslu and Uluğtekin have emphasised that most street children have experienced emotional, physical, and sexual abuse at home. As a

result of what is unbearable at home children gradually start living in the street.

The street children problem presents many similarities in different countries (West, 2003). For example, street children in Turkey, similarly to other street children in different parts of the world, are outside of family and community protection and supervision, and more likely to be involved in drug abuse, street gangs and violence. Substance abuse, for example addiction to alcohol, cigarettes, glue, solvents, is prevalent among the adolescents (Ertuğrul, et al. 2008). Glue (containing solvents) sniffing is most common, mainly to bear the harsh reality of street life, since the fumes are reported to reduce one's concept of reality, minimise fear, and nearly eliminate pain, other physical illness and/or discomforts of cold weather, as well as alleviating hunger pains, at least initially (Ogel, 2005). The glue is "shoe glue", used for shoe repairs as well as for other jobs, preferably with the brand name of Bali that is easily and cheaply attainable in hardware stores. This has given rise to a new and a special term in the Turkish language as “tinerci” (teenerjee) meaning ‘paint thinner user’ (Ogel, 2005).

Criminal activities of the children are significantly related to how long they have lived in the streets. These activities start with begging for money when they are younger, which then proceed, as they get older, to minor crimes such as pick pocketing and petty theft and develop to major criminal activities such as car theft, burglary and assault (Uslu,2004). In general they are not punished for their crimes as they are under the age of sixteen. Among girls prostitution is not uncommon (Kuntay, 2002).

1.6. A view on street children in Turkey and in the world

Global definitions of street children tend to oscillate between their portrayal either as the victim or the deviant (Aptekar, 1994). They are either seen as victims who need looking after, or as potential threats who need to be controlled. This ambivalence occurs in Turkey too, usually according to the age of the street children. While public show sympathy towards younger children and support them on the streets by either giving them money or buying them food, older children often get treated as undesirables. Widely held social attitude towards street children, however, is their being judged deviants as promoted by the generally hostile media. Especially few tragic events over the last decade, such as the killing of an army officer or one of the wealthy industrialists in a cemetery, and finally very recently the stabbing a German tourist to death in a very popular touristic area of Istanbul made street children almost a household name. These events and very exaggerated and ill-informed media attention has led to further public scrutiny in the last five years including a parliamentary investigation (Değirmenci et al., 2008). This has resulted in a widespread stigma on street children since street children have drawn greater attention recently as a ‘social threat’.

The research made so far in Turkey on the topic of street children can be placed in two groups, one covering the issue of substance addiction and mostly medical in context (Aksoy, 2005; Baybuğa and Çelik , 2004, Doğan, 2006, Ogel et al., 2006; Olgar et al. 2007, 2008; Oner et al., 2006; Tari and Ziyalar, 2005), and the other being more concerned with the statistical

aspects of the service, including topics on economic issues, family and, criminality (Atauz, 1992, 1996; Duyan; 2005; Karatay, et al.,2000a). However, research based on the lived experiences of children, their treatment as a social product, or investigating their socially constructed character has been very limited (Uslu, 2004). Taking what is produced as research results compounded by the media propagated opinions, the perception of street children in Turkey is more as 'the deviant,' especially reflected by the popular term 'tinerci'.

1.7. Services for street children in Turkey

Police officers have been the main agents that directly face children in the streets. In 1997, following some changes in the structure of the police organisation, the child protection division became an independent unit within the department of security. The police take the street children to their homes and sometimes they talk with their parents. However, they report that within a few days the same children reappear in the streets. Child prostitution, abuse and sale of illegal drugs are the serious crimes for which the police put the children in detention centres or prisons for juveniles when convicted by children's courts. However, there are no clear guidelines for action against children simply ''working'' in the streets.

In Istanbul there are governmental and non-governmental organisations (NGO) working with street children. Some of the NGOs active in Turkey are weak and fragmented. Provincial governments and municipalities also take part in fighting the worst forms of child labour. Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality has established an organisation called "Making a Career of Istanbul street children" (ISMEM). This project is aimed to give service for the benefit of the 16 to 25 year olds. The ISMEM Project, founded in 2003, started to give service with a 120-bed capacity, to compensate the needs of alimentation and sheltering and alternatively to give apprentice training to young people of this age group. Additionally, within the framework of the project, basic education programmes are organised in accordance with the Public Education Statutes. The core agency however is a state agency responsible for street children and their protection, General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection Agency (SHÇEK). When children are without parents or have dropped out of school and are living or working in the street, SHÇEK is responsible for their protection.

1.8. General Directorate of Social Services and Protection of Children (SHÇEK)

SHÇEK is a government agency founded in 1990 and affiliated to the office of the Prime Minister. SHÇEK is the most comprehensive social service organisation in Turkey, providing day care and dormitory services for children, youth, elderly and handicapped in need of protection and support due to social and economic deprivation. In this context, service is provided through establishments including children's homes, educational homes, homes for elderly, rehabilitation centres, day care centres, women's guesthouses, youth homes, foster families, adoption services and assistance in cash to needy persons and families. SHÇEK has local offices in 81 cities.

SHÇEK was appointed to co-ordinate the implementation of children's rights as a result of which and an inter-sectoral council for children's rights was established to oversee efforts to bring the Convention on The Rights of The Child (CRC) to life in Turkey. SHÇEK as the coordinating agency for implementation of the CRC in Turkey launched a Children's Rights Campaign in 2000 to mark the tenth anniversary of the signing of the CRC, in cooperation with UNICEF and various Governmental Ministries. One of the events in the campaign was the First Children's Forum, attended by children from different social backgrounds, including children with disabilities, children working as apprentices and children living or working in the street.

SHÇEK's social services has the power and authority to give guidance to other public organisations and to assist privately owned social services institutions in their work, to issue permits and conduct supervisory services. In the public administrative structure of Turkey, provincial governors (valis) are the highest ranking state officials responsible for the administration in the provinces and they are in charge of the implementation and coordination of the social services in the provinces.

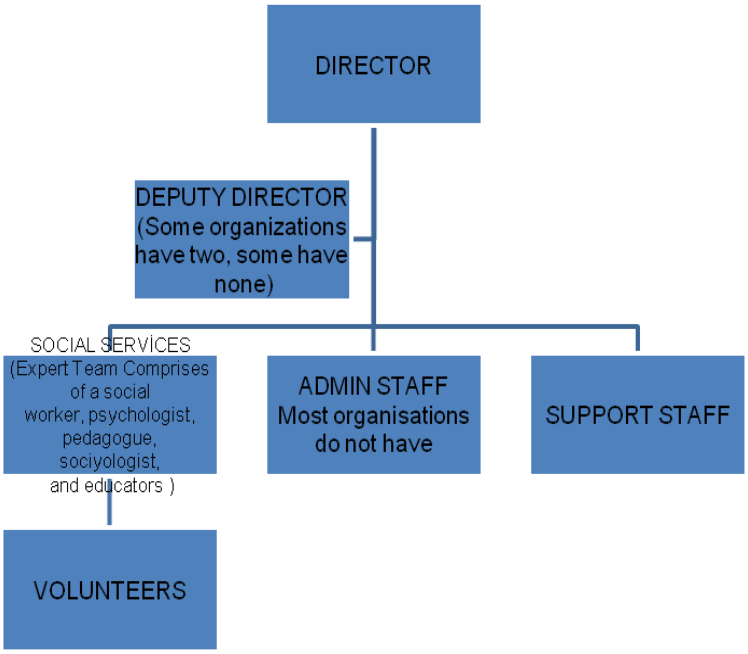
1.9. Service provision for street children provided by SHÇEK

The research reported in this thesis was carried out in 9 SHÇEK organisations. 8 of the organisations are called "Child and Youth Centres" that provide services for altogether 250-300 children in Istanbul. "Child and Youth Centres" are the boarding or day-care social service organisations which were opened in order to serve children who live and work in the streets. They work with an 'open door' system such that a child is not forced to stay against his/her will. They are established in order to enable those who face social danger through living on the streets because of disputes between spouses, neglect, illness, bad habits, poverty, abandonment and such reasons requiring rehabilitation services. In addition, there is an organisation especially established for children who are in conflict with the law. Children below the age of 15 are sent to these organisations. Because most of these children have street experiences and are at the risk getting involved in crime, this particular organisation was also included within the scope of this research.

SHÇEK also has mobile teams affiliated to the organisations, bringing together social workers, psychologists and teachers who are on call round the clock to reach the 'hot-spots' where street children gather. If a child is involved in substance abuse and is amenable to treatment, he will be referred to a branch of Child and Adolescent Substance Abuse Treatment and Support Centres (ÇEMATEM). Other children can be referred to rehabilitation centres for up to 1 or 2 years. The program foresees the re-enrolment and education of children at school age and, also, the enrolment of those over the age for compulsory schooling for vocational training courses. There is a separate organisation working only with children who are labouring in the street and a specialised clinic for drug users, called UMATEM, equipped with a capacity of 10 beds allocated to adolescents who live with their families and 22 beds reserved for those living on the street.

SHÇEK care for the street children is organised in three categories consisting of first, second and third step stations. The first step stations are temporary housing for the children to meet immediate needs like bathing and nourishment. If the children are convinced of the suitability of the services, they go to the second step stations where the rehabilitation process starts. These are also temporary accommodation sites for the children, the aim being to encourage the children to proceed to the third step stations where they can go to school and stay permanently until the age of 18 on the condition of not pursuing any kind of substance abuse. The eight SHÇEK units in Istanbul for street children, thus, consist of two first step stations, two second step stations and one third step station for boys only, and a first step station, a second step station and a third step station for girls.

Figure 1. Chart showing the Administrative Organisation of SHÇEK Care Stations



1.10. Rationale for the undertaken study

The literature review carried out has indicated that although there are many research reports on the phenomenon of 'street children', there is only a limited number of studies on the service provision for street children and that the majority of research on street children has not incorporated the experience and educational background of those most directly involved in providing the services (Kidd, et al., 2006). Most of the studies conducted on the subject of street children in Turkey have been concerned about the statistical aspects of the care service, like economic issues, families and criminality; and, have not been oriented towards identifying ways to improve service provision. Hence, there is no qualitative research on service provision for street children in Turkey. Moreover, research in Turkey has not incorporated the experiences of those most directly involved in providing services due to the communication gap between academics and frontline workers. In Turkey, youth agencies and

residential care institutions lack approaches specifically designed to address the needs of street children such that many street children cannot find a sense of belonging to such shelters provided by the government and, in fact, escape attempts are highly prevalent (Uslu, 2004).

Both the service providers and the service users were the most informed about the service provision and both perspectives were equally important. Both the findings of the preliminary fieldwork and the literature survey motivated the researcher to start examining the service provision with the service providers, especially as they were more informed on the stipulated procedures and the use of initiatives which affected the quality and outcomes of the service. The researcher was well aware that service users also had a lot to say about the care delivered to them. The aim of the study, however, was defined as examining the service provision in SHÇEK through the eyes of the service providers because of the reasons cited above. The findings of the research will improve the understanding of the impact of social care policies and practices on the lives of the street children with respect to its dependency on the comprehensiveness and efficiency of the cooperational links between the staff employed within the SHÇEK service units as well as between these service units and the related institutions under the judicial, public security, healthcare and educational authorities.

1.11. Structure of the thesis

The thesis consists of six main chapters starting with the *introduction* followed, in the respective sequence, by the *literature review, methodology, the first finding and the second findings chapters, and the discussion chapter* that ends with conclusions on the significance of the research reported here. After the introduction chapter, the study of state welfare services for street children in Istanbul, the street children phenomenon and service provision for street children are examined in a broad theoretical context in the literature review chapter. The literature review chapter is followed by a methodology chapter in which the study design of the research is discussed. This chapter provides detailed information on how fieldwork was carried out with the theoretical underpinnings of the research design. The methodology chapter is followed by the research findings presented in two separate chapters. While the first findings chapter consists of systemic problems deriving from the institutional context in which the SHÇEK organisations exist and the systemic problems of SHÇEK in which service providers operate, the second finding chapter consists of the findings at the treatment level. These are followed by the discussion chapter which ends with a concluding section containing a brief assessment of the significance of this work together with recommendations for future work.

1.12. Synopsis of the chapters

The introduction chapter provides a brief overview of the background to and the rationale for the study presented in this thesis, and a presentation of the study's aims and objectives together with a brief overview of the methodology of the research and, the structure of the

thesis. Introduction chapter also provides a general overview on the issue of street children in Turkey together with the main service provision, namely the state welfare service provision provided for street children.

The literature review chapter consists of six sections. In the first section key background information is provided on the street children phenomenon in Turkey with special emphasis on the socioeconomic and cultural factors causing the problem, followed by the exploration of the problem in a broader theoretical framework. The concept of childhood from a sociological perspective is explored with an emphasis of the socially constructed character of childhood and the importance of children's social inclusion into social and political life. The next section looks at the street children phenomenon as a social problem by drawing on worldwide examples highlighting the social construction of street children. Besides the causes of the street children phenomenon, characteristics of street children are discussed in this section. Attention is then given to the area of service provision for street children. In this section of the chapter, characteristics of the organisations providing services for street children are explored together with the intuitional care models. This chapter ends with a look at the service provision from the service providers perspectives, highlighting the importance of the organisational culture in which service providers operate. In terms of the organisational culture, both formal and informal aspects of the organisation are explored with a special emphasis on the impact of working with such vulnerable group of people like the street children.

In the methodology chapter the study's aims and objectives are outlined, followed by a detailed description and discussion on the development of and the rationale for the research design, including the data collection and analysis methods. A detailed outline and description of the process of accessing the selected study area will be presented. Ethical issues will be considered, as will issues of credibility and trustworthiness.

The first finding chapter consists of two main sections. Firstly, the structural problems existing in the SHÇEK organisations are examined in order to set the scene from a wider perspective. This then is followed by the findings in relation to staff's position in the organisations. The latter section is longer than the first due to the research findings on staff's position being more than the findings on structural problems. In order to accurately reflect participants' accounts as many quotations as possible will be used from their narratives. This will ensure that the research findings stay close with the data provided by participants.

The second finding chapter focuses on the service users' experiences with service provision through the eyes of the service providers and brings the service users' experiences into the context. The findings provide information on the perception of service providers on their service users, the quality of service providers' interaction with service users and service providers' perception on the quality of care delivered. The findings are revealing about the service providers' general view on the service provision.

In the discussion chapter, study findings are discussed in three main sections in the light of the literature review. In the first section, the street children phenomenon is discussed from the

socioeconomic and cultural perspective. The macro-economic problems of Turkey and the effect of internal migration movement, in particular, are discussed in relation to the street children problem. This section ends with the socially constructed character of childhood in reference to Turkish culture. The second section constitutes the 'organisational culture' in which service providers operate and service users live. In this section formal and informal aspect of The Institute of Social Services and Child Welfare (SHÇEK) Organisations providing services for street children are examined with an emphasis on the impact of working with vulnerable clients in poor working conditions where service providers do not feel contained or confident. Lastly, the quality of care is discussed at the treatment level. In this section, philosophical underpinnings of the service provision and the interactions between service providers and users are examined based on the qualitative findings of the research. This chapter ends with a section covering the concluding remarks on the merits, limitations and implications of the study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore service provision for street children from the service providers' perspective in Turkey. Main areas explored in this chapter are childhood, street children, service provision for street children and finally those who provide services for street children.

The chapter looks into the background information on the situation of the street children in Turkey, with the first part highlighting the socioeconomic and cultural factors behind the street children phenomenon in Turkey. Thereafter, the problem of street children is explored within a broad theoretical framework. Thus, the chapter covers the concept of childhood from a sociological perspective. The first concept explored is that of the socially constructed character of childhood. This concept is particularly helpful in exploring the socially constructed character of issues surrounding street children. Having examined how childhood is constituted sociologically, the focus is shifted to the importance of children's social inclusion. The emphasis on the importance of children's social inclusion and, of viewing them as active agents provides important implications for the service provision for street children. Subsequently, the issue of street children is explored as a social problem by referring to worldwide examples highlighting the social construction of street children. The causes of the phenomenon and the social characteristics of street children are discussed before moving onto exploring service provision for street children in various parts of the world. Here, the characteristics of the organisations that provide services and the institutional care models are discussed (Cameron and Karabanow 2003; Jones, 2006; Karabanow and Clement, 2004; Orme and Seipel, 2007).

The chapter ends with a look at service provision from the service providers' perspectives, highlighting the importance of the organisational culture in which service providers operate. The formal and informal aspects of organisations are explored, with a special emphasis on the impact of working with vulnerable groups of people like street children. Here the emphasis is particularly on the emotional loading of the organisation. Although the psychoanalytic literature is too deep and rich to be covered briefly in one section, it has been included in a limited scope because of the profound psychological impact of all aspects of their encounter with the street children on the service providers interviewed for the purposes of this study.

2.1.1. The phenomenon of street children in Turkey

The phenomenon of street children is a social issue with social causes. The origin of the street children phenomenon in Turkey, as discussed in the introduction chapter, is linked to wider issues of internal migration and social change (Keyder, 2005), which the Turkish society has experienced to a very significant degree since 1980, due to the impacts of the processes of globalisation on social affairs (Keyman and Koyuncu, 2005). Globalisation refers to the process of increasing interconnectedness between societies and is beset by contradictions, clashes, and crises (Castels and Miller, 2003). İçduygu and Keyman (2000) wrote that migration is a post-

national social form in a globalising world and that global restructuring generates various types of migration. Indeed, the attempts of the government of Turkey to develop a fully liberal market economy in the 1980s shook society deeply, causing increases in migration to large cities and, resulted in high unemployment rates and social discontent (Erman, 2001). Istanbul experienced the shock of rapid integration into transnational networks and markets, and witnessed the emergence of new social groups in the 1980's (Keyder, 2005). Deteriorating economic conditions, growing poverty, increased unemployment and a widening economic gap between the rich and the poor further intensified the discontent in the economically disadvantaged strata, particularly among rural migrants in the city. The newcomers also reduced the income and job opportunities for many poor urban households (Keyder, 2005).

Predictably, both the employment opportunities and the housing stock in the cities lagged far behind the needs of the newcomers. In the late 1940s and 1950s, the arrivers immediately built shanties in and around the city at sites unsuitable for residential development. These shanties called 'gecekondu', literally meaning 'landed overnight', eventually formed 'shanty towns' surrounding the cities (Erman, 2001). The migrant population and the illegal shanty towns were tolerated by the government and by the private sector for their contribution to the cheap and flexible labour market and thereby to the industrialisation process. Additionally, these large masses were exploited by politicians for their voting potential.

Most people who still migrate to Istanbul from rural areas have virtually no schooling and, therefore, cannot enter the formal white collar sector. The only job opportunities for them are limited to the market for manual work. Keyder (2005) wrote that the outward signs of polarisation in incomes and consumption in Istanbul were difficult to ignore, one of most visible signs of poverty in the cities being the street children. Notably, working on streets had become the migrant children's only way to come to the city centre where fancy stores, big shopping centres and touristic areas were places of attraction for them. Thus, marginalised people could only join the city life from a marginal position.

When village people came to the cities, they found life in the city even more challenging than the one they left behind (Duyan, 2005). Migrating did not ensure a better life for them. The social policies devised by the government of Turkey were applied as best as the resources allowed. It is difficult to say that these policies have been, at any given time, as wide-ranging as those of the developed European countries, where the state is expected to intervene when the wage earning fails. Such formal and institutionalised welfare mechanisms have been lacking in Turkey (Keyder, 2005), where the government still stipulates a minimum income without any guarantees for this or a minimum standard of living.

According to the World Bank, Turkey's social security system could not provide benefits to vulnerable groups (Zabci, 2006). Due to the absence of relevant welfare policies, immigrant families could not be assisted to adapt to city life. Unless formally employed, these migrants could not take advantage of the urban facilities and services. They were bound to remain 'unintegrated' and, the families could only exist on the margins of the society without access to health care and

education systems. Keyder (2005) drew attention to the failure of social integration of these families at economic, political and cultural levels through failures in the welfare regime.

Thus, the new comers have formed their own communities, usually in the most disadvantaged locations, with impoverished lives and social stigma, creating a suitable atmosphere for radical action and social fragmentation. Lack of social security has forced families to find their own ways in order to survive in the city. One of the immediate responses against poverty has been to seek the children's financial contribution to the family income, as they normally do in the village. In rural culture, children are seen as a workforce. Değirmencioğlu et al., (2008) reported that because of this particular viewpoint, it is not surprising that there is a market for child labour in the northwestern provinces of Turkey and that this has been a long-standing practice of poor and large families located in mountainous areas. Their children provide cheap labour for the market. Patrinos and Shafig, (2008) drew attention to the 'positive stigma' of child labour or at least select forms of work for child labour that is common in some developing countries. The authors suggested that increasing schooling options or improvements in socio-economic status may be insufficient to eliminate child labour in households with a positive stigma for child labour. This particular cultural approach towards child labour suggests that besides the socio-economic factors, cultural factors should also be considered to arrive at a better understanding of the street children phenomenon. To look at the traditional child rearing practices together with how children are viewed in the Turkish culture is vital to explore the journey children make into street life.

2.1.2. The view on children in the Turkish society

The characteristic of the population pattern for Turkey during the last 50 years has been one of steady urbanisation, as a result of which internal migration and urban unemployment have become widespread phenomena (De Santis, 2003). Internal migration has had a great impact on Turkey's population dynamics for decades. Although roughly 70 per cent of the Turkish population now lives in cities, a very large population of city dwellers were born in villages, or are the children of village-born parents from traditional Turkish families, generally male-dominated and with 'namus' (nahmous), meaning honour, being the dominant value in the family system (Sunar, 2002). The honour tradition plays a significant role in the traditional Turkish family culture and very much determines the family relationships. It underlies the male dominance and contributes to the closely knit relationships of the traditional families, with personal honour reflecting the family honour. Both the honour culture and male dominance strengthen the control imposed on girls and women. In order to maintain the family honour, girls are much more closely supervised as compared to the boys. In parallel to this view, children are expected to live with their families until they get married. Referring to this feature of the traditional Turkish family, Fişek (1991) proposed "enmeshment" rather than individuation of family members as being typical. Kağıtçıbası's (1985) conceptualisation of the Turkish culture has been described as a 'culture of relatedness' (Sunar, 2002).

Thus, in the traditional rural Turkish culture, family relationships are characterised by material

and emotional interdependence (Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca, 2005). Children are expected to take care of their aged parents. In a pre-modern economy, ageing parents depend on their offspring as there are no public arrangements for the care of the elderly. Children of rural families are valued for their labour potential. They are expected to make a material contribution to the family welfare. Therefore, there is strong preference for having sons rather than daughters because of the greater economic contributions by sons. Sons are also favoured in relation to other aspects of the cultural system, such as the desire to carry on the male line and the status that it accrues to the mother of a son (Sunar, 2002). Thus, the 'value of children' is in part determined by independent socio-economic variables. The distinctions between social strata with respect to the importance attached to the material, economic and utilitarian reasons for wanting to have children, reflect the diversity of lifestyles and their corresponding values (Ataca, 2003). In families with higher socioeconomic standing, there are lower material and utilitarian and higher psychological value of children, lower expectations of financial and material help from children, higher girl tolerance, a higher desire for more independence and self-reliance in children, and lower desired and actual numbers of children (Ataca, 2003). Urban Turkish parents of especially the new generation encourage their children's active participation in family decisions and recognise them more autonomy.

In the traditional Turkish culture, it appears that children are rather viewed as possessions of their parents such that it is always the parents who decide what is best for children. As Değirmencioğlu et al. (2008) revealed, there are some practices in rural parts of Turkey that allow children even to get hired in the labour market. They argued that the current practice of policy-making in Turkey treats childhood essentially as an educational matter and, quickly excludes children who remain outside the school system as a residual category. In Turkish state schools uniforms and zero tolerance policies are often introduced in the interest of violence prevention in the premises. Raby (2005) argued that dress and discipline codes are correlated to knowledge production and attempt to secure internalised discipline. In this regard, Raby believes that children are seen to be incomplete, at risk and in need of guidance, a position that legitimises school rules and their enforcement and contributes to seeing children as possessions of their parents.

2.1.3. Children's rights in Turkey

The Turkish government has been committed to the notion of children's rights since the inception of the Turkish Republic in 1923. The Turkish state formally recognised the children's rights by signing the Geneva Declaration on the rights of the child in 1928, four years after the document had been drafted as the first widely recognised international rights statements to specifically address children. Nevertheless the government has been less successful in implementing broad-based social welfare programs targeting the perceived needs of children throughout the entire geography of the country (Libal, 2001). The social security system aims to provide healthcare and social security for all, although gaps persist.

The Turkish state and children's advocates from both national and international organisations supported the signing of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) soon after it was completed in 1989. In 1990 Turkey signed UNCRC and ratified it in 1994. In 1992, Turkey became one of the six original countries to participate in the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the International Programme for the Elimination of Child labour. In September 1999, the government signed the European Convention on the Exercise of Children's Rights. There is however no specific legislation to protect working children satisfactorily. The government has neither signed the ILO's new Convention on Worst Forms of Child Labour (182), nor has it passed and enforced comprehensive legislation covering all the types of child work, which would have strengthened the inspection measures and sanctions (Bakirci, 2002).

Although education through grade eight (normally covered by the age of 16) has been mandatory in Turkey since 1998, and school children have not been allowed to work, Turkey has been found to have the largest population of working children in Europe, according to the estimates of the European Council (CE, 1996 cited in Bakırcı, 2002, p. 55). The first and the most systematic source of information on child labour in the general of Turkey was the Child labour Survey carried out in 1994 by the State Institute of Statistics (SIS), within the framework of the International Programme for the Elimination of Child labour (IPEC). It showed that 20 per cent of the overall population was between 6-14 years old (almost 12 million children), 8.5 per cent of whom were economically active and 23.9 per cent were engaged in household related activities (Bakirci, 2002). Another SIS Survey carried out in 2001 showed that the child employment rate among 6-17-year olds was 10.2 percent (Dayıoğlu, 2005).

A high level of unemployment, low wages and a great imbalance in income distribution led children to become important contributors to the family income, as the benefit they could obtain from a lengthy education was outweighed by the income they could give to the family in the short term (Bakirci, 2002). Also, inadequate numbers of schools, especially in rural areas and the hidden costs of buying uniforms and school supplies have prevented some children from getting a primary school education (Libal, 2001).

According to Edmond McLoughney, the UNICEF Representative in Turkey in 2002, there has been tremendous progress in child welfare in Turkey in the past decade. Mortality rates have fallen, compulsory education has been extended and legal reforms have resulted in progress in the implementing of the CRC. Although there is still much work to be done, right now the danger faced is that of economic crisis which would impede progress and hit the most vulnerable. Naqvi (2001) wrote that despite the considerable legal framework for protecting children's rights, there was adequate proof of serious deficiencies in Turkey's system of child protection.

After having looked at the street children phenomenon within the Turkish cultural context, this phenomenon will now be explored within a broader theoretical framework. The first concept used to analyse the street children phenomenon is the concept of childhood from a sociological perspective.

2.2. Childhood

The street children phenomenon can only be analysed in terms of its social context. Therefore, in thinking about street children, the concept of childhood from a sociological perspective is particularly relevant to exploring this phenomenon. In this regard, the concept of the 'socially constructed character' of childhood (James et al. 1998) constitutes one of the major theoretical tools that is helpful in exploring the street children phenomenon.

Sociologists have only recently started to focus on children and childhood (James et al. 1998). Much of the early work in sociology on childhood had emphasised the institutional aspect of the subject, outlining the rise of the school system, child labour legislation, specialised agencies for juvenile delinquents, infant welfare services and the like. Ideas about childhood and the children themselves, however, have hardly been given scope (Heywood, 2002). Heywood wrote that the eighteenth century thinkers came closer than any of their predecessors to our contemporary notions of childhood. They asserted that children were important in their own right rather than being imperfect adults. The reasons for the marginalisation of children for so long in sociology has been their subordinate position in societies and, hence, in theoretical conceptualisation of childhood. James et al. (1998) wrote that children are pushed to the margins of the social structure by adults since their lives, needs and desires are often seen as causes for alarm, as threatening social problems that need to be resolved.

The new sociology of childhood starts from the assumption that children are active participants rather than simply responding to the demands, instructions, or interpretations of adults and, that children make independent contributions to social life which may affect adults (James and Prout, 1997). According to James et al. (1998), much of sociology's thinking about children and childhood derives from theoretical work on socialisation. James and Prout (1997) have defined two different models of the socialisation process. In the deterministic model, the child is viewed as a "novice" and plays a passive role which must be controlled through careful training. In the constructivist model, the child is seen as an active agent involved in appropriating information from the environment to use in organising and constructing his/her own interpretations of the world. Interpretive reproduction provides a basis for a new sociology of childhood. This view of socialisation appreciates the importance of collective, communal activity of children. It stresses that childhood is a cultural concept and, that the meaning of childhood is deeply embedded in the familial and social conditions of a specific time and place (Grew, 2005). Coleman (2000), for example, argued that the transition to adulthood has changed and continues to change. He pointed out that the major challenges in the labour market and in family composition and structure during the latter part of the last century will have particular effects on young people in the coming years.

Having in mind the socially constructed character of childhood and viewing them as active agents is particularly relevant in planning services for the benefit of street children. Hill et al. (2004) suggested that the idea of children's spaces being not just physical but social, cultural and discursive spaces shape the conceived relationship between professionals and service

users, adult responsibilities and children' rights. Professionals become facilitators and both children and adults are co-constructors of knowledge and expertise. In this regard it is important to pay special attention to the concept on the child's perspective (Skivenes and Strandbu, 2006).

2.2.1. The child's perspective

The concept of the child's perspective sees children as individuals, with opinions, interests, and viewpoints that they should be able to express (Skivenes and Strandbu, 2006). Adults' perceptions, including their images of children's capacities, and their self-interest in maintaining their own position with respect to children are put forward as the primary barriers to children's participation.

In this respect, Wyness, et al. (2004) identified the cultural norms of childhood that limit the extent to which young people participate in public and civic matters and get recognised as influential social agents. Of these norms, 'privatisation of childhood' locates children within the private realm of the family, within a relatively detached and private environment excluded from a political community such that, parallel to the traditional view, children are seen as the successful or unsuccessful products of adults. According to 'childhood as an apprenticeship', children are not fully constituted members of the social world. This reflects a recurrent tendency to view children as 'human becomings' rather than 'human beings' (Qvortup et al., 1994). Children's 'trainee' status together with their exclusion on grounds of 'irresponsibility' has led to the notion of 'children's incompetence', the view that children are socially and morally incompetent, which can be linked to a recurring view of western children as moral and social innocents, i.e., to their perceived vulnerability. This legitimises children's political exclusion and adults' right to talk on behalf of children. It also limits the opportunities for children and young people to participate together, depriving them of the preparation afforded them as future participants. As a result, children do not consider themselves to be political.

As it was discussed earlier in this chapter, the views on children in the traditional Turkish family appears to be barriers to children's participation. The male dominance, the importance of the 'honour' culture and the evaluation of the child as potential workforce result in impeding the active and free participation of the child in social life.

2.2.2. Children's participation

United Nations Convention on The Rights of The Child (UNCRC) has been a powerful driver in encouraging greater participation by children, providing the agenda and a tool that can be used by practitioners or young people themselves to justify and help achieve inclusion (Hill et al 2004). The discourse on children's participation appeared in Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), in which children are given the right of participation in matters affecting them (Skivenes and Strandbu, 2006). Article 12, no.1 in the CRC states that ''Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in

accordance with their age and maturity.'

Skivenes and Strandbu (2206) proposed the concept of the child's perspective that contains three aspects on two different levels, the structural and the individual level. The structural level is concerned with children's rights and position in society, as well as their legal protection. The individual level is concerned with considering children in the present as 'human beings' rather than only in a future perspective, as 'human becomings', and also considers the context of children's lived realities.

In thinking about children, whether they are citizens and articulate social actors who have much to say about the world and should be encouraged to speak out, or whether they are symbolic voice of innocence and, therefore, recognised as silenced spectators, are important issues to consider (James et al. 1998). Prout (2000) argued that for two reasons it is crucial to establish childhood as presenting a specific problem. The first of these allows childhood to be conceptualised separately from the institutional context such as the family, schooling or welfare systems, within which the child has been hidden. The second avoids constituting childhood as a narrow empirical field outside and adrift from general social theory and analysis. Understanding children from a generational perspective can help to raise awareness of generation as a dimension of social organisations, working alongside, in and between others, such as class, gender, disability and ethnicity. The notion of generation encourages children and adults to be understood within a system of relations between the generations.

Participatory approaches are based on a positive view of children's capacities and recognise the importance to children of the physical places and social contexts in which they lead their lives, whether in formal services or in more informal spaces. In this regard, the findings of Leonard (2005) are important to look at in order to see how actually children are active agents. Leonard has explored children's participation in paid work as a way of demonstrating how children make use of parents' existing networks and also develop their own networks in order to gain access to job opportunities. She has found that children can accumulate and use social capital and this is particularly evident in their paid employment. Moreover, as Grew (2005) argued, children are more likely to adapt to and even embrace the new than any other segment of the society.

Children are a primary focus of state intervention as they are some of the highest users of state services (Hill et al, 2004). Viewing children as active agents and encouraging their active participation have important implications for service provision for street children. Review of the literature on the subjects reveals that for an effective intervention, children must be approached as knowing subjects and their participation and partnership should be sought in caring for them (Ataöv and Haider, 2006; Skivenes and Strandbu, 2006; Percy-Smith, 2006; Stevens, 2006; Waller; 2006). Participation, as Smith (2006) emphasised, does not merely refer to involvement in formal decision-making processes, but rather refers more widely to individuals' self-determination in taking actions and making choices as active citizens. Therefore, Smith suggested that creating spaces for dialogue, interaction and learning between groups as part of the participation process is invaluable, adding that for meaningful change to occur, it is necessary to engage with the

complex dynamics of social and cultural interaction that shape social norms, values and action. This emphasis reminds us once again of the culturally constructed character of childhood.

The last decade has witnessed a major growth in developments aimed at promoting children's participatory rights as emphasized by the UNCRC. ''Children 5-16 Research Programme'' of The Economic and Social Research Council was meant to develop new knowledge about children as social actors, to engage in theoretical and methodological development, and in cross-disciplinary work (Prout, 2002). The programme was also to support the idea that children's voices should play a greater role in developing policy and practice. According to Children's Rights International (2005:27) children must be approached as knowing subjects. Nonetheless, children in general may continue to find their voices silenced, suppressed, or ignored in their everyday lives. There is, however, need to ensure that children's views and voices are heard.

Encouraging children's active participation is also important from the childhood studies perspective. This suggests that children should be positioned as participating objects in the research process and, research should be carried out *with* children rather than *on* children as the objects of adult's research. James (2007) contributed to this idea by drawing attention to the very important point that childhood research is not simply about making children's own voice heard by presenting children's perspectives, but it is also exploring the nature of the voice. When carrying out anthropological research with children to explore their perspectives as social actors, James has identified three interlocking themes which constitute the problems that childhood studies face. The first relates to matters of authenticity. To present an authentic account of children's issues as social actors, they need a helping hand as their voices and concerns are not immediately accessible. A second and related theme highlights the risks of glossing over the diversity of children's own lives and experiences. Therefore, children should be given greater audibility and visibility as social actors inhabiting a variety of different social worlds rather than as collective inhabitants. The third theme involves questioning the nature of children's participation in the research.

By engaging children in research they have been shown to have a perspective of social life often appearing differently from that of the adult (Prout, 2002). James (2007) wrote, "That is not only about letting children speak, it is about exploring the unique contribution to our understanding of and theorising about the social world that children's perspectives can provide" (p. 262). The tendency of taking more account of children's views within research has parallel developments in consultation with children's organisations (Hill et al 2004). Although many studies have put forward the importance of the active participation of children, in the real process we see the prevention of children's participation in the society. The coming section explores the dynamics behind the children's social exclusion from society.

2.2.3. Children's social exclusion from society

Especially the discovery of the young child as a 'pedagogical subject' in the period following the Second World War led in Europe to the change in the social definition of early childhood by

relegating infancy as a subject of physiological and effective care to the earliest years, and by having early childhood begin much sooner as a period also demanding educational and psychological care which underlies active parental intervention in the life of their children and control of their activities (Frønes, 1997). This also led to the change in the function of education during the period prior to primary school. , An increased demand for day-care began in the 1970s as a result and an indication of these changes in the definition of early childhood (Chamboredon and Prévot, 1975).

Hence, the image of the child has changed from the one based on inborn qualities, to that of an object to be moulded by parents, as a subject in the family whom the parents are responsible creating activities for. Prout (2000) argued that this suggests a double effect. The first is the incipient exclusion of children from public space and making children more subject to regulation and control. The second is the simultaneous proliferation of special locations that concentrate groups of children together for activities taking place under more or less adult surveillance and supervision. Therefore, the space of childhood is becoming more specialised and more localised.

Modern childhood is structured by the interplay between modern educational institutions and the modern family (Frønes, 1997). Prout (2000) has pointed out that while there is an increasing tendency to see children as individuals with a capacity for self-realisation and, within the limits of social interdependency, autonomous action, there are also practices directed at greater surveillance, control and regulation of children. Therefore, despite public perceptions to the contrary, unlike the previous generations of children, children today spend much of their time being looked after by their parents (Gill, 2007). While children used to spend time freely on their own, now from a very early age onwards they spend time under the care of institutions like day nurseries.

Wyness et al. (2004) have pointed out that there are powerful political and social forces that place children as dependants and exclude them from political participation. They suggested that the relationship between young people and the world of politics is a neglected area within the social sciences and this neglect reflects two sets of assumption. Firstly, that children and young people do not ordinarily inhabit the civic or political sphere; that they can have the political right of voting at the age of 18 and over. Political socialisation, however, is not simply bestowed upon the 18-year-olds. There is no formal sense in which childhood requires a level of social and political maturation. There is little representation of young people's interests at the political centre. The second assumption is that until relatively recently children's view has not counted as legitimate knowledge of the world. Therefore, they have been seen as unable to make judgements on political matters. The participatory approach, however, creates the possibility of children and young people themselves determining the way in which they choose to participate and attempt to contribute to political debate within local national groups, institutions, organisations and services on their own terms, and in their own right.

Raising children under regulations and surveillance is a means of bringing children under state control. This, as James (2007) saw it, has to do with the cultural politics of childhood that shape

children's everyday lives and experiences. The concept of 'governmentality', as defined by Foucault (1991, cited in Holmes, 2002, p.84) is helpful in thinking about bringing children under state control. Governmentality is understood in the broad sense of techniques and procedures for directing human behaviour, involving "government of children, government of souls and consciences, government of a household, of a state, or of oneself" (Rosa et al., 2006, p. 83). Foucault's analysis of political power in terms of governmentality implies a deliberate attempt to direct human conduct in order to regulate, control and shape (Holmes, 2002). The principles and practices of government involve the many and varied alliances between political and other authorities that seek to govern economic activity, social life and individual contact. Morris (1998) drew attention to the process of 'governing at a distance' to fully understand the art of government as termed by Foucault.

Holmes (2002) argued that the police and pastoral power are the two dimensions of the security apparatus of governmentality. The police force is a powerful disciplinary agency as well as a state apparatus and almost exclusively functions for social control and order. Pastoral power requires a person to serve as a guide for another. According to Holmes this kind of social control is the 'pastoral power' implemented by the 'psy' disciplines, such as psychology, psychiatry, psychiatric nursing and social work. These disciplines, through their respective 'scientific' knowledge, seek to achieve normalisation of individuals and populations. This is what Curtis (1995) called the new art of government. The family and the school are the two major institutions of the society through which government controls its citizens at a distance. In this sense, street children constitute one of the most challenging groups of people as they fall into a place relatively outside of governing. Street children appear to create a space away from parents and schools that represent government's correctional facilities. In other words, they exist in a place outside the governmental control, at the margins of the society. West (2003) pointed out that the use of the term 'street children' conveys the sense of children being out of place in a particular context. To varying degrees, street children are being socialised away from the institutions of family and education. The 'pastoral power' (Holmes, 2002), implemented by the 'psy' disciplines, such as psychology, psychiatry, psychiatric nursing and social work, is a useful concept in exploring service provision for street children since it raises the question whether the service provision for street children is a way of bringing them under state control by 'normalising' them.

2.3. Street children

The street children phenomenon represents one of the most serious social challenges. This is an alarming and escalating worldwide problem in both developed and developing countries. Street children, however, are certainly not a new phenomenon (Lusk, 1992). On an international level, street children were brought to public awareness by Peter Taçon (1981), at the time a representative of The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (Moura, 2002). Since then, policy-makers and scientists have been increasingly concerned with this social issue.

Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman (1998) argued that the term "street child" represents a type of

symbolic apartheid. Urban space has become increasingly privatised, inverting the late-nineteenth century conception of the city as providing an open and heterogeneous public space. Today one notes two tendencies in urban areas, namely, the abandonment of city streets by the urban elite, who increasingly live their lives in gated communities; and the attempts to privatise beaches and certain urban neighbourhoods, which come to be seen as the privileged reserve of middle-class people, people of "substance" and "quality". Ataöv and Haider (2006) argued against this by proposing that street children are active agents in the construction of the social reality of public space in cities, and that they have the right to use the built environment for their survival and development since public space is one of the foundational elements of a democratic society.

2.3.1. A brief overview of the global literature on street children

This section provides an overview of the global literature on street children before going into details of the different dimensions of this phenomenon. One of the principal reasons, worldwide, for turning to life on the streets is poverty (Grundling and Grundling, 2005). When households are unable to provide adequate living conditions for their children, these children turn to the streets to make a living. While a few of these children are from intact families and have come to urban streets for adventure, a large number of children in many parts of the world are pushed into a life on the streets of urban centres for the same economical and social reasons (Orme, Seipel, 2007). Typically, they end up in the streets as a result of events such as the death of their parents, divorce, poverty, neglect, sexual abuse, and violence in the home. Factors believed to contribute to the phenomenon of children working and living on the streets, include reasons arising from economical policies, social changes, rural to urban migration due to poverty or displacement as a result of civil unrest or political violence, uncontrolled transmissible disease like HIV/AIDS, as well as lack of educational opportunities (Plummer, Kudrati, Dafalla El Hag Yousif, 2007). Aptekar (1988) recorded that 48% of his sample of street children in Cali, Colombia, were on the street for "financial reasons," but a further 32% were there because of abuse in the home. Thus we can see that poverty alone is not the only reason for going to the streets. Abuse in the home has also been reported as a significant factor behind the street children phenomenon. Apart from the factors described above, obligations to support themselves and their families by earning pocket money during their free time may have also pushed children to the streets (Plummer, Kudrati, Dafalla El Hag Yousif, 2007). For most children, the transition to street life appears to involve a combination of push and pull factors, and for many, this has been a gradual process.

Grundling and Grundling draw attention to the difference between the 'runaways' or homeless youth found in developed countries and the 'street children' found in the Third World countries. While 'runaways', who mostly turn to the streets in search of adventure, excitement or independence, the 'street children' of the Third World turn to the streets as a result of neglect and abandonment mainly on account of poverty. Grover (2004) suggests that the term "street children" poses many conceptual difficulties, as there are many categories of children 'on' or 'of'

the street. That street children are a heterogeneous population was noted very early in the literature (Lalor, 1999). In recognition of this heterogeneity, Unicef (1984) has described three main categories**:** children at risk, children of the street and children on the street. Children 'on the street', who form the majority (about two-thirds in most studies) maintain strong family ties and have a sense of belonging to a household (Ayuku et al., 2004). *In the research reported in this thesis, 'children on and/or of the street' are included in the term "street children*".

The majority of street children worldwide are aged between 10 and 14 years and there is a higher incidence of street boys than street girls (Lalor, 1999). The worldwide trend of relatively fewer street girls than street boys might be explained by the position the female child holds in rural peasant life as well as in urban areas as more valuable members of households due to functions of looking after children and helping with chores.

Street children are exposed to a high level of stress, including the physical (accidents and aggressions, transmissible diseases) and the psychological (sexual exploitation and abuse) stress (Sales et al., 2009). Worldwide street children are exposed to real or constant threat of violence from employers, hostile-abusive community members, and their peers. Ignorant about health, hygiene, and nutrition and deprived of services to protect them, street children are a malnourished sub-population subsisting on an inadequate diet. Spurned by the community and away from protection and guidance, street children resort to substance abuse to withstand all types of stress they experience (Ogel, 2005). Street children need a quick solution to their struggles, which are sometimes a matter of life or death (Grover, 2004). A wide variety of programmes have been designed and developed to attend street children with commendable but still insufficient success, as children do not use the programs and services as provided (Turnbull, Hernadez, Reyes, 2009). According to Kaime-Atterhög and Ahlbet (2008), this has resulted from the failure to understand the street culture and the organisation of street children, use of research methods that do not listen to the children and use of inappropriate categorisations.

2.3.2. Defining the term 'street children'

The terms of reference used in literature and media in reference to children living on the streets, vary according to geographical area. It is most frequently used with reference to children and adolescents in Latin America, Africa, Eastern Europe and Asia, whereas in North America and Western Europe the term for this is 'the homeless' because of the considerations about their existence, way of living and problems (Moura, 2002). However, there is a general agreement that the term 'street children' refers to children and young people who have early street life experience and who usually spend most of their time in the streets, in the sense that they use streets as the main principal location of their daily activities (Altanis and Goddard, 2004). The term had been used in reference to urban centres in Europe as early as the 19th century (West, 2003).

As pointed out by Aptekar (1994), definitions of street children tend to oscillate between their portrayal either as the victim or the deviant. This ambivalence has been explained by drawing attention to two major realities concerning street children. On the one hand, the reality of

the children of being frequently neglected and abused, on the other, their heroic survival skills developed as a result of the potential rewards of life without parental restraints.

Scientists, policy-makers and the media talk about street children as if referring to a clearly defined population, although this is not a uniform group of youngsters (Moura, 2002). In defining street children, different authors use different criteria to develop categories such as the level of contact with their families, school attendance, and the degree of deviant behaviour (Aptekar, 1994). Complementing these categorisations, Adams et al. (1985) distinguished three groups, consisting of the children who have fled from their homes because of family circumstances, the children who have been rejected by their parents, and the children who are products of rejection by society. Aptekar (1994) proposed two additional factors, as the range of their ages and their gender, that also warrant attention in defining street children.

The term 'street children' is used in this thesis, as this is the most frequently used term with reference to children and adolescents working and/or living in the streets in Turkey (Akşit, et al., 2001) and who appear to be classified into two groups. The first group works on the street during the day, sometimes during the evening and night, but finally goes home to stay with the family. The second group of children works and lives continually in the streets. Children in the second group have left home because their families have disintegrated. The majority of children working in the streets in Turkey belong to the first group and are involved in selling paper napkins, chewing gum, water, sunflower seeds and other small seasonal items. The children in the second group working and living in the streets are involved in collection and separation of garbage placed in the containers on the streets and at the garbage dumps. Since they are outside the family and community protection and supervision, they are more likely to be involved in drug abuse, street gangs and violence. In Turkey, the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection Agencies (SHÇEK), with the cooperation of which this research has been carried out, is the core state agency responsible for street children and their protection.

2.3.3. The causes of the street children phenomenon

Although the origins of the phenomenon of street children are similar globally, as findings from several countries have indicated, there can be differences under different circumstances. A review of the literature reveals the common features of the street child phenomenon as coming from lower socioeconomic strata and having unfavourable family histories (Lusk, Peralta and Vest, 1989; Lusk, 1992; Le Roux, 1996; Le Roux and Smith, 1998; Aptekar, 1988, 1990, 1994; Moura, 2002; West, 2003; Altanis and Goddard, 2004; Grundling and Grundling, 2005). It can be summarised that they have been considered as the victims of unfortunate circumstances; with males dominating and generally showing strong royalty to each other when banded together in groups.

Clearly the phenomenon of street children is linked to wider issues of migration and social change (Altanis and Goddard, 2004). The societal stresses associated with rapid industrialisation and urbanisation are among the most prominent features of contemporary societies, and

constitute the most obvious reason for the dramatic increase in the number of street children. According to Aptekar (1994), rural-to-urban migration is one aspect of modernisation that is sufficient to explain the origin of the street children. He noted that a common denominator that might explain the socio-economic condition of street children is a non-dictatorial capitalistic country in the developing world that has significant urban centres. Rapid industrialisation and urbanisation have led to inner-city decay; and the chronic unemployment accompanying economic downturns has given rise to the phenomenon of street children (Le Roux and Smith, 1998).

Macro-economic problems lead to migration to urban areas where a sequence of adverse events unfold (Frost et al., 2005). This migration that results from poverty and ends in it, leaves children in vulnerable state as a result of unemployment and changes in the traditional family structures. Hence, poverty originating from macroeconomic problems is a dominant factor behind the emergence of street children. Unemployment resulting from economic downturns has led to the breakdown of community values and traditional family structures with the reduction in family size from the extended group to the nuclear unit. Poverty has led children to carry out activities which generate income to help their families and which in some families is the reason for the children's first departure from home. Street children's poor and dysfunctional families lack the characteristics of the mainstream social community. Therefore, in the argument on the social construction of street children, their introduction to street society is seen as the beginning of a drifting process towards total integration into an alien society (Moura, 2002).

All over the world, children often turn to the streets in an attempt to resolve problems that arise from the social structures and situations in which they find themselves (Grundling and Grundling, 2005). Most street children have only few options in times of crises other than the life on the street. Only a small percentage of street children have been orphaned. Children may be motivated to leave home as a result of family pathology such as alcoholism, child abuse (physical or sexual) or neglect. As a result of this situation, children are presented as surrendering to the temptation of the street. Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman (1998) wrote that most street children are simply "excess" kids in being the children of poor, often single or abandoned women; and that while they may be almost autonomous, they often remain emotionally dependent on home and deeply attached to the idea of family (p. 362). Having discussed here the societal dynamics and, in particular, the macroeconomic problems behind the phenomenon of street children, attention can now be paid to the characteristics of street children.

2.3.4. Characteristics of street children

It is impossible to help street children without understanding them accurately. Nevertheless, the fluid, unpredictable and elusive life styles of many street children create particular problems for reliable data collection (Altanis and Goddard, 2004). A review of the literature reveals that street children are highly mobile and often move fluidly back and forth from street to home life, such that it is very difficult to arrive at a reliable count of the street children in the large urban

centres (West, 2003). Getting accurate information from children is also quite difficult. They have extraordinary capacity to tell stories as part of their survival skills. This has a psychological function that allows the children to get back at a society that devalues them. There are also sampling problems with reference to where the data are collected. By combining several methods it may be possible to generate empirical information about the children with reasonable accuracy (Aptekar, 1994).

Almost all street children begin their life on the streets by a gradual and predictable process. In a UNICEF document dated 1986, street children were classified into three categories, as the working youths who live with their poor families, children 'on' the street as working individuals who maintain some family connections but who receive inadequate and/or sporadic support, and the third type, the children 'of' the street who are working individuals without family support (Moura, 2002).

International agencies and scientists focus on similar issues to characterise and explain the genesis of street children despite the fact that the social problems, social policies and children's cultural backgrounds differ substantially even in the same country (Scheper-Hughes and Sargent, 1998). Street children however do share many similarities between countries. Characteristics of street children include poverty and the need to work in general. These in turn are linked to vulnerability to exploitation and the risk of coming into conflict with the law (West, 2003). Common characteristics of street children have been summarised below.

Street children often seem younger than their chronological age. However, their hunted expressions and 'devil-may-care' attitude toward the world reveal a maturity beyond their years (Aptekar, 1994). Males predominate among street children, although females are also represented. Since girls are needed in the household, they usually do not get to the streets. In general, boys are socialised into leaving home much earlier, especially in female-headed homes which many street children come from (Kuntay, 2002). Kuntay has written that the most common claim for finding fewer girls in the streets has been their being taken off the streets for prostitution. Girls may seek out prostitution because it provides them with a safe house away from the anarchy of the streets (Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman, 1998).

Coming primarily from marginalised families, street children are pushed by circumstances beyond their control to street work, legal or illegal, as main surviving strategies for themselves and their households. Most come from the lower socioeconomic strata, therefore they are not necessarily society's dropouts, but rather victims of unfortunate circumstances. They often come from nuclear families with unfavourable family histories. Yet most yearn to return home. These children live in poor conditions (in unsuitable housing, with poor or non-existing facilities) under restrain and are compelled to work, beg or engage in prostitution. While financially exploiting these children, their employers also use violence and punishments (Altanis and Goddard, 2004).

Many street children would like to go back to school, but the longer they spend on the street, the worse the prognosis for educational rehabilitation becomes. Street children suffer developmentally and socially (D'Abreu et.al., 1999). The more time these children spend on the

streets, the greater the likelihood that they will show signs of cognitive or emotional dysfunction. Street children are said to be prematurely sexualised. While males who have been sexually abused are prone to violence, such as rape, females often turn to prostitution. Their self-destructive behaviour results from a lack of knowledge rather than from their negative fatalistic attitude (Moura, 2002).

Use of banned substances serves as a temporary escape from the harsh reality surrounding them. The motivation underlying drug use is explained in terms of group pressure and imitation, seeking euphoria, to forget hunger, to reduce solitude and fear (Moura, 2002). According to Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman (1998) for some of the younger street children, sniffing glue was used interchangeably with thumb or pacifier (dummy) sucking, a practice that street children sometimes engage in at adolescence.

The peer group is a most important support system, replacing the family as a source of emotional and economic support. Street children also place a high premium on personal freedom. They are on their own to survive in the street. In terms of survival strategies, street children are reported to engage in activities such as begging, collecting paper and scavenging rubbish. The close association of life on the streets with crime, delinquency, robbery, theft and drug sale has been noted in most of the literature on this subject.

2.3.5. What do streets provide for 'street children'?

All over the world, children often turn to the streets in an attempt to resolve problems that arise from the social structures and situations in which they find themselves (Grundling and Grundling, 2005). The streets offer both opportunity and danger, and there are many different ways to be a child of the streets. Family problems push children out of the home, towards the streets to find refuge from these problems. On the streets, children experience freedom and test the possibilities of solution to their problems (Aptekar, 1994). Streets may offer potential rewards of life when liberated from parental restrain. Some children prefer their independence, including the freedom to make their own decisions and have control over their lives. They can get more food on the street. When they have earned or begged enough money, they can spend it on anything that they are usually not allowed to, such as the cinema and internet cafes.

Ataöv and Haider (2006) argued that working on the street is an attractive alternative for many children. This position gives them a privileged economic status in their family because they start to earn money and gain a feeling of independence both in the family and among friends. However, the reality is that, even under the best circumstances, street work and life are difficult and often perilous. The children are exposed to the hazards of their physical and social environments. Nevertheless, despite the inherent dangers, many children find street life liberating.

2.3.6. How do street children survive on the streets?

In order to identify some of the reasons why some children become street children and others

do not, Aptekar (1994) suggested considering the psychological status of the child and the child's family and their perception of life on the streets, as well as the degree to which a street culture exists. The study carried out by Aptekar (1988) among Colombian street children illustrated that children function with adequate mental health; such that, about a third do quite well, another third do poorly, and the remaining children move in between. He showed that many street children have better physical and mental health than their siblings and peers who stay behind and that they may have much to teach us about psychological resilience which many authors have also drawn attention to. Jones et al. (2007) argued that the reason for the keenness to identify the resilience of street youth is to challenge the notions of passive victimhood. From this perspective, street involvement can be understood as a rational response to situations demonstrably worse at home or in institutions.

Although street life had altered the children's developmental sequence, it had provided them with adequate coping skills and abilities to negotiate difficult situations, like bargaining. Of the two reasons given for this, the first is that once the children are on the streets, almost all of them acquire a series of benefactors and the second is that by the time they are ten or twelve, they have come to develop intense and close friendships describable as psychologically important love between members of the same sex. In contrast, D'Abreu, et al. (1999), found out, after investigating the effects of social support on the adaptation of the 13 to18-year old street children to the life on the streets, neither the quality nor the quantity of support significantly improved this process.

2.3.7. Stigmatisation

Generally, the public perception of children changes as they grow up (Uslu, 2004,). Before puberty, children are considered 'cute' and younger street children are more successful at begging for alms. As they grow older, however, the image of 'cuteness' changes to that of 'street people', and they are treated accordingly. The children themselves have contributed to the heightening of the drama of their plight. In their conspicuously dirty appearance, their flirtation with danger in their day-to-day living and their cunning thievery, all of which take place in full public view, have contributed to their being viewed as representatives of defiance of adult authority (Aptekar, 1990).

Because of what they must do to defend themselves on the streets, these children have been commonly referred to by stigmatising terms like young thief, pickpocket, and purse snatcher, which fuel negative stereotyping by the public of the dangerous and uncontrollable street child (Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman, 1998). Hence, these children evoke strong and contradictory emotions of fear, aversion, pity and anger, the most common public response being hostility. In many places in the world, such as in Latin America, Sudan and India, street children are violated (Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman, 1998).

While some people justify the children's stance, affording them the pity due for having been neglected and abused, many members of the public opt not to see them at all. The presentation

of the children as the victims of poverty and malevolence of adults stigmatises poor families, leading to the belief that only the families are responsible for the condition of these children, such that the offspring contribute to their social exclusion of their families. In fact, these families are the victims of careless policies. Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman (1998), for example, wrote that "focusing on the 'criminally addicted' street child is a convenient way to avoid confronting the more fundamental social and economic problems affecting the families and communities of the poor" (p.368).

Kuznesof (2005) has stressed that the tendency to blame the irresponsibility of the families or the children themselves for their situation is a means for the society to exempt itself from social disaster. It has been argued that ''criminalising street children could be a way to bring them under state control. Therefore, interventions should not be aimed at improving life conditions of the *outsiders* in place of the long-term and comprehensive social support for the excluded *insiders*'' (Moura, 2002, p.357).

Proud (2000) considered the street children phenomenon as another indication of modernity's limits and suggested that this particular phenomenon is sustained by the functioning of modern society. After all global society needs workers who are, above all, independent and mobile, who are not attached to the land, traditional forms of labour, kinship obligations. In this setting, street children appear to be a part of the job market as unskilled energetic, available, low-cost, short-term employees (Baizerman (1990, cited in Le Roux, 1996, p. 965). The street children phenomenon is therefore sustained by the functioning of modern society. Lusk et al., (1989) also stressed the fact that although street children seem to be 'pathological' cases, the street children phenomenon is an integral part of a broader pattern of urban marginality.

2.4. Child welfare services for street children

In general, child welfare systems have shown limitations in providing a safe and caring environment for street children. The reason for failing to rescue those on the streets has been seen as precisely due to 'the machine-professional-bureaucracy' that is rigidly organised around efficiency of service outputs and based on information gathering, record-keeping and rehabilitation (Henry 1987, cited in Karabanow, 2004). The majority of childcare clients describe the child welfare services as 'bureaucratic', 'dehumanizing', 'ineffective' and 'oppressive' (Karabanow, 2004). Street children however, need a safe setting that allows for meaningful interaction and genuine explorations of the individual's past and present and future goals and experiences.

Edney (1988) categorised the agencies working for street children as those which have been punitive and controlling and those which have been described as helpful and supportive. Karabanow's (2004) definition of social services was also similar to Edney's. Karabanow defined social services as the formal and the informal/alternative agencies, in terms of the assumptions made by these agencies on the nature of the problems and the ways to deal with them, the relationship between workers and clients, and the organisational set-up in which help occurs.

Service technologies used also differ for the two groups agencies.

Formal agencies rely on intervention strategies based upon scientific knowledge and are administered by professionals through structured interactions between clients and staff. Informal agencies, however, tend to rely upon client experience and participation as the predominant mode of intervention and rationale for activity; engage fewer professional staff, and pursue egalitarian and sharing relationships between participants and staff. Alternative agencies are regularly characterised as informal structures emphasising horizontal relations, interchangeable roles, diffusion of authority and participatory and democratic structures with rules that contrast with those of the formal agencies which, as described above, are bureaucratic structures reinforced by hierarchical relations, reliance upon professionals and little client input. Structured organisation of the institutions is seen to prevent children from developing and pursuing their individual talents and interests.

The informal system has been repeatedly described in the literature as more favourable than the formal child welfare institutions in providing a congenial environment for the homeless youth and in tending to rely upon client experience and participation (Karabanow, 2004). If, for example, the children are not interested in the activities organised within the informal institutions, they do not have to participate, and in that case, they would not have any extra-curricular activity (Karabanow, Rains; 1997). These kinds of organisations have been defined as anti-oppressive organisational structures which attempt to build safe and respectful environments for marginalised populations (Karabanow, 2004).

Karabanow identified the characteristics of anti-oppressive organisations as being involved in locality development, social development, and active participation, structural definition of a situation, consciousness raising and social action. '*Locality development*' implies the creation of a 'symbolic space' where street children can feel safe, respected, cared for and accepted. '*Social development*' is an approach that highlights the importance of human capital and acknowledges the strength of the individual and explores the multitude of identities and characteristics which make up the person. '*Active participation'* is cooperation of workers and residents who can join together to build a common vision and direction for the organisation. '*Structural definition of situations*' results in the linking of political and economic forces to the individual's present situation, rather than viewing homelessness as an individual pathology. '*Consciousness raising*' is the encouragement of an intimate and in-depth exploration of one's actions through a process of accepting, exploring, and ultimately reconstructing one's past and present and one's future orientations. '*Social action'* is advocating for and on behalf of alienated and stigmatised populations.

Karabanow and Clement (2004) and Carizosa and Poertner (1992) developed a meaningful framework within which to understand the philosophical underpinnings of service provision. Carizosa and Poertner pointed out that distinct ideological assumptions are implicit in various community responses to the street children phenomenon, such that: 1) The *correctional approach* represents those critics who view street children as a threat to community safety. Therefore the

interventions follow the ideology of street children's removal from society and the correction of personal pathologies. The correctional approach tends to blame the individual for "being a street child". 2) The *rehabilitation approach* is similar to the correctional approach, but it is somewhat gentler. Nevertheless, it maintains that personal pathology is the root cause of homelessness. The rehabilitation approach views the individual as needing re-education as well as protection from the horrors of the street life. 3) The *street education approach*, views street children as "normal" individuals forced by social inequality to survive under difficult circumstances. The street education approach argues that the street children phenomenon is more about structural dysfunction than personal pathology.

In parallel to the 'street education approach', Karabanow (2003) identified the main functions of services formed for the benefit of street children. Accordingly, street children agencies attempt to create a liaison with the population by first providing the children with basic services. After their basic needs are met by the agencies, children begin to perceive a positive community atmosphere. The next step for children is to have a positive link with mainstream society that enables street children to have a sense of belonging to a greater community, being integrated into their local environments and existing as productive citizens. In order for children to feel part of a community, to feel as normal and active citizens, they need to form positive relations with the outside world. Children need to create their own fusion between the street culture and the mainstream culture. When street children develop this competence, they can define their own situation and construct their own paths to advocate for increased resources and/or equal treatment.

Street children are provided with a voice for conscience raising, mutual aid and collective responses through social action strategies. Karabanow (2003) noted that organisations should not ignore some of the unique and positive elements of street culture, such as survival skills and group solidarity. Karabanow (1999) wrote about an emergency street kid shelter, Dans La Rue, situated in downtown Montreal that fostered an empowered street children community by merging locality development with a commitment to social action.

2.4.1. Institutional care models for street children

Disengaging from street life is not an abrupt procedure, similarly to beginning street life. It is a slow process of estrangement brought about by the inability to live well on the streets, a feeling of meaninglessness and a sense of not resolving the psychological issues that led to beginning street life in the first place (Visano, 1990, cited in Aptekar, 1994).

Street children have been described in a variety of ways (Aptekar, 1990) and it is impossible to help individuals without accurately understanding them. Cameron and Karabanow (2003) proposed that when designing programs for adolescents needing child welfare services, their characteristics should be taken into consideration. It is also important to modify therapeutic interventions to be more culturally appropriate by always considering cultural background (Jones, 2006).

Holmes et al. (2005) suggested some principles of service delivery that can be applied in other human services. First of all, cultural sensitivity was described as the ability to provide resources in ways that do not threaten the independence, autonomy or self-worth of homeless people, and to be familiar with their values and beliefs. Secondly, assertive outreach was argued to enable ongoing service delivery that requires creativity, flexibility, persistence and an initial focus on matters other than mental illness. This was seen to frequently yield engagement when previous approaches failed. In essence, the requirement for a holistic understanding of the lives of distressed and disadvantaged youth was stressed.

Karabanow and Clement (2004) identified four categories of services for street children consisting of services that fulfill basic needs (food, shelter and safety), medical services, therapy and counselling services, and skill-building services (to develop street youth's interpersonal skills for reintegration into society). They have also discerned five broad style of interventions including individual therapy and counselling, family therapy and reunification, mentorship, peer-based intervention, and finally, experiential therapy. These styles of interventions are briefly explained here.

***Individual Therapy and Counselling*:** Therapy and counselling interventions often involve formally structured programmes. It is important to have accessible services and treatment providers who must be well equipped to effectively address the range of problems street youth face because of an array of challenges, such as logistical issues and mistrust of health professionals.

***Family Therapy and Reunification*:** It is important in any kind of effective intervention for the benefit of the street youth to involve and stabilise the youth's family environment. Therefore, it is common for institutions to attempt family reunification. Hunter (1993), for example, examined the sibling dimension in an effort to improve family harmony of street children. With sibling therapy children can focus on their relationship without parental intervention and destruction. This then enables siblings to accept and nurture each other without isolation and a destructive intergenerational cycle.

Mentorship: Mentorship intervention involves the pairing of a street youth with a role model who shares the cultural characteristics that the street youths have. Mentoring encourages street youth to develop positive relationship and talk in a non-judgemental setting.

***Peer-Based Intervention*:** This intervention comes from the idea that many street youths mistrust professional helpers. They are more likely to listen to and confide in someone of their own age group and with knowledge of the street life. Therefore, they may be better served by a peer-based intervention. This intervention could involve harm reduction by the peers, educational materials or provide referral services and counselling to street youth. Peer-based interventions have been successful in developing social skills, self-confidence and commitment to school. Peer group was indicated as the most important support system as it replaces the family as a source of emotional and economic support (Bronstein, 1996).

***Experiential Therapy*:** This intervention provides street youth an opportunity to learn, grow, heal by purposeful, proactive, and social activities. Activities provide youth with a safe environment and appropriate risks and challenges.

Bronstein (1996), having reviewed the current literature, cited relevant interventions for practice with street children, such as (1) grouping homeless youth into categories, in order to match services to specific types of youth , (2) family therapy, (3) non-directive play therapy for pre-school and school children, (4) social work approaches based on systems theory and the ecological perspective, and (5) focusing on interactions rather than intrapsychic processes.

However, Karabanow and Clement (2004) stressed the fact that the long-term outcome evaluation of such interventions is made difficult primarily by the transient nature of the street children population. Therefore, there exists little in terms of systematic analyses of street children interventions.

There has not been any systematic analysis of street youth interventions in Turkey. To date, there has been an over reliance on institutionalisation and a failure to explore alternative ways of working with marginalised children in Turkey. Although there are some formal procedures in social welfare departments for identifying foster carers, for making placements of at risk children, and for training and supporting carers, these are not efficiently applied in practice. Therefore, it is particularly important to pay attention to the issue of residential care.

It is well documented that children in foster care are a high risk population in terms of socio-emotional, behavioural and psychological problems (Tolfree, 1994, 1995; Bamba and Haight, 2006; Marinkovic and Backovic, 2006). The factors influencing children's psychological functioning include the age when the child was removed from the inadequate biological family, the type of maltreatment a child was suffering, and the type of placement and placement stability. Marinkovic and Backovic (2006) studied the impact of placement type on competence and problem behaviour of adolescents in long term foster care. Children living in foster care scored lower on competence and higher on all problem scales than children living with foster families. This study showed that the type of placement had a significant effect on competence and problem behaviour in spite of environmental improvements.

Children become separated from their families for a wide variety of reasons like abandonment and orphaning, armed conflict; destitution; offending behaviour on the part of the child, or neglectful, abusive behaviour on the part of a parent, which is believed to warrant the child's removal from home; and particular needs, such as disability, which may be thought to justify residential care or treatment. Previous studies, however, have reported that children in residential care had more mental health problems than children living with foster families (Tolfree, 1994, 1995; Marinkovic and Backovic, 2006).

Entering a residential care system presents a significant psychological challenge to children in having to cope with the effects of traumatic events precipitated by their entry into residential care, to face a temporary or permanent loss of their parent(s), to experience additional trauma of being isolated from familiar surrounding (school, friends, and siblings) and to adjust to new living

situations. The effects of long term consequences of institutionalisation, especially of young children from cultures in which there are strong traditions of extended family and community support, can be extremely serious (Tolfree, 1994).

In their study, Bamba and Haight (2006) also drew attention to the major limitation of institutional care that causes a lack of stability in children's relationships with caregivers. Children in institutions may be regarded as doubly disadvantaged because of having lost their original family and the possibility of living in an unsatisfactory environment, in which their basic needs may not be met. Children in foster care have less chance to develop close relationship with an individual who will make a lasting commitment to them. If the placement is stable and if the children are removed from their biological families at an earlier age, they may have a chance to develop trusting relationships. This then enables the children to develop secure attachments. It is well documented that insecure attachments can create a variety of psychological problems, such as difficulties in interpersonal relationships, impaired affect regulation, internalising and externalising behaviour problems. Especially at institutions that employ large residence systems, children typically experience multiple changes of caregivers and have difficulties developing secure caregiver-child relationships. In addition, institutions that employ large residence systems provide children with few private spaces in which to develop trusting relationships.

The meanings given to the term 'street children' define policy makers' and practitioners' responses in terms of the law, its implementation and the services provided. In reference to street children, there are various accounts that different experts have used, which would potentially lead to different policies and actions to be taken. In thinking about service provision for this particular group of children the "three-dimensional model" is particularly helpful (Watters, 2007). Watters identified the potential role of socioeconomic and political factors in gaining access to mental health care and writes that a "three-dimensional model that incorporates analysis of interrelatedness of the political-legal service and clinical dimensions, referred to as the institutional service and treatment levels, respectively"(p.395). This is what Watters refers to as a moral economy of care. Here the idea is that perceptions of the client group and the related policies determine the service provision. The perceived needs of particular groups are represented in policy procedures (Watters, 2002). The moral economy reflects wider societal values regarding the legitimate and illegitimate welfare recipients. There is a dichotomy to the legitimacy of the measures of moral economy that distinguishes the 'worthy' and the 'unworthy', the 'good' and the bad'(Watters, 2001b cited in Watters, 2007, p.399). Watters has drawn attention to the necessity of a fundamental inter-relationship between the composition and delivery of mental health services and the broader socioeconomic and political context in which they are placed. Thus the services provided can be 'morally' justified within a circumscribed context of societies' wider institutions and values. Within a moral economy of care, some service users are viewed as undeserving of welfare support and are discursively located within the context of concerns for security.

The concept of moral economy becomes particularly relevant when street children are

stigmatised as young thieves, pickpockets, purse snatchers or deviants, since service provision accordingly becomes either limited or non-existent, thus excluding those who are routinely considered to be undeserving of the protection and welfare service provision. If however, the issue of street children is perceived as a social problem, service provision in response would be different and developed accordingly.

The concept of 'biolegitimacy' is helpful to analyse further the philosophical underpinnings of the service provision directed at street children. This concept, having been evoked through the observations on the situation of undocumented migrants in France at the end of the 1990s, was developed by Fassin (2001) for undocumented children in order to deserve protection of care. Fassin computed a striking statistical correlation between sharply declining rates of acceptance of claims for asylum, and the concomitant increase in numbers of claimants who were allowed to remain in the country on humanitarian grounds, often on the basis of the ill health (cited in Watters, p 183, 2008). This suggests that a form of legitimacy can only be gained when based on the sick body (Fassin, 2001). Here the attention needs must be drawn to the ''sick'' identity the society has conferred on these individuals rather than granting them opportunities for meaningful citizenship. Here street children would not be given social recognition. As pointed out in the Introduction Chapter, a large number of the research on street children in Turkey covers their drug addiction problem, reflecting the perception of these children within a 'clinical context'. When the identity ascribed by the society is that of a sick person, such as that of an 'addict', service provision is developed accordingly. In other words' street children have to achieve 'biolegitimacy' to benefit from the service provision.

Fassin (2008) proposed four principles as foundational medical ethics which can be extended to the service provision for street children. These were: respect for autonomy (considering the decision-making capacities of persons based on reasoned, informed choices); beneficence (balancing the benefits of intervention against costs and risk); non-maleficence (non-harmfulness, i.e., avoiding harm or reducing it to a minimum); and social justice (fairly distributing benefits, costs and risks). In practice however, there are discrepancies between the proclaimed norms and the observed reality. The discrepancies between claimed norms and actual practices are justified by the frontline workers in terms of reasons such as the work load and the availability of resources. Fassin drew attention to the lack of social recognition felt by staff that was in turn reflected in their moral evaluation of patients, which goes beyond concepts of values and worthiness. He reported that discrepancies were justified by the professionals in terms of an excessive workload, lack of resources and social deviance of the service users. Leon et al. (2008) also drew attention to these factors complicating workers' ability to be effective therapeutic agents for service users in the surroundings.

Besides its many other disadvantages, institutional care is an extremely expensive form of care and reaches only small numbers of children in need (Tolfree, 1994). Alternative approaches, such as adoption or non-permanent fostering should be taken up. Formal fostering schemes, now the preferred option in many industrialised countries for children who are requiring temporary

care, are a difficult option in many cultures and are expensive in terms of the welfare structures required to develop them. For this reason, the scope for fostering is limited in Turkey. The requirements of adequate support and monitoring of placements, and advanced level of social work practices are difficult to meet in Turkey. At the moment institutional care is the only service provision for street children in Turkey.

2.4.2. Non-discriminatory and inclusive approaches towards street children

Lack of homogeneity in children's experiences emphasises the need for non-discriminatory and inclusive approaches in service provision. In terms of the quality of child care, institutions have been encouraged in recent years to shift from large residences to small residences in order to provide individualised services that allow each child more space and privacy (Karabanow and Clement, 2004). Karabanow and Clement suggest that effective interventions should develop a caring and safe space for the population to get back on their feet. Places and methods of work include the active participation of children, and working with them to begin to address key protection issues (West, 2003). Such practices should be rights-based and holistic. The service provision, for example, should pay more attention to placing young people appropriately. If the needs of the group, a well as those of the individual young person are accounted for as part of placement decisions, the quality of life for children in residential care could be enhanced (Stevens, 2006).

Street children need to be treated with greater regard and empathy by social workers, politicians, counsellors and others who work with street children. Otherwise, further damage will be incurred in the already fragile egos of children who need to stay strong in order to survive on the street (Orme and Seipel, 2007). One study suggested that because of the absence of motivation to change a problematic situation, child welfare institutions produced street children by inculcating learned helplessness (Van der Ploeg, 1989: cited in Karabanow, 2004, p. 49). It was reported that 53% of the 'runners' and 30% of the 'in-and-outers' among the street children interviewed said that they were on the streets primarily because of their experiences with child welfare agencies, and secondarily because of their experiences with their biological parents. It was concluded that the street had become a final resort, once child welfare agencies ''let the street children down'', leading to more neglect and abuse and ''finally a sad, desperate death'', (Kutfeldt and Nimmo, 1987;540, cited in Karabanow, 2004, p. 49). By labelling specific individuals as 'delinquents', 'criminals', 'victims', or even 'clients', which is the most prevelant perception of the street children, we fail to see them as human beings.

Children who have experienced extended periods of homelessness develop fear of attachment (Morrissette and McIntyre, 1989, cited in Bronstein, 1996, p.130). Morrissette and McIntyre advocated the use of intergenerational, structural and strategic family therapy approaches by exploring the potential extended family resources or linkages, when treating these youths. They noted that the strategic method of going slow was being employed to prevent youths from sabotaging themselves in their rebellion against staff who tell them what to do.

In the Japanese system of care, *Ibasho* creation is considered within the context of attachment relationships (Bowlby, 1988). *Ibasho* is a Japanese term that originally means "whereabouts" and connotes a place where a person feels acceptance, security, belonging, and/or cosiness. Bamba and Haight (2006) suggested supporting children's *Ibasho* creation by providing an environment in which children are fully accepted by adults and peers and where they can feel valued, at peace, secure and free to express themselves. Attachment theorists believe that infants are biologically predisposed to develop attachments. Infants rely on the attachment figure as a protector in the face of danger and as a secure base for exploration. Except in extreme cases, where no stable interactive person is present (e.g., institutional care), all infants, even those who are diagnosed with developmental disorders or who have a history of abuse or neglect, will form an attachment relationship with their primary caregivers. It can be concluded that the infant's first *Ibasho* emerges in the primary caregiver's *Ibasho*.

Stefanidis et al., (1992) supported the psychodynamic perspective and Bowlby's theory of attachment proposing that service providers must understand and accept the fact that the past experiences of street children have directly shaped and moulded the youths' view of themselves and of the world and are reflected in their current behaviour. Their study found that the attachment histories of those who were not responsive to stabilisation showed significant differences from the attachment histories of those who were responsive. It was concluded that those who were able to benefit more from the treatment were those with histories of some success in maintaining relationships.

Grundling and Grundling (2005) wrote that "educating street children about positive ways of coping with their daily stress and their own resourcefulness at managing themselves are preconditions to providing support and enabling them to reintegrate into family life" (p.188). The ultimate aim is for street children to cope with the reality on the street. For example, The Secretariat for Children, Family and Social Welfare, acting for the government of Sao Paulo, launched the programme Modea Legal (nice currency) in 1997. Instead of cash, members of the public donated vouchers obtained through the purchase of goods. In order to make use of vouchers, street children had to deposit them in a mock bank at a child welfare centre, where they were also provided with a series of interventions such as hygiene and medical treatment. This intervention was conceived to put an end to the children's practice of begging which damages children's self-esteem. With this project children would develop sense of responsibility and would learn to quantify and to understand the sense of credit (Moura, 2002).

Children in care being the most vulnerable children in society, encouraging participation in their care helps them gain a better understanding of the organisations charged with their care. By understanding the value of participation, true partnership can emerge. Thus, seeking children's opinions about their daily lives, such as the food they eat or the adequacy of heating levels, a residential unit will become the "children' space" as opposed to a "children's service" (Stevens, 2006). Karbanow (2003) reported that 'providing a culture of hope' in organisations have become most successful in attracting street children. Such service provisions provide children with a

symbolic space where they can feel safe and cared for and part of a community; they can gain strength, courage and resiliency and a sense of optimism for present and future endeavours. The major characteristics of such initiatives include providing for basic needs, fostering the strength of participants through community building; linking with external communities and advocating on participants' behalf. In essence, the author particularly stresses the importance of community-based organisations.

2.4.3. Inter-professional collaboration

Ensuring collaboration between health and social care providers is a well established practice concern in most developed countries (Allen et al, 2004). Shared care and collaborative casework is rather important as street children have multiple needs and require multiple services which do not fit any single mould or category (Holmes et al., 2005). Therefore, no single social policy or program will be able to contend with the varying needs of the group (Lusk, 1992). There is a great need for coordination of services in order to seek out and fill gaps in the provision of services directed to street children, and for standards to be developed, implemented and monitored (West, 2003). Community organisations, especially health and human services, can draw on the broad range of resources and expertise provided in the organisationa network by working together.

Child care institutions in Japan are expected to play essential roles in the community (Shibano, 2004; Bamba and Haight (2006). Bamba and Haight looked at the perspectives of Japanese children living in state care, child welfare professionals and educators on how to support the well-being of maltreated children. An important aspect of Japanese state care model is the active collaboration of child care institutions with other community resources. This aspect is considered critical to helping their residents to integrate with the community. In Japan, institutions are well integrated into their communities and provide a variety of community services including after school programs, parenting classes etc. Children in the community regularly visit and play in these institutions.

Cameron and Karabanow's (2003) earlier findings parallel those of Bamba and Haight (2006) in advocating that helping strategies need to sustain prosocial relations with peers, adults and community institutions. Obviously protecting the child in isolation from its social surroundings will not help the integration process. As a result of this collaborative work, the efficiency and effectiveness of community-based services improve. In many communities organisational networks have become an important mechanism for building the capacity to recognise complex health and social problems, for systematically planning the addressing of such problems and delivering the needed services. Network analysis is a useful approach that focuses on relationships across and among network members (Provan et al., 2005). This approach is particularly useful for demonstrating the connections and relationships among the agencies that reflect the structure of the network.

Bronstein (2003) pointed out the factors that influence interdisciplinary collaboration are

professional roles, personal characteristics, history of collaboration and structural characteristics including, for example, the agency culture and manageable case loads. Bronstein defined the components of an interdisciplinary collaboration model using the terms of *interdependence, newly created professional activities, flexibility extent, collective ownership of goals* and *reflection on process,* which are briefly explained below.

***Interdependence*:** Each professional is dependent on the other to accomplish his or her goals and tasks. To function interdependently professionals must have a clear understanding of the distinction between their own and their collaborator's professional roles and use them appropriately. Soler and Shauffer, (1993, cited in Bronstein, p. 300, 2003) examined efforts to coordinate children's services to elucidate factors that make them work. They found that the successful collaboration among service providers is characterised by clear avenues of reciprocity and communications among key workers.

***Newly created professional activities*:** These are collaborative acts, programs, and structures that achieve more than what could be achieved by the same professionals acting independently.

***Flexibility extent*:** This is the approach to reach productive compromises in the face of disagreement and the alteration of roles as professionals, to respond creatively to what is called for.

***Collective ownership of goals*:** A basic principle that must be accepted for sharing responsibility in the entire process of reaching goals, including joint design, definition, development and achievement of goals.

***Reflection on process*:** This term refers to collaborators' attention to the process of working together.

By working together community organisations, especially health and human services, can draw on the broad range of resources and expertise provided by other organisations in the network. As a result of this collaborative work, the efficiency and effectiveness of community-based services improve. In many communities organisational networks have become an important mechanism for building the capacity to recognise complex health and social problems, systematically planning for how such problems might be addressed and delivering the needed services (Provan et al., 2005). Helping strategies cannot provide only professional treatment, but must also support positive social connections and youth empowerment consistent with developmental priorities which consist of adolescents' competence and skill development, family focus programmes and social integration programmes. In summary, there is a need for comprehensive strategy that includes a continuum of services ranging from income, maintenance, public housing to rehabilitation and alternative schooling for children at risk (Lusk, 1992).

2.5. Service provision for street Children from organisational perspective

To address the service providers' situation within service provision for street children, general

organisational perspective will be looked at first, in an effort to analyse the dynamics of The Institute of Social Services and Child Welfare (SHÇEK) Organisations better.

Studying the functioning of an organisation has been approached from roughly three perspectives including the individual, the organisation together with its form, and the systems and interactions within the organisation (Handy, 1985). Handy, drew attention to the fact that a detailed understanding of the job required specialisation of interests. However, one has to bear in mind that this can lead to isolation. These three perspectives obviously affect one another. For this reason, in thinking about organisations, '*the culture concept*' (Wright, 1994) is very useful since the term refers to the 'formal' organisational values and practices imposed by management as well as the 'informal' organisational values, that is, how people in an organisation think, feel, value, act and are guided by ideas, meanings and beliefs of a cultural nature.

Studies on organisational culture have been conducted since the 1940s. In the 1980s the expansion of the interest in culture reflected an increased interest in organisational life. Wright (1994) pointed out that in the search for new ways to manage organisations, 'the culture concept' had become prominent. As Alvesson (2002) also put it, organisational culture is one of the major issues in organisation theory as well as management practice. He went on to say that a cultural focus offers a very inspiring and potentially creative way of understanding organisations. The literature on organisational studies attributes 'The Culture Concept' to anthropological resources. Wright (1994) suggested that in organisational studies 'the culture concept' is used in four ways. Firstly, it refers to problems of managing companies with production processes or service outlets distributed across the globe, each located in a different 'national culture'. Secondly, it is used when management is trying to integrate people with different ethnicities into a workforce in one plant. Thirdly, it can mean the informal 'concepts, attitudes and values' of a workforce; and lastly, 'company culture' can refer to the formal organisational values and practices imposed by management as a glue to hold the workforce together to make it capable of responding as a body to fast changing and global competition. In the study reported in this thesis 'culture concept' refers to the informal 'concepts, attitudes and values' of a workforce as the study is mainly focused on exploring the nature and organisation of the state welfare service provision for street children in Istanbul and to assess how staff views and attitudes affect the quality of services provided to this group of service users.

2.5.1. Organisational culture

It has been argued that, in thinking about both formal and informal aspects of organisations as a conceptual framework, a psychoanalytic perspective as well as social perspective should be deployed (Obholzer and Roberts, 1994). Creative organisational work place climate requires competent management carried out with clearly designated tasks and roles and backed by adequate resources. However as Obholzer and Roberts have put it, even in the best run organisations there are irrational anti-task processes that undermine the work. Therefore, besides, an organisation's description of itself and its intended structure, regardless of what is

claimed, attention should also be given to observe and try to understand what goes on in organisations and the individuals who work in them. Obholzer and Roberts (1994) argued that there are risks in neglecting one or the other. Therefore one has to be aware of the dangers of applying only one perspective. For example, applying a purely psychoanalytic perspective to an organisation ignores the systemic elements that affect the work. This can led to attributing organisational problems to the individual pathology of one or more of its members. One also has to be aware of the dangers of applying only a social perspective, which can lead to social structural change but without taking into account psychic determinants of the pre-existing organisations. Unconscious needs are unlikely to be met by the purposed new structuring which might fail. Czander (1993) drew attention to the obstacle faced in joining the two disciplines of organisational theory and of behaviour and psychoanalysis, due to the antipathy each has for the other. He wrote that a review of 32 organisational behaviour/ psychology text books showed that the type of theory that predominates in the literature borrows heavily from laboratory research rather than understanding why behavioural dysfunctions exist at work. Only 3 included any mention of Freud, psychoanalysis, or the unconscious. In the research presented here, psychoanalytic perspective was not applied as it requires special expertise and a special set of rules and perspective. But, in order to have a better understanding of "what is going on in SHÇEK organisations", argument of psychoanalytic authors is followed so that the attention will also be given to the emotional aspects of the organisations.

2.5.2. Organisations from a psychoanalytic perspective

Most people spend their working lives as part of a group which is itself part of a larger institution or organisation. Such groupings not only have directly observable structures and functions, but also an unconscious life comparable to that described by psychoanalysis in an individual (Armstrong, 2005).

Psychoanalysis offers one way of thinking about what goes on in organisations. The psychoanalytic approach to organisations involves the understanding of ideas developed in the context of individual therapy. Freud and others discovered that there are hidden aspects of human mental life, which while remaining hidden, nevertheless influence conscious processes. Freud demonstrated the existence of the unconscious by drawing attention to dreams, slips of tongue, mistakes and other similar symptoms as evidence of meaningful mental life which we are not aware of (Obholzer and Roberts, 1994).

Armstrong (2005) drew attention to the human element underlying the emotional aspects of organisations, saying that every organisation is a human invention, serving human purposes and depending on human beings to function since an organisation is made up of living people who have unconscious and non-rational aims and needs. However, these workers are expected to continuously serve the rational aims of the organisation. According to Mosse (1994, p.1).) ''institutions pursue unconscious tasks alongside their conscious ones, and these affect both their efficiency and the degree of stress experienced by staff". He goes on to say that "membership of

an institution makes it harder to observe or understand that institution: we become caught up in the anxieties. This soon leads to shared, habitual ways of seeing, and a common failure to question 'holy writ'. Newcomers may be able to see more clearly, but have no license to comment. By the time they do, they have either forgotten how to see, or have learned not to" (p.8). Therefore, psychoanalytic concepts are potentially a creative activity which can be of help in making sense of seemingly irrational processes in individuals, groups and organisations, and help in understanding and dealing with certain issues.

2.5.3. Organisations from a social science perspective

An organisation is defined as two or more people working together cooperatively within identifiable boundaries to accomplish a common goal or objective. Implicit in this definition are several important ideas: Organisations are made up of people (i.e. members); organisations divide labour among members, and organisations pursue shared goals and objectives" (Hodge et. al., 1996). The above definition draws attention to the following aspects of organisations: organisations are made up of people; division of labour among members of the organisations is critical; coordination and control of actions among members become imperative; organisations have identifiable boundaries; and, lastly, organisations are purposeful and goal-seeking work arrangements.

From a social science perspective, organisations are viewed as 'social systems' to be studied using the established methodologies of the social sciences (Wright, 1994). Roberts (1994) wrote that a living organism can survive only by exchanging materials with its environment, that is, by being an open system. Open system models acknowledge that organisations must receive energy (inputs) in the form of important resources for their external environments. The input and output of the open systems model are critical because they represent the organisation's interface with the external environment. There is a boundary separating the inside from the outside, across which the organisation's exchanges with the environment take place. Together these input and output functions are part of the boundary spanning. As a social system, organisations exist in a real world and have a structure intended to relate to the effective discharge of the primary task. Social science aims to relate observable social structures to their functions in the external world which are at least in principle, directly accessible to consciousness. Wright suggests that anthropology and/ or sociology are used in thinking formally about the social system of organisations in an attempt to explore their social structure.

2.5.4. Human services organisations working with vulnerable children

A major source of stress for staff working in the helping professions is their constant proximity to people in great pain, whether physical, emotional or both. Leon et al. (2008) showed that one population of workers that is particularly susceptible to burnout is frontline staff working in high-end psychiatric facilities, such as residential treatment centres. Leon et al. found a strong

relationship between personality variables such as neuroticism and extraversion and burnout. Individuals who have higher levels of neuroticism are described as being emotionally over responsive and have difficulty returning to a normal state after emotional experiences, where as individuals low in neuroticism are described as calm, relaxed and even-tempered. Extraverts are seen as more positive, bringing a more positive outlook to situations with the personal features of being talkative, outgoing, person-oriented, assertive, self-confident and so on. Leon et al. suggested that extraversion should be among the workers' attributes to look for when hiring staff as frontline workers.

Psychoanalytic writers have argued that emotions are the driving force of motivation and action. Therefore, a better understanding of the emotional dynamics that come to the surface can help the service providers to facilitate creative collaboration, change and productivity in emergent organisational context (Prins, 2006). The demands of work with children and adolescents can sometimes provoke powerful and overwhelming responses from those who are involved in care. Staff need ways of reflecting on their own painful experiences at work. Otherwise, the whole organisation can then become caught up in the same state of mind as that of the clients it exists to serve. If on the other hand, the unconscious processes that affect us at an individual and organisational level can be understood, they can be dealt in ways that further rather than hinder development.

In the research reported in this thesis, it has been attempted to explore the heavy emotional demand of work on those involved in caring for street children, who in turn have additional emotional difficulties arising from traumatic life circumstances. Attention has been paid to the ways staff relationships and working practices are structured so as to defend against the anxieties inherent in the task. But other anxieties are unconscious, kept out of awareness not only by personal defences but also by collective ones. These anxieties are stirred up by the nature of the work itself, and the defences to which they give rise can exacerbate stress rather than alleviate it. Menzies's work during the 1960s shed light on institutional defences in British hospital nurses. Menzies (1999) compared the nurses' situation with the unconscious fantasy situation that exists in the mind of an individual. Individuals from staff use their defensive responses to anxiety in a way that tends to reproduce the institutional system. The stress may be related to conscious anxieties, for example about a client at special risk, or about a mistake one has made. Excessive work loads are another conscious source of stress, leaving staff concerned about the quality of the help they are offering. Wright (1994) argued that the viewpoints of service providers attribute a great deal to the perceived characteristics of groups of people who need care; for example, people who are categorised as dependent or deviant. It is the institution that forms the perception and interpretation of clients' behaviour. The client role is moulded to fit with the organisational culture, just as staff roles are moulded through training and cultural learning.

2.5.5. Service providers' point of view

Building the connection between the homeless children and the service providers is vital for an

effective intervention (Kidd et al., 2006; Karabanow and Clement, 2004). This can be achieved by meeting with the children where they usually are, speaking to them in a respectful way, and build a trusting relationship as this is one of the few things that they can count on.

Kidd et al. examined the narratives of 15 youth workers on their experiences with service provision for the homeless and street-involved youth. In their report they drew attention to the fact that the vast majority of research on homeless youth had not incorporated the experience-base of those most directly involved in providing the services. Most of the experienced care workers interviewed in this study described the role of a youth worker as ‘’overwhelming’’ since children in care need to be parented and befriended although the workers were neither parents nor friends of the children they provided services for. Additionally, they needed to appear as someone who understood what the children were saying, despite not being a direct peer. It was concluded that ‘maintaining boundaries’ was one of the three domains that emerged from the narratives of the interviewees, research participants, and was extremely challenging. The other two domains were social stigma and factors specific to the homeless population. In the study it was stressed that instead of imposing their ideas and expectations, workers need to be responsive to the particular youth and believe that people can change. The impact of agency policy was among the themes in the discussion. Agencies with specific sets of policies related to working with the youth, and allowing for little flexibility and individuality in workers’ approach, were described as ineffective on a number of levels.

Studies have shown that an integrated and comprehensive approach to service provision that focuses on the individual needs of street youth is required (Karabanow and Clement 2004). Workers interviewed in the study addressed the importance of co-worker relationships and ‘team spirit’. A good working environment was recognised as one in which the workers were supportive to one another, through openness and availability for discussion and processing experience with clients. A learning environment was described as one where knowledge is shared. There is a continual learning process in which good supervision that incorporates both teaching and support is readily accessible. For example, Bailey, et al. (2006) suggested that care staff who work with service users with intellectual disabilities and challenging behaviour feel various negative emotions such as feeling sad, hopeless, helpless, frustrated and guilty. Therefore, it would be beneficial for care staff to receive psychological support to address these emotions. For example, an extended program of training in positive behaviour support was also associated with generally beneficial changes in staff knowledge of challenging behaviour, the attributions they made to its causes and their emotional responses (McGill, Bradshaw and Hughes, 2007). In their research, Tierney et al., (2007) also found that a 3-day training made a sizeable positive impact on staff confidence and efficiency.

There is also noteworthy evidence to suggest that staff responses to challenging behaviours may be related to factors other than knowledge and skills. Specifically, staff behaviour may be more likely to be determined by the avoidance of challenging behaviour (cited in Tierney et al., 2007, p. 58). Such a reaction by the staff unwittingly may help to maintain a client’s challenging

behaviour. Staff attributions concerning the challenging behaviour have been found to play a role in determining the responses of the clients. Jahoda and Wanless (2005) argued that an insight into the thoughts and feelings expressed by staff might help clinical psychologists to develop more effective support systems for staff and promote staff concordance with suggested interventions.

In well established services, team members who are generally satisfied with their jobs perceive their teams as functioning well and overall they are no more stressed than the general population (Carpenter, et al. 2003). Gulliver et al. (2003) found that there was a significant correlation between the decrease in the mean level of role clarity and job satisfaction, and an increase in mean reported experiences of emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation for staff members involved. For staff members involved in the integration of the client, job satisfaction was positively related to team role clarity and team identification, and negatively related to emotional exhaustion (Holmes et al., 2005). It is clear that human services organisations need and benefit from support and regular training of the staff.

2.6. Summary of the chapter

The first part of the chapter presented the theoretical foundations for exploring socially constructed character of childhood. The following parts of the chapter were devoted to the street children phenomenon. Socioeconomic and cultural determinants of this particular social problem were discussed drawing special attention to the case of street children in Turkey. Characteristics of street children were looked at in reference to different countries. In the final part of the chapter, attention was given to the human services organisations, with special emphasis on institutional care models especially developed for street children. This chapter ended with the structural and psychological factors that affect service providers in their work environment.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1. Introduction

Methodology is the road map of all research ventures. In this chapter the methodology adopted for the research presented in this thesis is discussed. Access to the fieldwork and the method used to generate data, together with the routes taken and the reasons for exploring the service provision by the state welfare system for street children is included. Firstly, the study's aims and objectives are outlined. This is followed by a detailed description and discussion of the rationale and the development of the research design, including the data collection and analysis methods. A detailed outline describing the process of accessing the selected study area is presented. Also, ethical issues as well as the issues of credibility and trustworthiness are considered.

3.2. Aims and objectives of the study

As briefly stated in the Introduction Chapter, the researcher's interest in the street children phenomenon started from a very broad perspective. Only after completing a large section of the literature review presented in this thesis was it possible to be more specific in terms of the research question. This review highlighted the fact that despite the extensive research and reviews on the phenomenon of 'street children,' there was very little said on the experience and educational background of those most directly involved in providing the services (Kidd, et al., 2006).

A survey of the studies made in Turkey on the subject of street children showed that not only was it of very limited scope, but did not cover the subject of service provision for street children. The research made so far could be placed in two groups, one covering the issue of substance addiction and mostly medical in context, and the other being more concerned with the statistical aspects of the service, including topics on economic issues, family and criminality, and with very little qualitative research on the topic. This indicated to the researcher that most of the studies conducted on street children in Turkey were inadequate in the assessment of the aim, context and quality of the services given; and that undertaking such studies would assist in the identification of ways to improve service provision. Here, given the prospect of a research program to be implemented by a single individual, the idea developed that inclusion of assessments of the vocational experiences of those directly involved in providing the services would be most useful in gaining an insight into the organisation of these services. Additionally, it would help making up for the apparent communication gap between the academics and the field workers of these services, as well as for the resultant loss of the opportunity to benefit from each other's experiences to improve the efficiency of the service system.

Furthermore, when looking at the provision of a legal basis for the issues of 'street children' in Turkey, the paucity of 'ground level' information was very noticeable, despite the signing of international agreements on the issues of child labour and living in the street, as already discussed in detail in the Literature Review Chapter. The 'on ground application' aspect of the

designed legal procedures was not based on relevant research. For example, there was no information based on investigations on 'the lived experiences of children', or the subject of 'service providers' at the basis of the organisation of services to be provided in Turkey. This research would be the first attempt to build a bridge between the service providers and academics and create an opportunity to learn from those working on the ground.

The investigation reported in this thesis was, therefore, carried out in association with the 'state welfare service' to identify with the service given to street children of Istanbul by the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection Agency (hereafter SHÇEK). The study has mainly focused on examining the nature and organisation of state welfare service provision for street children in Istanbul to identify the factors facilitating and/or impeding service delivery and the links between policy and practice by specifically engaging with its service providers. Thus, an understanding of the position of the frontline workers in the service provision is developed, and its impact on the quality of care they deliver is examined. The findings are formulated so as to develop a conceptual framework, which describes and illuminates the state welfare service provision for street children in Istanbul from its service providers' point of view.

3.3. Significance of the study

In addition to the explanations above, it was realised that definitely more had to be done than merely studying the regulations and their legal basis to be able to understand the service given to street children. Fieldwork to investigate the service given with the service providers was found to be one effective method in this direction, since those who give the service as well as those who receive it are those most informed on the procedures at "street level".

The overall intention, as outlined above, has been to examine and to develop a conceptual framework of the state welfare service provision for street children. Weber argued that "social science is needed to study social action with a purpose" (p. 87, Neuman, 2006). Following Weber's argument, the purpose of research has been to make a contribution to the development of existing knowledge and address the specific practical needs and improve the understanding of the impact of social care policies and practices on street children.

In order to identify the impeding/facilitating factors in delivering care for street children, examining the service provision in detail through both 'service providers' and 'users' points of view would definitely be more illuminating than by interviewing one of these groups only. Service providers and users are the most informed parties on the service provision and both perspectives are equally important. Literature survey together with the findings of the preliminary fieldwork directed the researcher to elect examining the service provision with the service providers, especially as they were more informed on the stipulated procedures and the use of initiatives which affected the quality and outcomes of the service. The researcher was well aware that service users also had a lot to say about the care delivered to them. The aim of the study, however, was defined as examining the service provision in SHÇEK through the eyes of the service providers. It is important to stress that this is an under researched area in Turkey.

Moreover, research in Turkey has not incorporated the experiences of those most directly involved in providing services due to the communication gap between academics and frontline workers.

The central aim of the study was to examine service provision for street children from the perspectives of those providing service. This was not in anyway to downplay the significance of the perspectives of the children receiving services. Doing research with children would be rich in providing insight to the researcher. Their contribution in exploring the service provision would provide invaluable complementary data, and it is the researcher's intention to do further research into service provision with children. Given the constraints of the SHÇEK work setting, it would not have been possible to obtain the required permission for interviewing the children to begin with. Having established rapport and trust with the administrative authority through the initial research discussed in this thesis, it was believed that subsequently it would be easier to obtain the necessary permissions to carry out research with the service users; that the request would be accepted as a purely academic approach, as credibly displayed through the objective presentation of the results in this thesis of the permitted interviews with the SHÇEK service staff.

3.4. The development of a qualitative research design

After reviewing the relevant literature on the street children and the service provision, and discriminating an area of further research with the aim and the objective mentioned above, the definition of a reliable method to arrive at the intended aims had to be formulated and justified.

Reviewing a wide range of research methods has led to the consideration of a study of a qualitative nature and design. Certainly, as was argued by Brewerton and Millward (2001) the data which come in the form of words, images, impressions, gestures, or tones represent real events or reality as it is seen symbolically or sociologically would, in the researcher's judgement, provide the richest insight into the position of service providers in the state welfare service provision. The researcher, in agreement with the arguments of Glesne and Peshkin (1992), was to remain concerned from the outset primarily with 'process rather than outcomes or products' and maintain the interest during the interviews carried out with the service providers of SHÇEK in how these service providers made sense of their work experiences, and the structuring of their work environment. The choice was evidently that of a qualitative method in this case, which is compatible with the researcher's qualification as a clinical psychologist, as well as with personal approaches and interests in the issues in hand. A qualitative research method was thus found to be suitable for the exploration and the understanding of the previously unexplored services of SHÇEK for the street children in Istanbul.

Below is given a brief outline of the nature of 'qualitative research' as selected from what has been covered in the literature with an emphasis to indicate the relevance to the selection of the methodological approach adapted in the study presented in this thesis. This is followed by a discussion of the theoretical orientations that underpins the design of qualitative research.

3.4.1. Characteristics of qualitative research

Ethnographic approaches have been enormously influential in the development of qualitative research and many qualitative researchers call themselves ethnographers and the ethnographic approach to qualitative research comes largely from the field of anthropology (Mason, 2002). In the study undertaken here, it was thus intended to characterise the multi-dimensional nature of the SHÇEK service provision by using ethnographic approaches. Hence, it was expected that this approach would provide extensive insight of all dimensions of the hitherto unexplored services of SHÇEK, by being based on the symbolical and sociological aspects of the information related by the service givers.

In this study the undertaking of qualitative methodology has been accepted as a valuable contribution to the research process as means of generating knowledge for the two reasons outlined by Henwood and Nicolson 1995 (cited in Symon and Cassell; 1999, p.1). Firstly, it was argued by the authors that overemphasis on theory testing can in turn produce a worrying overemphasis on the systematic generation of new theory. Therefore, use of qualitative methods should therefore counteract the perceived current imbalance between theory testing and theory generation. Secondly, with the emphasis in the research undertaken at SHÇEK on *exploring the research participants' own situated experiences*, the qualitative approach should offset the critique of psychological research that the richness and significance of individual experience has been neglected in favour of overarching reductionist explanations. Consideration of these characteristics of qualitative research, were indeed important for attaining the aims of this study.

Mason (2002) also pointed out the need to think qualitatively in designing qualitative research, which means rejecting the idea of a research design as a single document and of *a priori* strategic and design decisions. As the research presented in this thesis progressed, research design changed, in agreement with Mason's points, according to the dynamic and the sensitivity of the work environment. Thus, the research process reported here has confirmed Mason's argument that qualitative research is characteristically exploratory, fluid and flexible, data-driven and context-sensitive. During and after the 'preliminary fieldwork' undertaken before the main body of research, and even during the main research, decisions about design and strategy were ongoing and were grounded in the practice, processes and context of the research itself. How the design of the research presented in this thesis was shaped is examined in detail in the preliminary fieldwork section.

3.4.2. Qualitative research methods

There are three main methods for collecting data in qualitative research: focus groups, participant observation, and in-depth interviews. The 'focus groups method' is qualitative research through group interview that capitalises on communication between research participants in order to generate data (Krueger and Casey, 2000). Focus groups method explicitly uses group interaction to acquirer data that may be missed in individual interviews and encourage participation from people reluctant to be interviewed on their own or who feel that they

have nothing to say. Group discussions also provide direct evidence about similarities and differences in the participants' opinions and experiences. Participant observation method has been conceptualised as a special methodology, fundamentally different from that of the physical sciences, and uniquely adapted to the distinctive character of human existence (Jorgensen, 1989). Participant observation is simply a special form of observation, a unique method of collecting data with roots in traditional ethnographic research, the objectives of which is to help researchers learn the perspectives held by study populations. The researcher engaged in participant observation tries to learn what life is like for an "insider" while remaining, inevitably, an "outsider" (Hume and Mulcock, 2004). Because both focus groups and participant observations share an overlapping interest in group interaction, there are many topics where it would be possible to design a study using either of them (Morgan, 1997).

In order to select an appropriate method to explore the research question, it was necessary to consider principles proposed by Brewerton and Millward's (2001) that the method decided upon should be appropriate to the research objective; should be able to elicit a form of data appropriate to addressing the research question; should be met with feasible given time, resource and organisational constraints and requirements; should be ethically sound and agreed and accepted by the organisations concerned; should be used appropriately, in the context of its original formulation and development; and, finally, it should be one that the researcher felt comfortable with, being confident and well rehearsed in its use before using it for 'real'.

All of these principles were individually considered during the process of research design as reflected in the different sections of this chapter below, where methodological approaches have been considered for their merits. A preliminary field work was carried out to assist in the determination of the most suitable research method, discussed in detail in the section on preliminary field work, describing not only how the interaction with SHÇEK was started, but also the difficulties faced by the researcher in the process which bore important implications for the study design and cultural references on the SHÇEK institutions for the exploration of the service given to street children.

The researcher has kept in mind Bloor's (1997) encouraging argument about doing a qualitative research in addressing social problems. According to Bloor, doing a qualitative research is the most effective research method to address a social problem for two reasons to influence practitioner practice. One advantage relates to influencing practitioners who are the researcher's research subject as qualitative research process provides pre-existing research relationships with the research subjects. The second advantage relates to influencing practitioners as the wider audience for the research findings since the research methods allow rich descriptions of every day practice enabling practitioner audiences imaginatively to juxtapose their own everyday practices with the research description. These two points have been the basis of what has taken place during the researcher's work with the participation of the SHÇEK service providers. They have been very important for the continuation of cooperative relationships between the researcher and the participants in the research, in pursuit of a better understanding

of a service given so as to contribute to the improvement and development of that service.

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3.5. Grounded theory as a basis for methodological design

Having the informational and explorational background discussed above, grounded theory was chosen as the main basis of the methodological design of this study.

In reference to the background reading covered by the researcher, 'grounded theory' was developed by Glaser and Strauss during the 1950s and 1960s (Payne, 2007). Here, in non-positivist paradigms, knowledge was seen to be gleaned using qualitative techniques and theory, hence involving a 'grounded' (i.e., a largely inductive rather than deductive) way (Brewerton and Millward, 2001).

Grounded theory is the discovery of theory from data that provide relevant predictions, explanations, interpretations and applications. Since, as argued by Payne (2007), there was little known about the topic area of the research undertaken here, as shown in the Literature Review Chapter, and there were no 'grand' theories to explain adequately the specific psychological constructs or behaviour to be investigated, the researcher elected to base the work on grounded theory. The lack of 'grand' theories, especially, provided the impetus for development of grounded theory as a method. Additionally, since the researcher was very interested in eliciting the SHÇEK participants' understandings, perceptions and experiences of the world, and since in social sciences it is not always possible to control the conditions under which social phenomena are observed, grounded theory has been found to be a suitable basis for this research.

In an attempt to illustrate this view further, Payne (2007) wrote that in the earlier version of grounded theory used in the late sixties the methodology production was poorly articulated and there were ambiguities in how researchers were to conduct analyses. Since then Glaser and Strauss have proceeded with divergent views on the grounded theory methods. Payne argued that the main differences of opinion have been around the role of induction, the degree to which theory 'emerges' or is 'forced' from the data and procedural variations; pointing out that it is not helpful to present a grounded theory as a fixed method in which there is only *one* 'right' way to conduct an analysis, and that many researchers adapt their method during the process. With an awareness of this, Payne's pragmatic approach was adapted here to explore and understand the views of SHÇEK service providers.

As stated before, research carried out in Turkey has regarded the street children phenomenon, one of the most important social problems of Turkey, not as a social but as a pathological issue; and no investigation has been made on the practice of social services planned for these children, in other words, into the social aspect of the problem. The attempt of this research to delve into and assess the service given by SHÇEK in Turkey *for the very first time* from the service provider's statements and points of view was well suited to the accepted approaches for developing a 'grounded theory'.

The grounded theory has been found as a suitable method for the purposes of this study since the interest here is to elicit the facts behind the SHÇEK participants' understandings, perceptions

and experiences of the world. The three theoretical orientations, symbolic interactionism, social constructionism, and personal construct theory influenced this study's design in various ways. Symbolic interactionism formed the basis of the grounded theory approach in which the conceptual framework was generated. Social constructionism and personal construct theory guided the data collection and the analysis process. Thus, the methodology was grounded in the lived experiences of the SHÇEK service providers.

3.6. Interpretive social science

Processing the issues arising especially in collecting and analysing data during the preliminary field work of the researcher, and relevant reading of methodological and substantive literature, symbolic interactionism, social constructionism and personal construct theories were chosen as the theoretical orientation to the final research design which will be discussed below.

These three theoretical orientations have provided for the researcher a set of explanatory concepts that, as put by Silverman (2001), offered ways of looking at the world which are essential in defining a research problem. Indeed, without a theory there is nothing to research. Each approach has its own set of philosophical assumptions and principles and its own stance on how to do research (Neuman, 2006). Below each theoretical orientation's relevance will be discussed in relation to the research's aims and objectives.

The basic notion of symbolic interactionism is that human action and interaction are understandable only through the exchange of meaningful communication or symbols. In this approach, humans are portrayed to be acting as opposed to being acted upon (Herman and Reynolds, 1994). Since symbolic interactionism is a theoretical approach that is useful for understanding the relationship between humans and society, this approach has been found particularly relevant to the aim of getting the true meanings of the SHÇEK research participants' accounts regarding their work experiences. Following in the guidelines of Silverman (1993), the discourses of the SHÇEK service providers have been considered by the researcher as the product of interaction/communication with other people which takes place through the use of symbols carrying special meaning for the individuals involved. The researcher has continually focused on the true meaning of these symbols and has questioned how the research participants from SHÇEK have attached these symbolic meanings to their interpersonal relations both with their colleagues and their service users.

Here, the researcher was also mindful of the main principles of symbolic interactionism put forward by Herman and Reynolds (1994). It was thus considered that human beings, the SHÇEK service providers in the case of this study, acted toward situations on the basis of the meanings that these have for them and that these meanings arise of out of social interaction. Also considered was that social action results from fitting together of individual lines of action. Symbolic interactionism was thus one of the theoretical orientations relevant to the research reported here. The meanings that SHÇEK service providers attributed to the services they provided within the context of their discourses with the researcher bore great significance in this

respect by representing the reaction to the effects on them of others in their work environment as well as in the society. In principle, one has to understand the meanings of the symbols used by humans, and thereby the significance of their actions, as well as the socio-cultural make up from which these symbols have originated. Otherwise, one cannot assess the mentality which is expressed by these symbols. To be able to comprehend the service given by the institutions of SHÇEK, and the cultural make up of these institutions, an understanding of the symbolism in the statements and expressions of the service givers participating in the research had to be explored.

Social constructionism is another theoretical orientation chosen by the researcher to look into the work experiences of the SHÇEK service providers. This theoretical position is based on the notion that our understanding of the world and ourselves are the products of particular cultural and historical background (Silverman, 2001). With the social constructionist perspective (Coyle, 2007), a critical stance towards the taken-for-granted ways would be adopted in which the SHÇEK service providers understand the world and themselves.

According to social constructionism, as viewed by Neuman (2006), the interactions and beliefs of the SHÇEK service providers create the 'reality', such that socially constructed reality is seen as an on-going dynamic process. Thus, in this research 'reality' was expected to be re-produced by the service providers acting on their interpretations of what they perceive to be the world external to them. Therefore, this theoretical position was seen particularly relevant to the 'grounded research' design of this study aiming to explore the lived experiences of SHÇEK service providers. This meant that the 'reality' as conveyed through the accounts of service providers are socially constructed and should be analysed, through the course of this research, within the context of their discourses.

Social constructionism aims to discover the ways that individuals and groups create their perceived reality (Silverman, 2001) and in the case of this study, the reality of the SHÇEK workers were planned to be explored by focusing on the description of their positions in the institutions and actions and not on analyzing cause and effect.

Personal construct theory was also evaluated as a precursor of social constructivism and constitutes the third theoretical orientation of the research carried out at the SHÇEK institutions. The most important relevance of this particular theoretical orientation to the research carried out is that qualitative research involves field work and engages the researcher with things that matter, in the ways that matter (Sikes, 2005). Therefore, it requires a highly active engagement from its practitioners. The researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis. Data can be mediated through this human instrument, rather than through inventories, questionnaires, or machines. For this reason, the researcher's personal identity and perspective, understanding and knowledge, beliefs and values go to shape all aspects of the research process. Sikes suggested that researchers should acknowledge their place in what they do and the way in which they tell it to others, as do the authors about their subjects.

Hence, in being the researcher, it has been necessary to be aware of the active role of not only gathering data but also of analysing the data. The fact has been recognised by the

researcher here that any researcher is naturally a subjective being with thoughts, pre-judgements and feelings, and that he/she should be vigilant against the challenges through these attributes while listening to and relating the expressions of the research participants. In the personal case of the present researcher, for example, the prejudice that all state institutions are clumsy and inefficient in this country was one of the incentives behind going into this research program. However, the awareness throughout the research that the basic motivation was to listen to the reality of SHÇEK employees and to understand the factors shaping their socially constructed reality has ensured the required objectivity. In this research it has been always realised that these SHÇEK employees were those who knew best the SHÇEK reality, and that the researcher was volunteering to find this out as accurately as possible.

Aligning with symbolic interactionism and social constructionist perspectives was therefore expected to assist in the understanding of the factors which affect in depth the service provided through the recording and analysis of the statements of the SHÇEK service providers.

The other factor that the researcher has been aware of is that doing a qualitative study strongly requires the researcher to have what Bion calls “Negative Capability”, “that is, when a man is capable of being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason." (Keats, quoted in Bion, 1970, p. 125.). In other words, the researcher should not jump into conclusions. Instead, the researcher should be able to bear the uncertainty and ambiguity and be patient while both generating and analysing the data and *let the data express themselves*. The objective in this research has therefore been not to burden with a meaning the accounts given by the SHÇEK participants but to penetrate their symbolically and socially constructed meaning with patience. But this, of course, had very much to do with the researcher’s own personal approach and history. As both the field work and the data analysis progressed, this is something that the researcher has constantly been mindful of.

3.7. Adopting a reflexive approach

Adopting a reflexive approach reflects the personal construct theory which was chosen as one of the three theoretical orientations for this study. As it was discussed earlier, in the grounded theory, researchers are generally acknowledged to be co-producers of the data (Payne, 2007). Reflexivity stresses the importance of the interactional form of the interview in relation to the content of the accounts provided by the interviewee. Narrative approach in ethnography is influenced by psychoanalysis, as the study is described as a process profoundly linked to the individual history (Baszanger and Dodier, 1997). Taking this into consideration Elliot (2005) wrote that “ the concept of reflexivity has been used by those who want to rescue qualitative work from the more ‘extreme’ excesses of relativism and post-modernism, while also rejecting a naive naturalist approach to describing the social world and writing up research” (p.153).

To allow for reflexivity, Payne’s (2007) advice was followed in this study to acknowledge the role of the researcher not only to be in the creation of the analytical account but also to provide the reason for choosing the important social problem of street children as a research subject. It is

noteworthy to mention that the researcher's motivation to do a research on street children was not only questioned by colleagues and socially close people, but even by the SHÇEK authorities when approached to gain access to the organisation. The answer always carried the emphasis that a PhD research on the theme of 'street children' that really mattered to the researcher personally. Further, it was explained that by placing the research on service provision for street children, a contribution would be made to those who were making efforts to improve the system for the benefit of these children.

The initially negative reaction of those people who were working in the field of street children to a research project concerning these children was demonstrative of how hopeless and pessimistic they had been about the street children phenomenon. Just as the service providers' negative reaction towards the preliminary fieldwork and not wanting to take part in the project were inductive to provoke a confrontation in the researcher's mind with the prejudices against SHÇEK, the powerful and frank statements of the service providers who participated in the interviews were equally inductive to confront the reality of the service providers with the resultant empathy for them.

Obviously the professional and personal background of a researcher is bound to influence and shape the research design in various ways. Here, for example, electing the narrative technique has been explained to be related to a psychoanalytically oriented background acquired in clinical psychology. In this sense, reflexive research approach in this study was a key consideration within the social constructionist framework with the concepts of situated understanding and contingent knowledge, as argued for by Payne (2005).

3.8. From a theoretical orientation to a practical design: Considering the options

The literature around human services, and service provision for street children in particular, was examined by the researcher to gain a conceptual framework. Also, some field data was collected for the purpose of developing a sense of the service organisation in which the research was intended to be carried out. This way, not only an understanding of the structure of the SHÇEK service organisations and of the service providers operating in them was gained, but also the means were discerned to determine the best feasible and suitable research methods to generate data. Although the risk of 'forcing' the data as against letting them 'emerge' was considered before the fieldwork of the study, it was found more appropriate towards the end of the research to *''let the findings speak''* instead of classifying the findings by forcing them into a pre-defined theory. Preliminary field work was influential to come up with the most suitable research method to generate data so that here the chapter continues with the preliminary field work.

3.8.1. Preliminary fieldwork

As previously mentioned, the intended investigation was to deal in depth with the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection Agencies (SHÇEK) that provides services for street children in Istanbul as a government agency affiliated to the Prime Minister's office. In order

to gain access to SHÇEK, the first step taken was to approach the deputy provincial governor of Istanbul. Through his office contact was made with the Children of Istanbul Foundation, which also functions under the provincial government of Istanbul, and provides financial support for the families at risk. SHÇEK organisations also get financial support for their projects for street children.

3.8.2. Establishing rapport and developing trust

SHÇEK institutions are of the state organisations difficult to reach by researchers and others who are outside the SHÇEK system, which is understandable given the nature of the job and the vulnerabilities of the groups receiving the services. This difficulty, however, had implications for the design of the research as discussed later in this chapter.

Having made contact with the office of the provincial governor of Istanbul, it was encouraging to hear that studies on the issues of street children was badly needed as not enough research was being carried out on the subject. There were statements of complaint on the attitudes of researchers who used the SHÇEK institutions with very different intentions such that coherent information failed to emerge, and even the results of individual investigations were not made available. Also, academic circles were deemed to be unconstructive for having been solely critical in the past.

Subsequent meetings with higher executives of SHÇEK to organise access to the service organisations also revealed deeply seated prejudices against outsiders and especially researchers. The request to enter the organisations to discuss aspects of the service given directly with the service providers was at first taken as the initial step of a strategy of assault on their institutions by the weary senior administrators of SHÇEK who were stigmatised by unsympathetic attitudes of statesmen, academics and members of the public. The managing director of Children of Istanbul Foundation, a retired army colonel, also met the request to carry out research work in this foundation with reserve, but became trusting after the start of the preliminary field work which is discussed below. This organisation was housed in a 7-storey building donated to SHÇEK by the Rotary Club of Turkey. The building also housed a first-step station of SHÇEK giving service to girls living in the street, an arrangement which presented a strategic opportunity for the purposes of this research. With the support of the Children of Istanbul Foundation, access was thus gained into the care organisations.

The prejudiced attitude faced by the researcher was rooted in the impression made by other researchers admitted to SHÇEK previously, when the access to the institution had been used only for the benefit of the careers of the researchers instead of resulting in useful cooperations. These encounters were not only useful for comprehending the challenge of working with these organisations but also in getting motivated to make the effort to establish rapport and trust to enable the establishment of a sound and steady routine of work, which could take a long time. The researcher's constant encounter with such defensive, and, in some cases, offensive attitudes suggested the presence of a deeper meaning in these than merely typifying a state welfare

organisation providing services for the most vulnerable group of people in Istanbul society or having developed misconceptions over time about academics; but, that these attitudes also had symbolic and socially constructed meanings that the researcher should be aware of. What the researcher encountered can be said to be one of the main principles of symbolic intreactionism, that SHÇEK workers were ‘’acting toward things on the basis of the meanings that things have for them’’ (Herman and Reynolds, 1994). In order for new meanings to arise out of social interaction with a new researcher, the researcher had to put a lot of effort into establishing rapport and building trust with the SHÇEK staff. From the outset, it was the objective of the researcher not to burden with a ‘meaning’ the accounts given by the service providers, but to penetrate their symbolically and socially constructed meaning with patience. Later, the findings of the main research did indeed provide insight into symbolically and socially constructed meanings to these defensive attitudes.

Work commenced at the foundation in January of 2007 by visiting once a week on a voluntary basis, primarily with the intent to establish the integrity of the researcher, and to demonstrate commitment to the project and the potential participants by spending time at the site for developing relationships and gaining insider knowledge. Also at the foundation was a newly appointed part time psychiatrist, who not only provided help for street children with the directives of SHÇEK, but also for the children staying in other SHÇEK organisations, and those housed in other child protection agencies. With the written consent of the deputy governor of Istanbul, the research was able to visit the sites attended by this part time psychiatrist. The psychiatrist, however, soon left the job claiming that senior managers were not cooperating enough and not fully answering her questions, which was the researcher’s first encounter with the reality of high rates of staff turnover in SHÇEK organisations.

When considerable resistance and hostility was shown and entry was denied to the researcher, the cooperation and the requisite trust expected by the researcher was gained by following the criteria laid down by Jones et al. (2006). Hence, the researcher’s interest in the project and the level of knowledge on the phenomenon under investigation was conveyed to the service providers at the initial invitation meeting, openly stating the researcher’s expectations of them. It was explained by the researcher to all persons contacted for the purposes of access to the care organisations that the aim was to gain an understanding of the services given by the organisations. It was explained that the researcher did not have any previous experience with street children and expected their cooperation. Upon questioning the possible incentives for participating in this study, the responses of all these individuals voiced the discomfort raised by the past criticisms from academics on the quality of the job performed by SHÇEK service providers; an attitude which they believed undermined their efforts. Awareness of this uneasiness led to trying out a non-intrusive presence during the visits to the foundation and care organisations.

This approach of the researcher was not found satisfactory by the governor’s office for being ‘a merely observational approach’ and a commission for conducting a project was received. This

request was seen as a useful opportunity to develop reciprocity with the service providers within the context of the research process. Therefore, it was met on a voluntary basis by organising a small project, after consultation with the research supervisors, which laid the basis for the methodological approach to the specific problem in hand and the approach to participants in the process of building rapport. Throughout the project the researcher observed the prescribed rules to 'tune in and adjust accordingly to the culturally relevant norms, behaviours, appearances, language and values of participants'.

This short 'support project', which for the purposes of the main research presented in this thesis is also referred to as the ''*preliminary field work* '', was designed for the benefit of the service providers in SHÇEK working with street children in Istanbul, the account of which is outlined below. The benefits of this to the intended main research included**:** building of trust and rapport with the staff, gaining insight into the service organisations where the intended main research program would later be conducted, as well as arriving at a better position to determine the most appropriate methods to generate data for the main research. The service providers found it unbelievable to have someone whose only aim was to understand the service provision. Surely, our understanding of the world and ourselves are the products of particular cultural and historical background (Silverman, 2001). The initial suspicion, almost like a paranoia directed towards the researcher by the senior managers suggested symbolic and socially structured meanings yet to be discovered through interactions with the frontline workers.

The support project (the preliminary field work): A Support Project to Provide Supervision and Emotional Support for the Social Service Staff Consisting of Psychologists, Sociologists and Social Workers of the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection Agencies (SHCEK) in Istanbul was designed on the 'Tavistock Model', learnt by the researcher at the Tavistock Clinic. It was specifically designed to provide supervision and emotional support over a period of five weeks for the SHÇEK service providers working with street children in Istanbul. The group of volunteering participants consisted of members from different SHÇEK units together with the researcher as the facilitator. The meeting place was at the premises of the "Children of Istanbul Foundation", in a room large enough to allow the group members to sit in a circle. Taking into account the location of different SHÇEK organisations the foundation was chosen as a meeting point as it was situated in the midpoint of all organisations. Another reason for choosing the foundation as a place to meet was that the researcher wanted to provide a place for the participants away from their workplace in which they would feel 'safer'. SHÇEK provided a special bus service for those who needed help with the transport to commute to the foundation, in order to ensure an uninterrupted program. The group met weekly for three hours covering work discussion and group support sessions in succession.

The program of the weekly meetings consisted of work discussion and group support as given below:

Work Discussion (1 hour and 15 minutes)**:** Each week one participant presented a detailed account of the interaction with a client/group at work, including brief background information on the client/group. Here the aim was to share and assimilate as a group the emotional impact of the said interaction, as well as the content of what was brought to the discussion. Confidentiality was to be respected at all times. Initials or pseudonyms replaced the names of the participants. Members of the group were bound by rules not to discuss cases in any way to obviate the risk of their recognition outside the group.

Group Support (1hour and 15 minutes)**:** An open agenda (no agenda) meeting took place after a 30-minute coffee break following the work discussion. The aim here was to provide a "Safe Forum" for participants, where conditions of safety, respect and tolerance were ensured, so that anxiety and insecurity could be contained and examined productively. Sharing of knowledge/ training background etc. and presentation of issues/problems experienced at the professional, emotional and personal level were encouraged. The participants expressed whatever issues, concerns, episodes, incidents, thoughts, feelings, and images that came to mind. Holding group meetings on the same day and at the same time each week was expected to help strengthen this sense of containment, as would ending the meetings as scheduled.

Both work discussion and emotional support groups would provide a platform for the researcher to have an insight not only into the service providers' physical space in terms of the dynamics of their work environment but also into their emotions and thoughts. Having this experience and the knowledge on the dynamic of the SHÇEK organisations would help further to come up with the most suitable research method for the actual study.

3.8.3. Meeting with the service providers

The commissioned project was presented to both the president of the Children of Istanbul Foundation and the Acting Governor of Istanbul who is responsible for SHÇEK. Information was received that the project was approved and that the organisations would be officially informed about it. A month later an introductory meeting was staged at the premises of the Children of Istanbul Foundation.

Nine participants from different SHÇEK units working with street children attended the introductory meeting. Instead of opening this first meeting formally by giving an explanation of the aim of the project, an informal exploration of the participants' expectations as a group was elected as a better approach. Therefore, after the personal introductions, the participants were asked how they had been informed about the project and what they thought their needs were and what they were hoping from the project. Group members were asked to supply background information on, age, education, professional qualifications, current work environment, length of the experience in SHÇEK, and previous trainings in the field. Here the participants were also informed that this brief project would facilitate the designing of a longer term research project also intended to be carried out with the service providers.

3.8.4. Initial reactions of the participants to the support project

Whereas soon after commencing the first meeting, the more experienced frontline staff in the group commented that they neither needed the “support project’’ offered, nor did they have time for it. After the senior managements’ reaction this was the second rejection that the researcher encountered at SHÇEK. None of the experienced staff attended the meetings held afterwards. However, the relatively new staff in the service welcomed the project saying that this was something that they were desperate for.

The feelings projected onto the researcher consisted of rejection, suspicion, even in some cases resentment. These were powerful, symbolic and socially constructed attitudes faced at the first encounter with a meaning which was yet to be discovered through the interaction with the frontline workers who remained in the research. These were ways of communicating something to be learnt and were not taken personally by the researcher. For example, the researcher might have been representing a figure for them not worth cooperating with. Indeed, as the time went on, this proved to be accurate since their attitudes towards the researcher changed. After establishing rapport and building trust, misconceptions and prejudices were all replaced by trust. This was evident as service providers provided open and frank statements to the researcher.

This was an opportunity for finding the best research method suitable for this sensitive setting as well as ensuring the best ethical basis. Here the researcher became aware that all the efforts put into the relations with senior managements to make rapport and gain trust, was also needed to be put into the relations with the service providers at the shop level. This realisation was inductive to come up with the most suitable and feasible research method to explore the lived experiences of the service providers in their work system.

The service providers who took part in the project were all either newly qualified professionals and/or newly engaged in the service. This suggested that those who had less experience in this field had more emotional links and positive engagement with their work. The experienced staff, however, seemed to be more disconnected or even ‘burnout’, as also pointed out by one of the less experienced staff during the meeting. Such reserved attitude towards someone new like the researcher shown by service providers ranging from the senior management to the frontline staff in the system indicated meanings in terms of the dynamics of the work environment.

The remaining meetings after the initial one were held with 5 participants from 4 different SHÇEK units and the entire project lasted for 5 weeks as it had been planned. Each week one of the participants made a presentation of the interaction with a client/ group at work. It is worth commenting here that a year later when the SHÇEK organisations were visited for the main research presented in this thesis, none of the participants of the commissioned support project were present as they all had left their jobs. This was the second evidence, noted by the researcher, of the high rates of turnover among the service providers in SHÇEK.

3.8.5. Issues emerging from the 'support project'/ 'the preliminary field work'

Throughout the sessions participants were eager to talk, truly enjoying the opportunity given to them to do so. They expressed anger and a tacit sense of helplessness and hopelessness. This was clearly reported to the researcher. It was also openly stated that this opportunity was the reason for welcoming a project like this.

It was apparent that the staff morale was low for having to carry out largely prescribed statutory duties and administrative work, and for lack of authorisation to refashion and deploy their therapeutic skills and enjoy professional development. Complaints were made not only about uncertainty on the staff roles but also on the objectives of the unit organisations. The shortage of office facilities and field funding, as well as of time to meet expectations, caused frequent resignations resulting in new recruitments which affected the efficiency of the services.

Discussions with this group provided data on the feelings as well as the critical comments about the organisation they worked for. Participants expressed vulnerability to work related stress due to the lack of emotional support and supervision, and extensive doubts about the ability to carry on working in this system.

These discussions also made manifest that different agencies involved in addressing the problem of street children did not cooperate sufficiently; and that service providers at SHÇEK were not informed about what was being done at organisations outside their own and how they were being run. The participants strongly expressed the need to work collaboratively.

The preliminary field work exposed that in spite of all the efforts and the programs aimed at addressing the phenomenon of street children, the needs of the children were not being met properly because, firstly, there was an absence of the authentic voice of the children themselves. Children's views were not sought or if sought still not brought to force within the daily context of activities of the organisations. The children were expected to display model behaviour and self-disclosure in return for the services rendered. And, secondly, programs failed because of the lack of sufficient resources such as funding, trained staff, as well as of proper planning and government policies.

3.8.6. Conclusions and implications of the preliminary fieldwork

The preliminary findings did indicate that both the service providers and the service users suffered and needed help. This was constantly reported to the researcher. Although all the preliminary field work participants had all recently started in their work, they did not think that they could stay long in their work because of the despair caused by their working conditions. Indeed, a year later when the researcher visited the organisations for the main study, they had all left their work.

This raised several questions as to how a care system, where both the helper and the helped are in need, could function effectively; what kind of defence mechanisms might have been developed by the field workers, unconsciously or consciously, to bear the pain caused by both the nature of the work and the way the organisations were run; and, whether the 'chaos' mentioned

by the participants throughout the sessions was a result or a cause for the state in which the organisations were in.

Dickson-Swift et al. (2007) noted that researchers, especially those undertaking qualitative research on sensitive topics, do face many challenges including emotional and physical safety, feeling vulnerable, becoming desensitized, developing attachments etc. Therefore, they recommended that researchers should be encouraged to undertake a risk assessment for themselves as well as others. Doubtlessly, street children form the most traumatised and vulnerable group in society. Accordingly, social service and child protection agencies form the most sensitive organisations in society. A fair amount of warning was received on likely emotional issues encountered through a research programme of this kind, and the mental preparation needed against the risks and the foreseen emotional challenges, such as facing the depression and feeling of hopelessness on part of the SHÇEK service providers. The researcher was prepared for these, especially through the preliminary field work, before starting the main research.

Thus, the preliminary field work has been useful in the selection of a worthwhile research topic and the design of a feasible study program. The organised meetings raised several methodological issues. It was understood that some of the SHÇEK workers found it hard to engage with a researcher and did not continue participating. Another issue of concern was the subject of confidentiality. Quite expectedly, social services and child protection agencies are one of the most confidential organisations run by the state. Before proceeding with the main research, questions had been raised if enough number of participants would volunteer and if they would be willing to talk openly with the researcher. Given these points, it was anticipated that such situational constraints could shape the reality. As commented earlier in the chapter, prejudices developed by the researcher over the years towards state welfare service provision, albeit reshaped with the very brief encounter with SHÇEK workers, also had to be restrained. Entering into such sensitive organisations once again raised the importance of building trust and establishing rapport for the reliability of this field work.

3.9. Formation of the research design

To repeat, this study was to examine the nature and organisation of state welfare service provision for street children in Istanbul to assess how staff views and attitudes affect the quality of services provided to this group of service users. A researcher with a stance outside the daily life of the institutions would find it easier to make observations and to think on these objectives without getting caught up in institutional defences (Menzies, 1989).

Brewerton and Millward's (2001) advised that it is better to draw on the technique most appropriate to the research question. Silverman (1997) also suggested that the choice between different research methods can depend upon quite pragmatic matters. As already noted here, research methods should depend upon the research problem being tackled. These suggestions led the researcher not to choose either the participant observation or the focus group discussions

as a way of generating data. The reason for not choosing the participant observation was that, considering the difficulties the researcher encountered in gaining access into the organisations, it would not be realistic to expect to be given the permission for participant observation. Additionally, having someone new in the organisation who is not an employee would have caused some uneasiness on part of the service providers as well as the managers.

The use of focus group discussion method was also decided against, although focus group discussion is another widely used method to generate data in qualitative studies for two reasons. One is that service providers might not have felt comfortable and safe enough to express their true thoughts and beliefs in a group situation in the presence of their colleagues. Secondly, preliminary fieldwork served the function of a focus group discussion from which some general themes were gathered to improve the formulation of the research question and the methodology to generate data for the main research reported here. The general themes were the expressed feelings of uncertainty, of helplessness and lacking initiatives, etc. These themes indicated that SHÇEK service providers' position together with their thoughts and feelings towards their work and their service users were quite significant and was worth exploring at a deeper level.

According to Miller (1997), life is understood from the perspective of the participants in the setting under study and everyday life is examined in an uncontrolled, naturalistic setting. Here the relationship between the observations of everyday life by qualitative research and the analyses of these is complex, involving variety of concerns and processes. The complexity of this relationship is evident in the approaches to data collection and analyses. The approaches to qualitative research are traditionally ethnographic techniques. When using qualitative approaches, reality is explored from an emic perspective. The emic perspective focuses on the intrinsic cultural distinctions that are meaningful to the members of a given society (Mason, 2002). Dingwall (1997) put forward three basic methods of social research, two of which, called 'asking questions' and 'hanging out', belong to a distinguished anthropologist, and the third one is 'reading the papers'. Considering the constraints of SHÇEK's organisational settings, 'asking question' technique was used in the study reported in this thesis rather than the other two methods.

Two methods, namely the narrative research method and the interview, both discussed in the section below, were elected to be used as a way of generating data in the research presented in this thesis

3.9.1. Considering the interview as a data collection method

Interviewing is probably the most commonly used method in qualitative research. The researcher is typically involved in a face-to-face meeting with the main task in mind which is to understand the meaning of what the interviewees narrate (Kvale, 1996). Mason (2002) identified the commonly used core features of qualitative interviewing as an interactional exchange of dialogue carried out in a relatively informal style, rather than on a formal question and answer format. This style of dialogue would be thematic and aim to have a fluid and flexible structure to

allow the researcher and the interviewee to develop unexpected themes. Since most qualitative research operates from the perspective that knowledge is situated and contextual, the dialogue, from this perspective, was expected in this research to effectively create meanings and understandings involving the researcher and the interviewee. It was believed to carry the advantage of allowing the researcher to answer the interviewee's questions, while the interviewer would be able to probe for adequate answers.

The additional advantages foreseen were the provision of rich data, the allowance of flexibility, so that interviews could be used at any stage of the research process with multi-method data collection including interviews with other techniques involving, for example, observational and self-administered elements. Interviewing would be most effective way of ensuring rapport and confidence building and the co-operation of the interviewees, especially for addressing important and sensitive topics.

All the advantages cited above have led to the acceptance of the interview method as a way of generating data for the research presented here. When using the interview method, SHÇEK participants were provided with the opportunity to talk not only in detail but, also frankly. Brief preliminary field work carried out by the researcher had shown that it was particularly important to gain the trust of the research participants in order for them to cooperate and provide frank statements. With the interview technique it was believed that research participants' co-operation was ensured at the best level.

However, the disadvantages of the method, as discussed in the literature, were also considered. Disadvantages considered for the purposes of this research included primarily the subject of cost. Usually trained interviewers are needed to carry out the research but, in this case, it was justified that the researcher could confidently carry out successful interviews as a psychoanalytically trained clinical psychologist. Interviewing has been time consuming due to the volume of data analysis and the length of time needed. By choice this disadvantage was to be accommodated since the research was being carried out for a PhD thesis aiming to present a previously not attempted in depth insight into service provision in an organisation difficult to run.

Interviewing is open to bias. Hence, appearance, speech, expectations, social excitability bias etc do take effect. Having considered the theoretical positions of symbolic interactionism, social constructionism, and personal construct theory as well as adopting a reflexive approach, it was considered that the researcher would be prepared to overcome the potential risks of bias. The question of 'reliability' needed to be taken seriously since due to their openness to so many types of bias, interviews could be notoriously unreliable. It was realised that there were potential difficulties in an interview situation in which respondents would be required to demonstrate their competence in the role in which the interview casted them (Dingwall, 1997). A good example to this situation had been demonstrated by Bowler (1997) who had interviewed south Asian women on the topic of experiences of pregnancy and childbirth. Among the difficulties she encountered was the sensitivity of some of the women to the topic and the unwillingness to cooperate in the discussions. Sensitivity of the topic and work setting were considered to be risk factors at the

earlier stages of the interviews carried out for this study. However, there was the confidence, especially after the preliminary field work, that this would be largely overcome by building rapport and, in fact this was found to be justified as the interviews progressed in time. The validity and reliability of interviews are further discussed below in this chapter.

Interviews can take a variety of forms, for example, structured interviews, unstructured interviews, ethnographic interviews depending on the type of data required to inform the research question being asked (Brewerton and Millward; 2001). After discussions with the research supervisors, the position adopted by the researcher was to be that of a 'facilitator' using the ethnographic interview method to generate data. The facilitator would be suggesting directions for discussion rather than controlling them and, at all times maintaining a sense of freedom and informality for the informant. One reason for choosing the ethnographic interview method was the researcher's curiosity about what service providers had in mind rather than getting answers under direction to satisfy the researcher's curiosity. By being interested in the participant's story, and particularly avoiding posing questions so as not to force the participant to think like the researcher , it was believed that generating 'grounded' data should be possible. In addition, considering the constraints of the research field together with the sensitivity of the subject of the interviews held, ethnographic interviews would give the participants the chance to express themselves freely without any constraints. As stated earlier, the background of the researcher in clinical psychology was found to be additionally helpful in sitting back and listening to the participants' narratives without interrupting their lines of thought. There was some concern, however, over the capacity of 'Negative Capability' (Bion, 1970), as pointed out earlier, that the researcher would be constantly aware of.

3.9.2. Using narrative in social research

As proposed by Miller (1997), the usefulness of research techniques were assessed by considering the researcher's strategic interests and aims, and then given a definite form and direction as the researcher collected records and interpreted data. The attitude that the researcher encountered in the preliminary fieldwork strengthened the researcher's interest in the position of the service providers even further. Since the researcher was primarily concerned with process, rather than outcomes or products, and was especially interested in how service providers made sense of their lives, experiences, and the structuring of their environment, it was decided that qualitative methodology like the 'narrative interview' method should be utilised to collect data on the services for street children.

The method the researcher used as a technique to gather and analyse data related to the research question was the 'Narrative Interview' method (Melia, 1997). The narrative interview method in qualitative research implies a data *generation* process involving activities that are intellectual, analytical and interpretive (Mason, 2002). The term '*generation*' was used rather than 'collection' to encapsulate the wider ranges of relationships between the researcher, social world and data which a qualitative research spans. These data are then organised so as to form a

cohesive whole.

Narrative technique was employed to interview the participating members of staff from SHÇEK to assess their cultural knowledge and the shared meanings that underlie their practices.

Narrative technique is a distinct form of qualitative research. Hansen (2006) suggested that narrative and ethnographic methods should be used in conjunction. Narratives should be captured in natural contexts, looking for not only themes and assumptions underlying the discourse, but also for cultural and contextual understandings that shape discursive actions, as we can learn cultures both through language and artefacts, rituals, art, customs and the layout. Hence, here observation is broader than discourse. Since all the research participants from SHÇEK preferred to be interviewed in their work setting, the researcher enjoyed the opportunity to do some very valuable observations.

As suggested earlier, the three theoretical orientations chosen, i.e., symbolic interactionism, social constructionism, and personal construct theory, influenced the study's design in various ways. The focusing of the research on the SHÇEK participant's perceptions, knowledge, views, understanding, interpretations, experiences and interactions has necessitated the use of qualitative interviewing for generating data. Basic to this was the belief that knowledge is constructed rather than straightforwardly excavated and that this requires an understanding of depth and complexity rather than that of surface patterns. Knowledge and evidence are contextual, situational and interactional such that the interviews in this study were made as contextual as possible to draw upon fully the social experiences or processes intended to be explored.

In the process of determining the nature of the research with its aims and objectives, narrative research method was elected with the belief that this should provide the most suitable as well as feasible approach to enable studying how participants experience the world. Narrative research focuses on studying a single person; permits generating data through the collection of stories and writing narratives of individual experiences, and allows discussing the symbolic meaning of those experiences for the individual. This particular method also suited the position of the researcher as a facilitator for the SHÇEK interviewees. As originally argued by Moen (2006), within this approach the research subject would be a collaborator rather than an informant guided by the agenda of the researcher.

Following the proposals of Elliot (2005),in order to provide the details of life experiences in the form of a story, the interviews were aimed to stimulate the interviewees' interpretive capacities so that individuals were forced to reflect on those experiences, to select the salient aspects, and order them in a coherent whole. Following the proposals of Elliot were crucial to the researcher to form the question about the most effective ways of encouraging the SHÇEK workers participating in the research to provide detailed accounts of their experiences in interviews. Care was taken to ask simple questions clearly relating to their life experiences in simple language. The questions related to specific situations to produce narrative accounts but were not restrictive so as to elicit detailed narrative accounts carrying the meanings to be

analysed later. Yet the interviewees were made aware of the timing involved so as to give them a sense of how much detail to provide. As a trained clinical psychologist the researcher was confident of being a good listener to maximise the information offered.

Mason (2002) argued that once the researcher had formulated the research questions, the research would be already set on certain tracks in relation to its technique and strategy because the researcher would have started to position it ontologically and epistemologically. The research question carried through the interviews in this thesis was formed after considering all of the above mentioned guidelines with the research supervisors Since the participants in this research were to be asked to provide narratives about their work experiences, it was decided to begin with the question:

" *Can you please tell me about your work life, your work experiences in your organisation?*"

Before the interview started participants were given a form with some factual questions to fill in (refr. annex. A). They were asked to supply background information on, age, current work environment, their post, educational attainments, professional qualifications, length of the work experience in SHÇEK. Having posed the question, the timing was made clear to the interviewee from the start by stating that the interview would probably last for an hour and a half, but that it might go on for as long as two hours.

3.10. Validity and reliability of research

The researcher's approaches accorded with Harbison's (2007) argument that a valid narrative should be well-grounded in the data, and that it should be supportable with examples and developed by a continuous recursive process of shuttling between categories of analysis and raw data.

To establish the credibility of the study, detailed presentation and clarification of epistemological and methodological issues have been presented throughout this chapter by making use of Elliott's (2005) framework of reliability and validity. Reliability is generally defined as the stability of research findings. Validity refers to the ability of research to reflect an external reality. External validity refers to the generalised use of qualitative evidence. In order to achieve both the internal and external validity the narrative technique was chosen as a way of generating data in this study.

To ensure validity, research was carefully designed from the outset. First of all, each SHÇEK organisation providing services for street children was identified to ensure capturing service provider's position to be well based on work experiences The one SHÇEK organisation which provides services for children in conflict with law was also included into the study because, during the preliminary field work, senior managers had reported to the researcher that these children also had street experiences.

After identifying the organisations, a careful attention was paid to the administrative

organisation of SHÇEK. Diversity of the different staff positions was ensured in the research participants, which varied from managers to the frontline staff and down to the support staff. In total, 37 qualitative interviews were carried out in order to reflect views from all denominations of staff positions in SHÇEK and thereby to gain a valid insight into service provision.

As stated above, to ensure the qualitative interviews to be 'accurate' or 'valid' representations of the reality, narrative technique was used here because the brief preliminary work with the SHÇEK employee had shown that this method empowered the SHÇEK participants to provide more concrete and specific details about the topic discussed and to use their own vocabulary and conceptual framework to describe life experiences. Ethical considerations were important here when the trust of the interviewed service providers in the researcher was being encouraged. The researcher had to take all possible measures to ensure that this trust was established for the sake of obtaining frank and true information.

Using narrative technique was also helpful in achieving external validity. External validity refers to how far the evidence collected in a specific study can be transferred to offer information about the same topic in similar settings. External validity can be achieved by creating a deeper and richer picture of what is going on in particular settings. With the narrative technique the SHÇEK participants' narratives would produce data that are more truthful or trustworthy as well as being generalisable. In this thesis, during the entire process of analysis the aim was to capture the detail, variation and complexity of the source data.

3.11. The main research

3.11.1. The research setting

SHÇEK services for street children was found to be organised in three categories. SHÇEK organisations which provide services for street children are called stations. These services were provided at three different levels, i.e., at the first step, second step and third step stations. 'The first step stations' were temporary housing for the children to meet immediate needs like bathing and nourishment. If the children were convinced of the suitability of the services, they would go to 'the second step stations' where the rehabilitation process started. These were also temporary accommodation sites for the children, the aim being to encourage the children to proceed to the 'third step stations' where they could go to school and stay permanently until the age of 18 on the condition of not pursuing any kind of substance abuse. The total of eight SHÇEK units in Istanbul for street children, thus, consisted of two first step stations, two second step stations and one third step station for boys, and a first step station, a second step station and a third step station for girls. There was also one organisation affiliated to SHÇEK, established for those children under the age of 15 and committed to offence. Since most of these children also had street experiences by living and/or working on the streets, that particular organisation was also included in the research program. Thus, the research was carried out in 9 different organisations affiliated to SHÇEK. Two of these organisations were located on the Anatolian side; and the rest were located on the European side of Istanbul. The locations of the organisations

varied from the busiest touristic area to a remote area away from the city centre, and from the richest part to the poorest part of the city.

3.11.2. Access to the fieldwork

Although the deputy provincial governor's written permission was enough to carry out the preliminary field work, conducting an academically based PhD research in SHÇEK organisations necessitated official procedures in order to get a written permission from General Directorate of SHÇEK in Ankara. Before starting the main research within SHÇEK, almost two years had been spent on voluntary work once a week in Children of Istanbul Foundations, where access had been gained to SHÇEK organisations. However, when it was time to carry on with the main research, the necessity of a permit for a U.K.-based research through the Turkish consulate in London and through the foreign affairs ministry of Turkey was indicated. The mutual trust established in the SHÇEK organisation during the field work was useful in speeding up this process.

3.11.3. Recruitment of participants: Identifying potential participants and the sample size

Participants were recruited from SHÇEK. Before the preliminary field work, it had been planned that research participants would consist of both clinical and non-clinical staff but it was understood that there was not a division among the service providers as ' the clinical' and 'the non-clinical' staff. Instead, there were social service staff, administrative staff and support staff. In some organisations, there were educators, volunteers and mobile team workers who do street work. Mobile team workers were mainly involved in collecting children off the streets and bringing them to the organisations. The flexibility of the research design ensured at all times making sure to come up with the most suitable adjustments to the research design. Research participants consisted of both social service staff consisting of psychologists, social workers and sociologists (who, under the current circumstances of shortage of qualified staff in these type of organisations, were considered as social service staff with academic qualifications in social sciences), and other staff like administrative officers and support staff.

Purposive sampling was chosen as the sampling strategy. The preselected criteria to determine the participants were their professional position in the organisations. Following Payne's (2005) suggestion this particular criterion explicitly stated both at the outset and when reporting the results. In this thesis, during the data analysis process as well as the presenting of research findings, the employment positions of the participants have been made clear.

It had been expected to recruit 2 social service and 2 non-social service providers from each of the 9 SHÇEK units in Istanbul. The reason for choosing two participants from social services was that they were defined in the SHÇEK system as the core group of employees providing professional service to children. Consequently, the total number of participants was expected to be 36. However, during the interviews it was found out that one of the SHÇEK organisations employed people only to do street work. Therefore, including one of the members

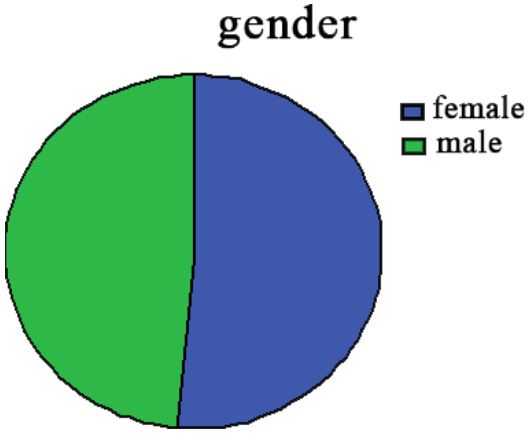
of staff from the street work team of this particular organisation brought the total number of participants to 37. This confirmed one of the characteristics of the qualitative research that it is characteristically exploratory, fluid and flexible, data-driven and context-sensitive (Mason, 2002).

Table 1: Overview of research participants across the SHÇEK organisations taking part in the research

	0RG . 1	0RG . 2	0RG . 3	0RG . 4	0RG . 5	0RG . 6	0RG . 7	0RG . 8	0RG . 9	
Manager/ Deputy manager	/	/ /	/	/	/	/	/	/		9
Social worker		/			/		/	/	/	5
Psychologist	/		/			/	/		/	5
Sociologist		/		/ /			/(does street work only)	/		5
Teacher					/	/			/	3
Peer big brother/sister	/		/				/	/		4
Support staff	/		/	/	/	/			/	6
	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	4	4	37

The age of the research participants ranged between 18-43 years with a mean of 31.67 years. Most of those research participants at and over the age of 30 were state employees with tenure, mainly employed at managerial positions, while those participants under the age of 30 (20-25) were social service officers. As shown in the pie chart below (Figure 2) 19 of the participants (51.4 %) were females and 18 of them were (48.6 %) were males. Apart from the psychologists research participants from managers to support staff were equally consisted of females and males. All psychologists were female which reflected the fact that psychology discipline in Turkey is mainly female-dominated.

Figure 2:



3.12. Data collection process

During preliminary fieldwork undertaken prior to the main research reported in this thesis, some of the participants felt threatened by the topic of the study; they appeared to be defensive and did not want to participate. In the actual research, in order to help participants feel less threatened, interviewees were given the option to decide where the interview should take place. It was thus made possible to be interviewed outside their agencies in a non-governmental organisation, i.e., Children of Istanbul Foundation, where they were likely to feel safer and less threatened; or at a cafè of their preference. But all participants found it more convenient to be interviewed in their own work places. The interviews were carried out in a quiet room. Having the interviews in participants' work setting presented the opportunity to capture the natural context such as the themes and assumptions underlying the discourse, as well as the cultural and contextual understandings that shape discursive actions. As pointed out earlier, cultures are learnt through language and also through artefacts, rituals, art, customs, the layout etc. Events were witnessed both during and after some of the interviews that have been included in the findings which helped to discover more about and the understanding of the different socially structured dimensions of the services provided.

Visits to the organisation were arranged a week ahead. It was ensured that the managers of the organisations received the official permission letter before the visit. The managers of the organisations were contacted so as to arrange the visits at the most convenient time and date which was also confirmed back by phone. Upon arrival at each organisation, the first visit was paid to the manager's office and usually the first interview was made with the manager. After explaining to each manager the purpose sampling method, the researcher was conducted to the social service room and subsequently to the area where the support staff could be found. The individual participants were chosen on a random basis. All SHÇEK service providers who were approached volunteered without any hesitation to take part in the research. All staff preferred to be interviewed in their organisations saying they did not have any reservations about what they thought they had to say.

The participants were informed with the particular emphasis of the importance of their experiences and knowledge as frontline workers. The impression that the field workers had had enough of the assumed superiority and critical approach of academicians was inductive to develop the careful approach of making clear to these service providers that they were the ones who knew the most about the service and the issues of street children. It was meticulously explained that a research was being made *with* them and not *on* them and that this cooperation of academics and frontline staff was crucial in the service provision for street children. The research topic and particularly being the providers of data was appreciated by service providers. Each interview lasted for an hour and a half.

Both the research question, ''*Can you please tell me about your work life, your work experiences in your organisation?*" and the emphasis that their points of view and experiences bore significance made the participants feel empowered and willing to cooperate. As will be seen

in the findings chapter all participants were frank and did not refrain from criticising the system they worked for or their own performance or attitudes. The research method chosen was thus successful in both establishing trust and face to face communication with the participants.

3.13. Transcription and analysis of the interviews

Although tape-recording the interview has been generally considered good practice in all qualitative interviews as it allows the researcher to give full attention to the interviewee rather than needing to pause to take notes (Elliott, 2005), tape-recording was not possible during the interviews since using recording devices were strictly forbidden in the SHÇEK work places. The researcher's completion of an MA programme at the Tavistock Clinic on "Psychoanalytic Observational Studies" in the U.K., which required doing an observation of one hour each week for two years and one further hour in the second year without being allowed to take notes, helped in coping with interviews without the use of recorders. Hence, only notes were taken during the research interviews.

Prior to the interview, each participant was told that what they were about to say was quite important and their approval was sought for taking notes as they spoke in order that any details of their narrative were not missed. Keeping an eye contact between the researcher and the interviewee was effective in preventing the distraction of the interviewee's attention while taking notes.

In qualitative studies not only the discourse itself but the process of the transcribing data is also crucial (Elliott, 2005). Elliott stressed that transcribing is more than a mechanical task and it is indeed part of the analytic process. Elliott noted that transcription of interviews and production of a written text that preserves the meaning communicated in the original interview should be understood as an important part of the analytical process.

Approximately half an hour was taken after each interview to go over the notes and to add the details of any observations including participants' intonation, pauses, rhythm, hesitation and body language together with the context, social situation and personal interactions. The notes also covered the feelings and observations of the researcher. Subsequently, the notes were typed the same day and translated into English. The focus was not solely on the content of the narrative but on the way that a narrative was recounted. The translated notes were communicated directly to the research supervisor for feedback on the narratives and more importantly to get the validity of the interviews to be checked. Hence, there are two copies of each interview, the manuscript being in Turkish and the version produced on the word processor in English.

The attempt in this research was a holistic analysis which seeks to preserve a narrative in its entirety and to understand it as a complete entity. Focusing solely on either the content or the structure of the narrative was particularly avoided. The interactional and institutional context in which the narratives were produced was also taken into account. Attention was given to symbolic meanings and socially constructed character of the discourses at all times. The researcher's own

feelings and thought were reflected when it is necessary having in mind the personal construct theory.

Narrative analysis is concerned with both the 'what' and the 'how' of the processes of self-construction and explores narrative more as a creative art than a scientific procedure reducible to specific methodological steps. It has been noted that there is no standard approach or list of procedures that is generally recognised as representing the narrative method and analysis (Elliott, 2005). Harbison (2007) argued that the essence of a narrative type of approach is an ability to understand and appreciate the personal and cultural meanings conveyed within oral or written text, and to explicate the socio-cultural resources utilised in the process.

During the data analysis Crossley's (2007) six analytic steps, which needed to be taken into consideration when conducting an analysis of the narrative, was followed with the research supervisor suggestion. These steps consisted of reading the narrative and getting familiarised with the context; identifying important concepts to look for, such as the narrative tone, narrative imagery and themes in the data; and, finally weaving all of this together into a coherent commentary to write up as a research report.

The data obtained through the interviews were analysed qualitatively by identifying key words and common themes that emerged from the narratives. Thus, the entire interview data collected in this study were re-read, examined, compared, broken down, categorised and conceptualised along emerging patterns. By reading and re-reading narratives, recurring issues and themes were found as opposed to using preconceived themes or categories. The initial coding of text was done after careful and repeated readings of full transcription of interviewee talk. Impressions were also written down while going through the data. Meaningful units, consisting alternatively of words, phrases or longer segments of text, were identified, highlighted and labelled as 'categories' used by the interviewees themselves, thereby reflecting the reality of the participants. Indeed, with the progress of this study, in accordance with what was called 'open coding' by Strauss and Corbin (1998), further instances of the same and new meaningful units were coded in each transcript as more data accumulated. This resulted in numerous categories. As the data was categorised other themes were identified that served as subcategories. This was continued until all relevant themes were identified and labelled. This was described as saturation (Payne, 2007). It served as an indication when initial coding could cease. This approach allowed the categories to emerge from the data.

Narrative analysis was an iterative process. As the data was worked through some of the initial list of categories were changed. In order to accommodate data that did not fit the existing labels, either the definition of existing categories were adjusted or new categories were identified. Main categories were broken into more defined subcategories which the data were resorted into. This allowed for greater discrimination and differentiation. This procedure was continued until no new themes or subcategories were identified. Reading and re-reading the text helped ensure that the data were correctly categorized and the narratives were well-grounded in the data. As Cortazzi (1993) suggests narrative analysis can, therefore, be seen as opening a window on the mind but

because in this study, narratives of a specific group of tellers were analysed, it can be seen as opening a window on their culture.

As the coding progressed it became obvious that certain categories occurred frequently in the data and that coding new data yielded fewer and eventually no new examples. Thus it can be said that a generalisable data on the topics of discussion have been collected from the SHÇEK service providers. In both of the findings chapters, the data are organised in a systematic way to index the categories and track the segments of the text which provide instances of these categories.

3.14. Ethical considerations

The related literature review stressed that at the stage of planning a research process, it is extremely important to consider potential ethical implications of the research process. Not only should data generation and analysis be carried out morally but the research and questions should be framed in an ethical manner, too (Brewerton and Millward; 2001). Ethics issues in qualitative research are often more subtle than issues in survey or experimental research. These issues are related to the characteristics of qualitative or field methodology which usually include long term and close personal involvement such as interviewing and participant observation. In relation to social research, ethics refers to the moral deliberation, choice and accountability on the part of the researchers throughout the research process. Edwards and Mauthner (2002) pointed out that ethical decisions arise throughout the entire research process, from conceptualisation and design to data gathering and analysis; and, report and literature on the topic reflect this. Cell (1997) also drew attention to the fact that concluding the interview and taking care of ethical issues are important. At the end of the interview the researcher must leave the impression that the interview was invaluable and that any information revealed will be treated strictly confidentially.

Before the preliminary field work was started in a state establishment such as SHÇEK, employing highly stressed workers, potential risks of the participants like distress and embarrassment were assessed and the work method was adjusted to safeguard against these risks. Providing services for one of the most vulnerable groups of people, street children, put obviously both the organisation and the service providers in a very sensitive position. After hearing the explanations of the upper level managers of SHÇEK, and given the open hostility in the institution to researchers from outside, it was realised that ethical considerations had been neglected in the negotiations in the past which only deepened the rift between academics and SHÇEK. The completion of this preliminary field work was particularly helpful for foreseeing the possible ethical issues likely to arise during the course of the main research. For example, during the preliminary field work undertaken, some of the participants felt threatened by the topic of the study and appeared to be defensive and did not want to participate. Undoubtedly, in all research, but especially in the present study, ethical considerations were particularly important. The ethical conditions to be observed in the main research were communicated to the upper level management of SHÇEK as well as the participating staff.

All participants were asked to sign a consent form (refr. annex. B) and were given a letter containing information about the research and contact details (refr. annex. C). They were given the opportunity to withdraw from the research at any time before the publication of the research findings. Besides the information letter and the consent form, a meeting was held with the potential participants to explain the general aim of the research together with the confidentiality issue. Here, the voluntary basis of the participation was particularly stressed. In the meeting, the participants had the opportunity to discuss any questions and concerns they had.

The matters of how the data would be collected and stored in locked cabinets or on a computer protected with a password were clarified to the participants with reference to the data protection legislation. That the finalised thesis would be published and therefore the data would be openly accessible without, however, any individual participants being identified was explained. It was made clear that the information provided by individual staff members would not be made available to their employers/ managers. Similarly, particular institutions or departments would not be named. In addition, all participants would have pseudo names that would be used as identification during data collection.

If there were queries and concerns raised by the participants during the cause of the study, they were able to reach either the researcher or the supervisors for further discussion. All the contact details could be found in the consent form.

During the fieldwork compensatory measures were taken against unavoidable failure on part of a participant to obtain the consent of the manager to attend the interview. As long as the participant was willing to attend, the meetings could be arranged to accommodate personal time availabilities. At the non-governmental organisation, Children of Istanbul Foundation, to obviate any reserves on part of the participants during the interviews, every effort was made to ensure them that the researcher was an independent agent wishing to learn from them and their experiences; and, that no context of the interviews would be disclosed to other parties such as employers and managers. In the main research, in order to help participants feel less threatened, interviewees were given the opportunity to decide the place in which the interview was carried out. They were also given the option of a non-governmental organisation, Children of Istanbul Foundation, as a place for the interview, where they were likely to feel safer and less threatened.

Information was given to research participants regarding the degree to which they would be consulted before the publication of the research results. Where possible, participants were offered feedback on findings, for example, in the form of a summary report. As it can be clearly seen in the following findings chapter, service providers not only become volunteers for the research but also spoke openly and frankly. Therefore it can be argued that the researcher met the points indicated above in terms of ensuring the research ethically sound.

3.15. Organisation of the findings chapters

Development of the emergent conceptual framework, representing the core and subcategories have been described and explained in two findings chapters, thereby giving not

only the structure to the findings chapters but also demonstrating how this frame work developed and emerged. The emergent conceptual framework has then been discussed, highlighting tensions and exploring its relevance for the service provision for street children. In order to accurately reflect participants' accounts and to ensure closeness to data, as many quotations as possible have been used from the narratives. To stay close and true to the SHÇEK staff's voices the researcher had to draw on their accounts to unpack their individual constructions, meanings and understand their practices.

3.16. Chapter summary

In this chapter a detailed description of the processes involved in arriving at an appropriate design, methodology and methods of data collection and analysis in regard to the aims and objectives of the research have been provided. Detailed description on addressing relevant procedural and ethical aspects of the research has also been given to enable the reader to follow the emergence of the research design as well as of the findings. In this chapter, apart from procedural information on methodology, the difficulties met by the researcher were also included with the particular aim to convey the atmosphere of the SHÇEK organisations before the reader evaluates the findings in the following chapters.

Chapter Four: First Finding Chapter
Findings on Institutional and Service Levels

4.1. Introduction

Research findings will be explored in two chapters. This chapter includes the findings on the structural problems based on the organisational context and service providers' position in the various care stations of SHÇEK, and the next chapter concentrates on the findings about the service provision at a treatment level.

This chapter consists of two main sections. Firstly, to establish the scene from a wider perspective the structural problems faced by SHÇEK organisations will be examined. These structural problems include migration and poverty promoted by the lack of sufficient social policies. This will then be followed by the findings in relation to the position of the service staff employed by SHÇEK in the care stations. These findings are: staff burnout, lack of job satisfaction, lack of support, uncertainty, lack of inter-professional collaboration, problems with staffing and resources, high staff turnover and marginalisation. The latter section is much longer than the first because the data on staff's position derived from the interviews far exceed the those on structural problems. In order to accurately reflect participants' accounts as many quotations as possible will be used from their narratives. This will ensure that the research findings stay close to the data provided by participants.

4.2. Structural problems stemming from organisational context

In talking about service provision for street children, most service providers have drawn attention to the wider issues of systemic problems arising from the organisational context within which they operate. The systemic problems referred to by the participants concerned lack of social policies in response to internal migration due to poverty.

4.2.1. Lack of sufficient social policies

Research findings indicate that street children generally come from internally migrant families, and that the phenomenon of street children is clearly related to internal migration as well as child and parental poverty. SHÇEK staff participating in this research have stressed the socio-economic problems resulting from rapid rural-to-urban migration as the cause of the phenomenon of street children. They have also drawn attention to the lack of social welfare policies that needs must be developed by the government to protect its citizens against the tragic consequences of poverty. In this section, the issues of migration and then the impact of the resultant poverty on the lives of the families and children will be examined in the context of the street children phenomenon as based on research participants' accounts.

4.2.1.1. Migration

Internal migration has had a great impact on Turkey's population dynamics for decades. While

Turkey is trying to become 'westernised', serious problems are being faced as a result of massive and rapid urbanisation caused by rural-to-urban migration. Inadequate education, employment and health care in the rural areas have been the main causes of this migration in Turkey.

Istanbul, as the largest and most industrialised province of Turkey, has drawn migrants for years. Many of the research participants, with the exception of those employed as support staff, have expressed that Istanbul was facing many social and economic difficulties as a result of internal migration. The reason why support staff have not talked about systemic problems in relation to the street children phenomenon might be due to the fact that they also share common features with street children's families; including being internal migrants, earning low income and living in shanty-towns on the edge of poverty, but with their children remaining at home instead of ending up living in the streets. Therefore they tend not to view this problem as a social problem. They tend to ignore the socioeconomic conditions and ascribe the problem to individual psychopathology of the street children. This suggests that internal migration and poverty alone does not explain the street children phenomenon which will be dealt in detail in the next chapter in the section on support staff's attitude towards children. The following extract is one of several examples that demonstrate how participants correlate with the street children and the internal migration issues:

"*Internal migration is the main cause of the street children phenomenon. Most of the migrants come from villages. They represent unskilled labour and when they come to cities, they stay unemployed and experience adaptation problems. We are dealing with the flood water. The sources which keep feeding the flood are still there".* (Manager)

As it is pointed out in the extract above, when people migrate to cities, they find it hard to fit in and faced a totally new life even more challenging than the one they had left behind. They encounter many changes in terms of village versus city life. The primary difficulty is finding work and the economical problems associated with it. An outcome of this social situation is the spilling of the children out to the streets to live and work. Unemployed migrants and their households are the main source of the children in the streets of Istanbul today. Quotations below, including one from a former street child, now employed as a 'peer big brother' in one of the SHÇEK care stations, draw attention to the tragic consequences of migration for street children and their families.

"*The state has to stop migration from the east of Turkey. As long as the migration continues, the problem of street children will persist. Unaccompanied children come to Istanbul to work but when they can't find any work, they become* ***'tinerci'*** (A new and a special term which has entered the Turkish language to define paint thinner users - comparable to 'glue sniffers' in the U.K.) (Peer big brother)

The above account draws attention to the unaccompanied children who come to the cities in the hope of finding a better life. Some are sent by their families and others are runaways from home looking to make a living, and either send financial aid to their families who have stayed behind in

villages or to spend the rest of their lives in Istanbul. When they come to cities, they are more likely to engage in marginal work such as selling small items, the alternative being begging in the streets. They are at risk of encountering or getting involved in violence, sexual abuse and substance addiction, and some acquire infectious diseases. Encounters with other children who are already living or working in the streets speeds up the process of becoming one of the street children. Influenced by the hardened street children a number of them start using drugs. The most commonly used substances by street children are petroleum derived organic solvents like paint thinners. An account from a social worker draws attention to how dramatic the consequences of migration can be not only for unaccompanied children but for many families as well.

"*Since I started working here, I have written 500-600 family assessment reports. All of these families had to migrate to Istanbul in the hope of a better life. Migrating to Istanbul, however, can be very problematic, even traumatic for some families.* "(Social worker)

Internal migration has become one of the main survival strategies of poor families, especially those from eastern parts of the country. Struggles against poverty, and in some cases social unrest, have pushed many rural families in Turkey to cities. Despite the traumatic consequences of migration for many families as mentioned above, this movement still continues because of the slow pace of solutions to the economic problems. As a result, Istanbul's population grew from 1 million in 1950 to 5 million in 1980 and 10 million in 2000, 12 million in 2007 (Değirmencioğlu et al., 2008). Keyder (2005) suggests that in Istanbul, as in all large cities in the developing world, most of this increase has been due to migration and to the higher population growth rate among the new comers.

4.2.1.2. Poverty

In Turkey, poverty is highly prevalent among families who have migrated from the eastern provinces to the relatively affluent major cities where they face difficulty in finding a place to shelter and food to eat. As a result, some turn to begging, stealing and child labour. Many research participants have talked about the impact of poverty on children. Below is the account of a sociologist on poverty and its effects on children:

"*The problem of street children is related to socioeconomic problems resulting from internal migration. We are trying to cope here with the issues of macroeconomic problems. Realistically, there isn't much we can do about them because as long as migration and the resulting socioeconomic problems continue, we will keep facing the problem of street children".* (Sociologist)

Indeed many service providers have concluded that the issue of street children is one of the results of the macro economic problems and have expressed pessimistic views about the service they provide for street children. In Turkey children are sent out by their parents to work as a necessity for family survival. These children are not provided for by their families; generally they are providers for

their families. In Turkey, especially in the rural areas children have been traditionally considered as a work force. This culture continues after families move to cities. By selling items like paper napkins, shoe polish and chewing gum, children are contributing to the family income. A peer big brother working for SHÇEK, formerly a street child, has drawn attention to families' expectations from their children as a work force, the direct consequence of which has been the proliferation of children living in the streets.

"*Families come to the cities from eastern parts of Turkey with too many children. When families see other children selling small items in the streets in order to contribute to their family income, they will send their children to the streets to do the same. When a child cannot earn money or earns less money than he is expected to earn, he would get beaten by his family. That is why children stop going back home at night and start spending the money they earn''.* (Peer Big Brother)

In particular a former street child's account in participation with this research shows that starting to live in the street is a way of escaping from what is 'unbearable' at home and when there is no one to turn to. Although the government has the responsibility for the welfare of its citizens through programs to provide social security and health cover through its institutions and social arrangements, the extent of welfare provisions are quite short of the needs and in most cases do not ease the poverty line despite the recent social policy reforms. Many research participants who have worked at the root level of the street children phenomenon point out the insufficiencies of welfare policies that leave families and children in desperate situations. For example, a sociologist's account, given below, while drawing attention to a frequently witnessed act also reflects a service providers' helplessness in going as far as questioning the purpose of his job.

"*Surely, we are working for children's benefits and their best interests. But, I sometimes wonder why these children run away from us when we approach them in the street to take them with us to the organisation. This is a contradiction and a strange situation. I think this is because we are not in a position to solve the problem. What we are doing is like sweeping the problem under the carpet. The conditions in Turkey should get better first to solve this problem''.* **(**Sociologist)

Research participants working in different SHÇEK organisations have given opinions similar to one another. They have argued that the government should take the responsibility for the welfare of its citizens. They have also suggested that instead of just focusing on the consequences, causes of the problem should be addressed with appropriate policies. Most participants have expressed lack of confidence in service provision. The extract below represents most service providers' view on service provision. These service providers have put forward as a reason for the disbelief about their role as service providers that individuals can resort to any strategy in order to survive, in the absence of sufficient social policies which protect citizens.

"*We try so many things to help the child. But unless the family's financial circumstances and their level of education improve, we cannot go very far. What can we do as individuals? Only try our best".* (Social worker)

Turkey, like all developing countries, has devised social policies and applied them as far as the resources have allowed. But, compared to those of the developed European countries, it is difficult to say that these are wide-ranging social and economic policies. The Turkish government cannot give guarantees of minimum standards of living, and the level of a minimum income. Since poor citizens don't have social protection, they find themselves in the situation of having to survive on their own in the best possible way they can find. Having their children work is one of them. Research participants have strongly argued that what they are expected to do is related to wider issues which must be solved by a responsible government. Below is another quotation from a manager regarding lack of social policies in response to poverty related to the issue of street children.

"*The work being done on the issues of street children is inadequate, because this problem is related to national policies. The Ministry of National Education, for example, should be asked why these children are in the streets instead of attending school. If their parents are unemployed, department of finance should be asked about it. If there is a problem, prevention strategies should be thought about. Ministries should be working with 'self-governments' (neighbourhood units). Related ministries should ask the self-governments if they suspect any violence in any families and if there are any families where children are under risk of any kind*." (Manager)

Participants' accounts reveal that the street children problem must be seen as a social problem resulting from social causes. Service providers draw attention to the systemic problems resulting from within the institutional context. These are lack of national welfare policies that lead to migration movement together with poverty. According to the participants, without solutions to these structural problems, which determine the issue of street children, a service provider's individual efforts to deal with ''symptoms rather than causes'' cannot contribute much to the success of service provision for street children. Therefore, they do not consider the service provision as an efficient solution to this social problem. Feelings among SHÇEK workers in relation to their jobs will be dealt in detail in the staff burnout section later in this chapter. The next section is intended to provide insight into the dynamics of the work place together with its impact on the quality of service provision.

4.3. Staff's position in the SHÇEK organisation

In this section, the dynamics of the work environment in which service providers operate will be explored. This gives an opportunity to gain insight into the atmosphere of SHÇEK organisations providing services for street children.

Research findings reveal that staff burnout is one of the major issues of work, as pointed out by participants. High staff turnover rates comes as the second major issue, followed by the

inadequacy of resources, and the lack of overall support inducing feelings of uncertainty about the function of the organisation and staff roles. Participants have also drawn attention to problems of the absence of inter-professional collaboration from policy making to practising at all levels, problems of qualified staffing and inevitability of marginalisation in the society.

4.3.1. Staff burnout

There is no denying that the nature of service provision has been stressful to vulnerable individuals as observed among SHÇEK workers. Their reports have indicated that burnout is widely experienced by the service providers. Staff burnout is expressed through feeling vulnerable and helpless.

During the research, themes like vulnerability, helplessness, being neglected, insecurity and lack of job satisfaction have been cited as reactions to the impact of work related stress contributing to staff burnout. Besides these, having social work as the domain profession, not having initiatives, the unpredictable nature of the job in hand and having excessive work load such as administrative work have also contributed to work related stress. Findings suggest that moral satisfaction is considered to be the only satisfaction workers can gain and 'being used to' appears to be one of the major coping strategies that service providers deploy in order to bear the emotional pain they encounter. Staff burnout is reported across the organisations from managers to support staff. The extract below taken from one of many accounts in which participants have complained of staff burnout.

"*Staff here is burnt out. They are unhappy; they work in low spirits. When you are unhappy you cannot make the people you are working with happy.* "(Manager)

This manager, like other managers identifies staff burnout as a common condition experienced amongst the service providers. The manager states that because of staff burnout they can't expect much from staff. The following quotation from the accounts of a sociologist further demonstrates feeling burnt out from a different staff perspective.

"*Killing some of your emotions helps you the most to work here.* **"**(Sociologist)

The above account implies that in that particular work setting, one cannot survive without killing ones emotions.' Killing emotions' also brings to mind staff desensitisation towards the children. The extract above represents depersonalisation of clients, one of the main symptoms of staff burnout**.** Its effect on the service providers' relations with children will be further examined in the next chapter which covers service provision at treatment level. While the above extract draws attention to emotional exhaustion, extract below draws attention to both emotional and physical exhaustion as symptoms of burnout among service providers.

"*I have been working here for only 4, 5 months but it has felt like 4, 5 years. When I had started*

working here, I could do my house chores after I got home, but now I just sleep. I have become very pessimistic about youngsters and the future. In the last 4, 5 months I have become really depressed, worn off and burnt out. "(Support staff)

The examples above demonstrate service providers' emotional and physical exhaustion. In the first extract a sociologist, who had been working for over 6 years, admits that becoming desensitised is a way of developing a safe guard against what is painful for him. In the last extract, however, a service provider who has recently started working shows that a new worker's emotional struggle is still alive. The complaints stated by the new service provider might be considered as a sign of being alive compared to those of the more experienced ones, since emotions have not yet been 'killed'. The longer the work experience, the more the likelihood of experiencing burnout. Continual exposure to emotional pain, tragic life stories and children's aggression, have left service providers feeling vulnerable. The extract below vividly demonstrates one of many difficult aspects of working with street children which makes service providers feel vulnerable against the work related stress.

"Employees need to be rehabilitated because we constantly come across children's aggressive behaviour, psychopathic attitude. We constantly hear children's tragic life stories. That is psychologically and physically exhausting. "(Sociologist)

Feeling vulnerable is one of the most recurring themes in the accounts given by the participants, which also contributes to burnout. This is then followed by the impact of how easily children can return back to street life after they receive service provision. In general, working with street children has been described as being on a vicious cycle. The problem of street children in relation to the wider problems such as migration and poverty, as discussed earlier, frustrates the service providers through the inability to control life outside the organisation while continually experiencing physical and emotional exhaustion, which leads to feelings of helplessness, hopelessness, and apathy. This is further demonstrated in the extracts below.

"*I love my job; I really enjoy working in this area. Nevertheless, I have never felt so much despair and helplessness before in all my life.* "(Deputy Manager)

"*Success is very rare in this field. We can't really make any progress. This makes me feel restless. This is a first step station, where a child comes with us to the organisation. He says that he won't runaway; but as soon as we turn our backs, the child runs away. There are children I have known them since they were 13-14 years old. They have kept coming to the organisation, may be more than 100 times. We see in time how children who start working in the streets turn into street children. We witness how they develop in time. We are trying to frighten the children with the dangerous facts of street life to convince them not to work or stay in the streets. There are families, however, who keep sending their children to work. We can only be successful with the children who have just started*

working or living in the streets. We are stuck in this process; and have nothing more to say. Idealism is getting diminished. Our job has become a routine. I am exhausted. "(Sociologist)

Starting to live in the street changes children's lives dramatically and that is what workers continuously and painfully witness. Seeing a child addicted to street life diminishes their hopes in service provision. Evidence suggests that working with street children is perceived as a never ending process with very little progress. Service providers have also drawn attention to parents' expectation of fiscal contribution to the family income through child labour. It has become apparent that service providers not only struggle with the children but also with the parents' expectations of their children. This again strengthens the feeling of helplessness and hopelessness.

The findings also suggest that workers cannot invest trust in children because of their unreliable nature. This leaves the service providers once again in a helpless situation. Thus working with street children is not only psychologically consuming but also unpredictable. The extract below demonstrates the unpredictable nature of working with street children and its effects.

"*You do not have a day or a night in this work. I remember being called at 5 o'clock in the morning. You can never make a program.* "(Manager)

Being a manager brings along various responsibilities towards the service users and the service providers alike. As part of their job, the responsibility for planning increases the pressure on the managers. Providing services for street children is not an easy task. Therefore, it is particularly important for the service providers to have their efforts and works acknowledged and appreciated. However, in addition to all the distressing struggles service providers have cited above, many workers in different positions have complained that their efforts had not been acknowledged and appreciated in any way. The lack of acknowledgement also contributes to staff burnout. Below is a typical comment from a research participant.

"*Priority is always given to children. I believe service providers are neglected. One isn't more important than the other. Service users and service providers should be given the same priority. I am for example, really angry. I am supposed take my vocational leave now, but because the manager of our second step station for girls is on her vocational leave I have to cover for her.* **"**(Manager)

As pointed out in the extract above, staff are deprived of the right to choose the dates of their annual leave. Staff believe that their needs are not met by their managers/senior managers because these needs are not acknowledged as administrative topics in the first place. This provokes strong feelings like anger. Like their managers, who feel neglected by their seniors in the SHÇEK organisation, most non-managerial staff consider that their work is not being appreciated by their managers. An example below shows how staff in different jobs feel that their efforts and success have not been recognised.

"*I have corrected the bad manner of talking by the girls. They used to swear a lot. This has been my success. When I remind my manager and social service staff of this, they do not accept it. They say that girls' manner has changed for the time being.* "(Peer big sister)

The above accounts suggest that in a work place where success stories are very rare, service providers do not have much opportunity to develop a sense of personal accomplishment, even of being useful. Moreover, they don't get much positive feedback from their seniors. This may be part of the organisation's general culture, where efforts have not been appreciated in all levels of employment. This leaves service providers very little space for relief, which can only be derived from personal and/or job satisfaction, while coping with an unpredictable day-to-day struggle. Such dissatisfaction appears to contribute greatly to staff burnout. In the next section, lack of job satisfaction will be examined with its' causes in relation to staff burnout.

4.3.1.1. Lack of job satisfaction

In this study lack of job satisfaction has been reported by many of the participants ranging from managers to support staff. The account below has been quoted as an example of how service providers describe the problem of dissatisfaction with their jobs.

"*There is no self-satisfaction and job satisfaction here. After I had completed my military service (compulsory for men in Turkey, lasting maximally for about 18 months), not being able to find a job elsewhere, I had to return here to sell my time like a woman who sells her body.* "(Sociologist)

Besides job dissatisfaction, the extract above also reveals that working in such organisations is not a service providers' first choice. With the exception of civil servants, who only have permanent contracts, many of the participants have reported this. In a country where, given the global economic crisis, unemployment has become the biggest problem, especially for the youth, securing a job is very important. The sad reality is that the unemployed include not only unqualified workers but also many well-educated university graduates. Turkey's young people are most afraid of losing their jobs or failing to find another job if they are made redundant. Therefore, it is not a coincidence that many service providers in SHÇEK are either newly qualified or were newly qualified when they first started working. Staff turnover rate is quite high in SHÇEK organisations, a finding that will be explored in detail in a separate section, later in this chapter. Below a manager's expressions about job satisfaction has been quoted:

"*We have no job satisfaction. Because people don't apply their professional skills here; as an unconscious defence they have developed inferiority complex.* "(Manager)

The main reasons cited by service providers for job dissatisfaction is the inability to deploy

professional skills next to having an excessive workload. The manager quoted above suggests that having to do tasks regardless of their training causes workers to feel inferior. Research findings with several service providers support the idea that an excessive workload is a significant stressor associated with a variety of deleterious psychological reactions, including burnout. In this study, it has been found that service providers perceive that they have too many tasks, including the ones that are not related to their professional role. The extract below is another striking account of this reality.

"*We also work as an officer here (laughs). I have no idea whatsoever about admin work. They did not even show me or tell me anything about admin work. Paperwork takes up 80 per cent of my time. When it is 4 o'clock I have become an exhausted psychologist. I can't give priority to the children.* "(Psychologist)

Other participants have also reported that not being able to deploy their professional skills has resulted from having an excessive workload such as administrative work. Excessive workload also takes up the service providers' time that should be given to children, as many participants have complained. Findings of the study suggest that excessive work load; admin work in particular, leads to loss of job satisfaction, and to burnout amongst the service providers. The extract of a social worker's account of how admin work left no time for children has been cited below as another striking example of excessive work impeding close contact with the children.

"*There are times that I can't get out of my room all day, because of the admin work. I would like to work with the children, develop projects for them but unnecessary paper work wouldn't let me.* "(Social worker)

As it has been frequently reported that service providers don't have time to interact with children to deploy their professional skills, it becomes important to bear in mind the question of whether or not the admin work which appears to take up social workers' time could be an unconscious defence developed by the workers to protect themselves against what is emotional. Another example to the complaint of having to do too many tasks is cited below.

"*We have an excessive workload here. What don't we do here? We do everything here. There are 5-6 sociologists working here. For the last five years I have been doing night shifts as well. During the day I do paperwork. At nights Istanbul Provincial Social Services are closed so we work like general directorate officers. We take calls to respond to people's general enquiries.* "(Sociologist)

Loss of job satisfaction leading to burnout results from chronic imbalance in job demands. For example, lack of role clarity has also come up among the reasons cited for job dissatisfaction. Lack of role clarity will be examined in detail, later in this chapter under the heading of uncertainty. The uncertainty experienced in SHÇEK organisations deserves special attention as it represents the

culture of SHÇEK organisations which profoundly affects the service provision.

Not having a voice in the running of the service as well as not having initiatives have also been reported by participants as contributing towards job dissatisfaction. It has been suggested that lack of initiatives adversely affect the sense of belonging to the organisation, also a contributory factor to staff burnout. In service provision for street children social workers are reported as the domain professionals who do the same work irrespective of professional qualifications. Noticeably, the managers in the organisations are all social workers and only social workers have the chance to become civil servants, though not all social workers are civil servants in the system. They are also the only professionals in the system who have the authority of signature. This causes discrepancy among the staff in terms of their professional rights. The extract below is an example of how some participants, generally the sociologists, view social workers' position in comparison to theirs and how this discrepancy contributes to personal and professional dissatisfaction.

"*The domain profession in SHÇEK organisations is that of social worker. This shouldn't be like that because this stops us from producing procreative, fertile projects. After all social workers are trained to work only with the outcomes of the problems. They interfere when there is a problem. The philosophy of SHÇEK is based on this attitude and I think that is why Social Services in Turkey has come to a deadlock. Focusing only on the outcome prevents us from developing more radical solutions. To improve the services we provide, we need first of all to change the system in which only the social workers dominate. Everyone in the organisation should have a right to speak and their thoughts should be taken into account.* "(Sociologist)

The complaint of not having initiatives has been particularly raised by the sociologists. This might be because they are employed when there are not enough social workers and psychologist would like to work with street children. Sociologists, although generally more experienced than many other workers, do not have the training relevant to service provision in SHÇEK. It has also been reported managers may exclude them from in service trainings and other similar schemes.

Those service providers, generally other than social workers, complaining of not being given initiatives feel that they are not effective and productive as much as they can be which has resulted in not embracing their work. They suggest that a multi-disciplined approach, which allows everyone to participate in the system, would be more productive. However, managers themselves have also complained of not being given initiatives:

"*As an organisation we look autonomous but actually we are not. We are part of a big organisation, which includes the provincial government and Istanbul Provincial Directorate of Social Services. We don't have much initiative and authority. We just do what we are told to do. We just receive orders.* "(Manager)

Given these findings, it might be said that it is part of the culture of the organisation for service

providers not to feel empowered to express thoughts and ideas in the running of the services. Without initiatives job dissatisfaction is inevitable. Some participants working in different positions have pointed out that moral satisfaction is the only satisfaction one can get when working with street children. Below an outstanding example has been given.

"*I had leukaemia seven years ago and I still have health problems. I sometimes think that because they* (girls) *sincerely pray for me, I remain alive. They are very sincere.* (She starts to cry)" (Support staff)

Besides looking for moral satisfaction, "getting used to" the working conditions has also been frequently reported by service providers as a way of coping. This appears to be an unconscious way of protecting oneself from emotional pain. This doesn't suggest however that service providers no longer feel the psychological burden of their jobs. The phenomenon of 'getting and being used to' can be considered as a further reflection of staff burnout. The account below represents one of many examples in which participants argue that having 'become used' to the situation, on a conscious level, helps them survive psychologically.

"*When you first start working here it takes you a long time to get used to it, but once you get used to working here, you find it not as difficult as it used to be. When I first started to work here, I was questioning and thinking a lot about the service provision, but recently I have not even thought about it.* "(Psychologist)

'Being used' to might reduce the emotional pain service providers feel on a day to day basis, but it also reduces the service providers' awareness of the complete situation as they stop noticing what is around them. Being emotionally switched off means also being blind to the particular work environment they are in, as findings suggest. Feeling burnt out has sometimes expressed directly, and sometimes expressed through complaints of helplessness, vulnerability and neglect. In short, it is evident that not being given initiatives but being overburdened and constrained by all manner of unenjoyable work with very limited resources, the staff at SHÇEK lose interest in their employment and suffer typical burnout. In this work environment considering moral satisfaction and 'becoming used to the situation' appear to be only safeguards service providers can hold on to, in order to withstand the insults.

4.3.2. High Turnover

The underpaid and overworked SHÇEK service providers do not endure their employment conditions for long because there is a very high rate of staff turnover at the organisational centres as reported by different research participants. The factors contributing to this have been cited in the different sections of this chapter. As it will be reported later in the staffing section working with street children is not most service providers' first choice, which consequently speeds up the turnover among

service providers. A manager who participated in this research has made the following comments:

"*We work here 24/7. It is quite tiring to work here. When employees have a better opportunity, they leave. For example this year 7 left. It is difficult for children to adapt to new people. As a manager, I want to work with the same staff at least for a year. High rate of staff turnover means resources are channelled to replace workers, rather than to provide service.* "(Manager)

This and similar accounts indicate that the high rate of staff turnover negatively affects the functioning of the system and, ultimately, the children served by the organisation. Service providers have an impact on the lives of vulnerable children, often at critical phases in their lives. As the above account suggests when children experience repeated changes of caregivers, they are bound to encounter difficulties in developing secure caregiver and child relationships. Below there is different account concerning high rates of staff turnover.

"*I have been in this organisation for 3 years and within these 3 years our manager has changed 3 times.* "(Sociologist)

The account above shows that high turnover occurs amongst management staff too. Considering the high incidence of runaway children, it can be concluded that in these institutions the circulation of service providers as well as service receivers is far too high. The continual changes prevent the service provision to settle. Below an extract about the circulation in the service been given.

"*Like the children staff keeps changing here. For example, the social worker you had previously interviewed isn't here anymore. She is temporarily relocated in another SHÇEK organisation. Another social worker, only two months after starting working here was relocated in another organisation.* "(Sociologist)

The extract above shows that the circulation among service providers is not only due to high turnover, but also a product of the system. It has become apparent that senior managers change service provider's placements too. High levels of turnover within this key group may have substantial negative consequences for both the human service organisation and the children. Excessive turnover rates in any organisation, reduces service capacity and increases the possibility for damaging decisions to be made. Not only is a high rate of turnover of professional personnel unsettling for the individual worker but also disruptive to both service provision and organisational stability.

4.3.3. Resource levels

In order for service providers to provide the best service, they require a well-established working environment. In the research however, most service providers in different professions have reported

that their work environment in many ways suffers from lack of resources. This means that both service providers' and children's needs remain unmet by service provision. Most of the research participants have pointed out that the main outcome of inadequate resources is staff shortages, which they felt very acutely. The second biggest problem reported is that of poor physical working conditions. When services are constrained by low budgets, matters of location, security problems and lack of facilities also constitute serious problems. Extracts below are chosen from participants' accounts raising the issue of staff shortages:

"*We don't have sufficient number of professionals such as psychologists, social workers. We should for example have a psychiatrist here working full-time. The number of psychologist should be increased. We only have one nurse. We definitely should have more nurses. We don't have sufficient number of workers. Sociologists are doing the job of social workers because we don't have enough number of social workers.* "(Manager)

In SHÇEK, social workers and psychologists are considered as the main service providers for the integration of street children. But, findings indicate that the number of social workers and psychologists working in SHÇEK cannot meet the demand. The difficulties of getting an appointment with a psychiatrist in state hospitals has been frequently reported, justifying the great need for full time psychiatrists in each organisation, which would be very beneficial to the children as well as the efficiency of the services. Service providers have indicated the need for qualified nurses when working with street children. The input of professionals like psychiatrists, psychologists and nurses within the system would be vital for an efficient and effective service provision for children. Participants not only express the need for contribution of certain professionals' expertise in the system, but also the need for more workers in order to fulfil the needs of children. Here is an account of a peer big brother on staff shortages:

"*We have staff shortages. There are 48 children here. But during the night shift there are only two members of staff. These two are responsible for everything and anything can happen at night. Therefore, sometimes we can't control all events. Last night, for example, we were only two people here to help the children with their meals, showers, and social activities and so on.* "(Peer big brother)

Institutional care for children means that most of the children's needs are met by service provision. In order to achieve the required results sufficient numbers of service providers both in quality and quantity need to be employed. As described above by the peer big brother, not having enough service providers in the system leads to chaos in the organisation while this increases the pressure on service providers it leaves the children with the feeling of being uncontained and uncontrollable. In order for children to feel safe, it is important that they experience their caregivers being fully in charge of the service provision. Participants have also stated that for children to feel content and accept the organisation as home, they have to be engaged with all sorts of activities so

that they don't get bored. With staff shortages however, it would not be possible for service providers to plan all the required activities for children. A psychologist's account below illustrates this point;

"*We should offer more social activities to the girls. In summer, for example, girls wanted to go to seaside but since we don't have enough number of personals we couldn't take them. Especially in summer there very few staff stay here. We all use our annual leaves in summer.* "(Psychologist)

During the summer break from June to September children don't go to school. It is usually a time when children need extra activities to engage in. However, research participants have reported that during this period, due to worsening of staff shortages, activities cannot be increased and are in fact reduced. This makes the organisations unattractive places for children to visit and stay. Participants report that one of the reasons for children not wanting to stay in the organisations is that they find them boring. Streets, however, compared to the organisations, seem more attractive for children to spend their time in. Besides these staff shortages participants have reported that the physical conditions of the organisations are very poor. An account below from a manager describes the physical sate of many SHÇEK organisations.

"*We strive hard with this old building. We need better physical conditions. Our building is too big and too old. We don't have enough space for outdoor activities. Because the building is too old its maintenances takes up most of my time. I constantly have to deal with the structural problems of the buildings.* "(Deputy Manager)

Physical condition of organisations are very important both for children and service providers to help them feel contained and welcomed in their environment. SHÇEK organisations however lack a homely feeling. The majority of the SHÇEK organisations providing services for street children were initially built for different purposes. Therefore, in many ways the buildings used by SHÇEK organisations are not suitable places for children to live in. Some don't even have a garden. As pointed out above by the participating deputy manager, poor physical conditions of buildings create extra duties for managers. Besides the physical conditions of organisations, their location is also a big concern for service providers. As can be seen in the extracts below; the organisation's locations can differ from wealthy to poor areas or, from a village to a busy city centre. The extracts below highlight the location problems these organisations face.

"*Our organisation is far away from the city centre which is depressing both for us and children. I have seen children running away from the organisation when I am right next to them. The most difficult thing in being away from the city centre is that children don't want to stay here. Every time we take them to the city centre 6 out of 10 children run away. Therefore, we don't want to take them to the city centre, but they get bored here. We are in between dilemmas and can't plan something effective.* "(Psychologist)

"*Having our centre in Taksim* (Taksim is a very centrally placed major shopping, tourist and leisure district famed for its restaurants, shops and hotels.) *is another dilemma. The location causes a real danger especially for the girls who are coming from little towns, not brought up in Istanbul. When those girls run away from the organisation they find themselves right in the middle of danger.* "(Manager)

Findings reveal that no specific criterion is taken into consideration when deciding the location of an organisation. The extracts above vividly describe the disadvantages of poor location choice, not only for children but for service providers as well. Participants have also talked about their funding problems in delivering service provision. A manager's account below exemplifies this problem:

"*It is not the children that is tiring, it is the system that tires us as we are working with a small budget.* "(Manager)

Many participants have reported funding problems encountered in their day-to-day work. A psychologist's account below further illustrates this problem.

"*Our budget is very limited. Sometimes we even had to spend our own money. It shouldn't be my duty to find a sponsor for their birthday presents. For example, the other day, one of our girls had a birthday. In this hot weather I went out with her to buy her a present. It took us hours to choose a present. Because with little money we tried to buy something that she really liked.* "(Psychologist)

A low budget deeply affects service provision. With a limited budget it is particularly difficult for service providers to fulfil their service users' needs. This again puts an immense pressure on them. Trying to meet the endless requirements of the children through limited resources is impossible. A psychologist's report given below is given as an example below.

"*Our vehicle which takes us to the courthouse or the hospital is quite old. It often breaks down on the way. Transport is always a problem.* "(Psychologist)

A low budget significantly limits the facilities provided for street children. Besides low budgets, security has also been a serious problem that has been reported by several professionals. Though relatively few participants have touched this matter within the context of inadequate or absence of facilities, the difficulties they experience on this issue is understandably quite significant, when thinking in terms of service provision. A noticeable comment from a psychologist has been included below.

"*I find the night shifts quite difficult. Each month I have 4 night shifts. When I have a night shift I work for 24 hours. I have two night shifts on weekdays and two night shifts at the weekends. The most difficult thing about the night shift is that I am very thin and puny; when the boys fight I intervene as*

there is nobody else to intervene here. Last time I intervened they ripped up my arms and legs and they even stepped on me. They are all teenagers. There are 30 teenagers here. There is a security officer here but they stay downstairs, it takes time for him to come up. "(Psychologist)

A newly qualified psychologist's account shows the extent of the security problems faced. She is more or less on her own at night. It is important to note that the security staff is recruited by a private company. A manager has pointed out that this also creates problems, as the hired staff are not adequately equipped. The manager has made the comment:

"S*ometimes I even find myself in the situation of having to protect security people from our service users, and sometimes from delinquent children's families*".(Manager)

There are, as pointed out earlier, delinquent children among the service users. Participants have reported that these children's families cause a big security concern for them.

"*We have problems with the families of the delinquent children because there are criminals in these children's families. It has been the state prosecution office decision that the child must stay here. You might have seen on TV as well. We had a family waiting for their son in a very expensive car in front of the organisation threatening us with a gun. We constantly encounter with very serious issue, and so I sometimes worry about being attacked by one of the children or their families. Although it has never happened to me, and, as far as I know , it has never happened to any of my colleagues, I sometimes worry about it. I think this is because children sometimes threaten us.* "(Sociologist)

Security problems are among the major issues reported by the research participants. Their accounts suggest that as they are not professionally protected, both service providers and children's security are at risk. They believe that although an incident has not yet occurred, it is always anticipated as imminent. In the sociologist's account given above, the issue of having to provide services for various groups of children, other than street children, such as the delinquents and, the lack of inter-professional collaboration with the juvenile judicial system has lead to serious problems for the service provision not only for the quality of service provision but security wise as well. The lack of inter-professional will be dealt in detail later in this chapter.

In this section, the work environment has been explored in relation to its resources. Findings reveal that service providers are not working in a well-established working environment in terms of its resources. Lack of resources ranges from staff shortage to low budget. These significantly contribute to high staff turnover as well as burnout.

4.3.4. Lack of support

To reiterate what has been said previously, working with streets children is in many ways a very difficult job. Therefore, service providers, both the new ones and the experienced ones, should be

supported emotionally and professionally. Given emotional and professional support prepares the new workers and help the experienced ones perform better. Participants of this research, however, have expressed their frustration for not being provided with any kind of support which would help them to perform better and how much the staff has been suffering for being neglected and left alone. In the absence of overall support, quality of the relationship among the service providers becomes the only source of support that service providers can talk about. Many participants have raised the matters of low wages, pointing out that they also do not receive adequate financial support for their work. The overall feeling on the part of the participants within the context of insufficient support from upper management and/or the immediate administration has been voiced by most participants in different positions. In the extracts below participants draw attention to urgent need for support.

These participants have expressed the need to share with their colleagues all work related issues like concerns, episodes, incidents, thoughts, feelings, images, and so forth that are in their mind. Participants of all ranks have expressed the need for emotional support suggesting that it would be beneficial for the staff to receive psychological support to address these emotions. Extracts below are taken from the sequences of the interviews on this particular problem of not having emotional support. Two extracts below, one from a manager, one from a sociologist, demonstrate the loneliness felt in consequence.

"*When you have a problem, you are left alone without being given any support.* "(Manager)

"*As well as children, staff need rehabilitation. We need to be motivated, I don't know how or by whom, but I know that I personally need to be motivated. We for example need more holidays.* "(Sociologist)

Research participants have frequently referred to the absence of any measure to give them motivation to work keenly, and have described in different ways how desperate they are for it. Some participants have also drawn attention to the problem of not getting professional help which resulted in a sense of loneliness. The extract below is a notable example of how individual workers have been struggling in these respects:

"*The problem with SHÇEK is that there is not enough training for service procedures and we don't have supervision. I am expected to solve all the problems but I can get stuck without knowing what to do. There are times that I need to hear about and look at the matters in hand from a different perspective. We have to find the solutions by ourselves.* "(Deputy Manager)

As the above accounts clearly suggest, professional as well as emotional support is necessary for service providers. Ongoing training provides knowledge, personal development and moral support and strong supervisory support contributes to a satisfied workforce. In the course of the research, however, various participants have expressed that they are lacking ongoing professional support such as in service training and supervision. It has been repeatedly emphasised by many participants that

especially the support staff need professional supervision and training. As it was shown earlier that on account of the working conditions, working for SHÇEK is not desirable or a priority for the staff that frequently results in SHÇEK having to employ people even though they are not suitable for the position. These findings strongly indicate that all staff's situation needs special attention. This point will be explored in detail in the staffing section, but an account of a sociologist pointing out the professional needs of the support staff has been included here.

"*Support staff, like us, need training. Though we give in service training to the support staff, it is not enough. SHÇEK should organise in service training. SHÇEK should be very careful in employing people.* "(Sociologist)

In view of the complaints of the participants employed at different positions in SHÇEK about unmet needs of both professional and emotional support and absence of a general policy of job security, it is concluded that service providers' fundamental needs are not met by the employer. The additional complaints on wages, security staffing, other rights at work like the right to express and implement views, as cited above, confirm the absence of any advantages in working for their employer, which in fact has been overtly expressed by many. These are all very serious shortcomings that affect the state of mind of the staff at all ranks and contribute to the feeling of neglect and uselessness. Also, these are the major factors behind the staff expressions tantamount to decreased confidence and courage in working with street children and loss of the sense of belonging to their organisation leading to the inevitable staff burnout. Below is given an example to the effects on an employee and the potential injustices of being employed without proper job security.

"*The system is against you. We are contracted personnel. Our future is between the lips of the manager. If a manager doesn't like you he can fire you. We are not civil servants; we don't have a permanent contract (*tenure*) so our job isn't secure.* "(Sociologist)

The extract above shows the necessity of having a system in which service providers can feel safe and in which their rights are protected. Considering the basic tension such circumstances in a work place can cause, examples given by participants do indicate that situations do arise when some participants can easily be provoked to be offended and, express offensive views about their managers/senior managers. Some examples to these incidents have been given by the participants in the context of feeling neglected, which range from not having been provided with free lunch to not being able to use their annual leave at the time they need. The citation below illustrates this point.

"*We don't even have the right to have free lunch here. You might think that this is a very small thing but it can be a big problem. Either we have to bring our lunch from home or we have to order it.* (There aren't many shops around) *If they make our life easier we would work and think about it more comfortably.* "(Psychologist)

As it is clearly stated by a psychologist, if a service provider is in need, then it is not easy to support their service users who are also in need. Considering the interview accounts of the participants that the staff of SHÇEK are on low incomes and the fact that salary is one of the main motivators for staff in any industry, it becomes evident that deprivation of service providers of proper income commensurate with the cited difficulties of the job does compound with other measures like refusing institutional meals which is taken by staff as a lack of performance oriented incentives. Participants ranging from managers to support staff who took part in the research have raised the issue of low wages, making it evident that SHÇEK staff with different appointments have a financial struggle, as exemplified by the quotation given below.

"*Though your duties expand and change, your salary never changes. Unless you are a manager you wouldn't stay here. As a worker it is difficult to survive financially with this low an income.* "(Psychologist)

It is surprising to hear from a qualified psychologist that there is no purpose in staying on at his job unless he holds a manager's position. Service providers when talking on income have made categorical comments that although the salaries are unsatisfactory to cause financial struggle for all, support staff salaries are too low to be acceptable. Participants have especially emphasized this objection.

"*Support staffs' salary is very low such that they have economic problems.* "(Sociologist)

Low salary explains why working in SHÇEK is not preferable and why SHÇEK has to employ people regardless of qualifications. This point was earlier examined with its effect on the observed high turnover of staff. A social worker's account below clearly demonstrates this point.

"*Group leaders all have to be employed from the village because of the low salary level. They couldn't employ anybody other than village people.* "(Social worker)

In the absence of overall support for service providers, participants from manager to support staff have commented that their relationship with each other keeps them going and to some extent changes the atmosphere from unbearable to bearable. Here are quotations to this effect:

"*In general we get on well with each other. If we wouldn't, it would be unbearable to be stay here. In the social service we try to motivate each other. Even having a cup coffee together helps us.* "(Psychologist)

"*The relationships among the staff and between the staff and the managers help us the most to be*

motivated. "(Manager)

Findings in this context reveal that there is a general staff demoralisation from the manager down, but that the maintenance of personal relationships on an even keel may help overcome the much stressed complaints on the differences of incomes and job security in sustaining the efforts demanded by the jobs. Service givers are in a situation of having to support themselves there being no other support system in place, whether professional, emotional or financial, which though can be achieved only to a limited extent as staff burnout has been widely reported. Although lack of support has been examined in a separate section in this chapter, it is difficult look at this issue independently from staff burnout as the two issues are strongly interrelated.

4.3.5. Uncertainty

Organisations are viewed as 'social systems' with a structure intended to relate to the effective discharge of the primary task with purposeful and goal seeking arrangements where, division of labour among its members with identifiable boundaries is essential (Hodge et al., 1996). In the research however, participants have pointed towards the definite lack of a structure with sufficient regulations in their work settings in which identifiable boundaries exist. This has led to a general feeling of uncertainty among the service providers regardless of their positions of employment. They express uncertainty not only about their roles but also the objectives of their organisations.

Findings show that many service providers ranging from managers to support staff are not clear about their roles and tasks as a result of which they experience a higher degree of role conflict. Service provision lacks a basic system that determines staff functions professionally. It appears that the institutional service provision is determined by individuals and not the statutes of the system which has left the service providers face to face with uncertainty and ambiguity. Participants from different positions put this forward as a reason for not being able to do interprofessional collaboration. The extract below has been included to demonstrate the confusion and disquiet of a manager experiencing lack of role clarity.

"*Staff responsibilities and duties are determined by their managers according to their personal skills and abilities. We, however, need a professional management which clearly defines who does what. Because in general, we don't have a clear job description, there is always an inter-professional conflict.* "(Manager)

Research findings support what the manager vividly puts forward in the above extract and reflects the opinion of the service providers in general. Service providers are lacking an effective job description which details the primary functions of their job, how the tasks will be carried out, as well as stipulating the necessary skills needed to perform the job. Additionally, since service providers don't have the essential boundaries to perform their professional roles, they can't deploy their professional skills and abilities, which then leads to personal and professional dissatisfaction. In this respect a

psychologist's account below was worth including here.

"*I don't always listen to children as a psychologist. I say things that psychologist should not say.* (She paused). *I am a psychologist and a teacher and a sister for them. I mean my role is indefinable. We have unclear job descriptions here. I have been trying to come to terms with the service I provide for the 7 months since I have started working here. We could call our service as a social service or maybe not. I actually don't know what I am doing here. I am only useful for referring children to psychiatrists.* "(Psychologist)

The feeling of uncertainty in the absence of role clarity leaves service providers and psychologists in particular with an uncomfortable feeling. Psychologists argue that in order to develop therapeutic relationships with children, it is necessary to have boundaries. They say that doing different jobs, for example, doing night shift work in addition to professional work as a psychologist, prevents children's trust in them as psychologists. As it has been reported by a psychologist, having many different tasks to perform causes a feeling of confusion on part of the children who refuse to cooperate. This confusion is not only experienced on an individual level but also on an organisational level as well, since the service users consist of various groups of children with different needs such as street children, undocumented children, and delinquent children, requiring specific approaches for caring. There appears to be more of a chaotic work environment in the absence of a structure, rather than a beneficial contribution to clients with multiple needs with fluidity of approach.

SHÇEK started providing services for street children in 1998. Since then 9 organisations have been established to provide services for street children. In the research however, it appears that these organisations not only provide services for street children but for other children with different needs and backgrounds such as delinquents, undocumented children and those with learning difficulties. Actually, in some of these organisations, street children have become the minority group among the service users. Extracts below show how service providers have a mixed group of service users with different needs and how this adversely affects both service providers and users.

"*Since 2000 our service users have consisted of a mixed group of children, including mentally disabled children, undocumented children, and children with behaviour problems coming from ordinary residential care organisations. We were opened first to provide service for the children living in the street but we were then sent the other children too. This is contradictory to our purposes of service. 70% of our children have been sent from residential care organisations such that the level of our service provision has increased. As a result street children have started not benefiting from our service provision since it has become more difficult for them to participate. It is wrong to house street children along with for example delinquent children. This badly affects our service.* "(Manager)

The manager's account above represents the situation in other SHÇEK organisations that provide services for street children. Most service providers are unsure about the function of the

organisation as their service users consist of children with different backgrounds and needs. Street children, who are their target group in the first instance, become the minority among their service users. This raises a very important question; "*Is there such a service provision which specifically exists for street children at all?* " This is yet another situation in which street children may feel socially excluded. Having received the 'dropouts' not only of society but also from different organisations reminds us of what one of the managers said in the research regarding their organisation: *'We are the rubbish bins of Istanbul'.* Findings suggest that when there is no specific service provision for a specific group of children such as delinquent or undocumented children, organisations for street children are invariably get used. In other words organisations for street children house all children who have been marginalised from mainstream services/ provisions. Service providers need a specific target group to provide services for. In addition, housing children along with the children who have different problems and needs causes a big problem, not only with regard to the service provision but service users too. It even has a damaging effect on children. Service providers with different professions who have taken part in the research have drawn particular attention to this point.

Street children themselves are not a homogeneous group. Every street child is unique, and requires individual attention. If the service users differ dramatically from children with learning difficulties to undocumented children; then the situation begs the question of how they can all benefit from the same service provision. This increases the pressure on service providers and makes it almost impossible for street children to participate. The extract below from a psychologist demonstrates the struggle of service providers responding multiplicity of needs and how serious the implications are.

"*We have to protect the girls those who don't have any street experiences from those who do have street experiences.* "(Psychologist)

As the psychologist points out, this approach is harmful to children as they are all vulnerable and require special treatment. Therefore, protecting one child from another is among many other duties of service providers. This describes a work environment lacking a structure intended to relate to the effective discharge of the primary task with purposeful and goal seeking arrangements. This has left the service providers in SHÇEK with a feeling of uncertainty that dominates their work setting.

It is clearly seen that uncertainty dominates the general atmosphere of SHÇEK service implementation with respect to professional roles of the workers and the function of the organisations. This uncertainty appears to be part of the organisational culture. It perhaps wouldn't be too strong to argue that given the range of needs of their service users, these organisations cannot be expected to provide service provision specific to the presenting needs of their users other than housing them. Lack of regulations, role clarity and having to provide services for children with different backgrounds and needs illustrate an unpredictable and uncontrollable situation. Consequently, the work environment becomes an unsafe place both for the service providers and users.

4.3.6. Lack of inter-professional collaboration: from policy to practice level:

4.3.6.1. Insufficient professional collaboration with academics, politicians and senior managers

Although the issue of street children is one of the major problems in Turkey, this area is under researched. The research done so far is inadequate as it has been more concerned with the statistical aspects of the problem. And yet, no research has been done on service provision for street children. Such a research would bring together frontline workers with academics to undertake research for evaluation of the impact of social care policies and practices on street children. Moreover, the government doesn't seem to take a serious interest in this kind of cooperation, as there is no funding allocated for the issue of street children to encourage academic work based on the experiences on the ground. Research findings demonstrate this gap between the academics, decision makers, senior managers and frontline workers. Extracts below demonstrate how these important stakeholders involved in the service provision for street children are working separately without supporting each other to benefit from each other's knowledge and experiences. The account of a manager concerned with the disparity between academics and service providers gives a good example to the problem being discussed:

"*Academics offer solutions according to the ways in which they were brought up. I am the one, who has been working in this field so that I am the one who should be writing about this field based on my knowledge and experiences.* "(Manager)

The extract above suggests that frontline workers don't feel that their experiences and knowledge is taken into consideration by academics and there is no professional cooperation between them. This is perhaps why all workers when approached welcomed this research topic and to be offered to participate in this research. They all volunteered to be research participants and the accounts they have given indicate that the academics' view does not represent the realities of the field. Hence, for example, they do not embrace the service model that they are using as their views were not incorporated into it. Below another example has been given to illustrate this point further.

"*I don't know by whom the service model we are using was developed. It wasn't one of us otherwise I would have known. It was probably developed by the people who were not working in this field.* "(Manager)

It is interesting to note that even managers don't know how their service model was developed and the philosophy behind it. There is however, a great need for practitioners and academics to work together to identify research topics and funding opportunities which can inform and improve practice for treatment and prevention strategies to make a contribution to social policies. But participants point out that, there is also discrepancy between policy makers and frontline workers. They argue that policies developed are not based on the experiences accumulated on the ground. The account given by a manager clearly illustrating the point being discussed has been included below.

"*Our knowledge and experiences are not taken into account by the decision makers so our experience and knowledge doesn't in any way affect the social policies.* "(Manager)

Research findings show that, service providers don't think their experiences and knowledge have in any way been taken into consideration by academics and policy makers. Thus both the literature and policies on street children in Turkey do not reflect the reality. Therefore they do not meet the needs at grassroots. This is reported as one of the main reasons why service provision is unsuccessful. According to the participants, mainly the managers, they argue that there is also disparity with their senior managers. It is suggested that some senior managers don't have a good grasp of what is going on the ground level. The following extract of a manager demonstrates the gap senior managers have with grassroots.

"*We have a protocol only with two local schools. The problem with these two local schools is that all the children from these premises go to these two schools.* (This organisation is located in a campus with other several SHÇEK organisations including a place of refuge for women, nursing home, and residential care institutions for children etc.) *The senior managers should have asked us about our opinions before they made a protocol with the schools. All the children from these premises go to the same school. Children from residential care institutions know our children, because our girls have a very bad reputation. They are having very difficult times at school. Our girls get bullied and don't have the chance to become anonymous at school.* "(Manager)

Findings have indeed revealed the presence of a gulf between senior managers and grass root issues with direct impact on the service provision. When senior management does not have a grasp of the needs at ground level, the decisions made directly affect children's lives. The managers have not been given the authority to decide what is best for children even though they are the ones who know the prevailing situation best. Most importantly, this sort of disparity contributes to the isolation of these organisations from the mainstream, which will be examined in detail in the section on marginalisation.

4.3.6.2. Insufficient professional collaboration with related agencies

The issues surrounding street children in particular, are complex. They have numerous needs and require multiple services necessitating inter-professional collaboration. However, as pointed out earlier, many participants employed at different positions have reported that there isn't collaborative work with related agencies.

In general, frontline workers do their job without much cooperation with their colleagues working in related organisations or even within their own organisations. This applies to inter-professional cooperation with the people both at the top and the people on the ground level. Workers' accounts confirm what one of the managers said about their organisation: "*we are all lonely*

organisations".

Participants have emphasised that in service provision for street children cooperation with hospitals and schools are essential for children's integration process into society. Research findings have shown, however, that different agencies involved in addressing the problem of street children do not cooperate sufficiently. Mainly the managers and psychologists have drawn attention to the fact that lack of cooperation not only affects the quality of service provided for street children but, also imposes a big obstacle for the workers in their work. The extract below from a manager touches the subject of the quality of relations with schools.

"*Local schools don't want our children. This year, a group of teachers came to visit me for problems associated with one of our girls. There was only one month left to the end of the summer term. Teachers were saying to me that they didn't want our girl in the school anymore but that absentees wouldn't cause a problem because on paper they would show that the child was in school.* "(Manager)

These findings suggest that street children, in general, are not being accepted into mainstream. For example, in order to move onto the next class up children have to attend school for a minimum number of days in one academic year. If they do not, they can fail but staff ignore this for the sake of not having this group of children in school. This account demonstrates that the protocols made by the government with certain schools for children to attend don't work in practice. Participants report, to get older children accepted into high schools is a real problem as in Turkey only the primary school education is compulsory. This account from a teacher further illustrates this problem.

"*High school education is not compulsory in Turkey so that local high schools don't accept our children into the system. Local high schools know that our children are difficult children so that they don't want our children.* "(Tailoring Teacher)

Besides the difficulties participants experience trying to meet these children's educational needs, they also have problems making arrangements for the children's health care needs. Children's integration process requires cooperation with mental health departments of hospitals, as most children need psychiatric treatment. However, it has become difficult even to get a hospital appointment with a psychiatrist, a problem especially raised by the psychologists. They state that because hospitals don't cooperate, they feel at times desperate which further increases their frustration at work. Here is an account from a psychologist:

"*I am so scared of children committing suicide. I give depression test to the child, if I suspect anything and think that the child has suicidal ideas I refer him to a psychiatrist. I am scared to death thinking of them committing suicide. But it is almost impossible to get an appointment at the local mental health hospital. It is also not easy to get an appointment for the children at the local University Hospital.* "(Psychologist)

The above extract shows that lack of cooperation with relevant agencies has left the participants feeling trapped. Participants feel the absence of the support of agencies like schools, hospitals, and police which lets the service provision down. Children on the streets are generally found by police and brought to organisations. Although members of the police force are usually the first people children in the streets come across, they are ill informed about the service model of SHÇEK organisations. This results in bringing a child to any organisation regardless of their needs. The extract below is relevant to this point:

"*We used to work quite systematically. But having children brought directly from street to second and third step stations by police makes our job difficult."*(Manager)

Receiving children straight from the street causes problems for the service providers at the second and third step organisations. These organisations are equipped for relatively settled children that have already gone through a process of evaluation and adaptation. Participants report that when a child joins them straight from the street he cannot adapt to the life within the organisation and can negatively influence children already settled within the structure of the organisation. For example, when these children attempt to run away from the organisation they manage to persuade some of the settled ones to come along with them.

Service providers' repeated accounts that delinquent children are serious problem for them have to be taken very seriously. A sociologist's account given below helps to illustrate this problem.

"*Juvenile courts and judges don't know the regulations in our organisations. They are ignorant about it. Children, who come here to Istanbul from eastern Turkey commit offences and get involved with gangs. When they are caught up in the act by the police, they are sent straight to us because being juveniles they can't be put in jail. When a child runs away from the organisation police calls us and questions us about how it has happened.* (She laughs) *There is an open door system here. The judge sends the children who commit crimes here but he doesn't know anything about the service provision. He has to come here first to learn about the conditions into which children are sent. It is ironical that we get to be investigated when the child runs away from the organisation.* (She laughs).'' (Sociologist)

The extract above suggests that correct or efficient cooperation between the juvenile judicial system and SHÇEK has not been achieved. Events frequently make evident that regulations of the SHÇEK's organisations are not known by the judges of the juvenile judicial system. These findings also indicate that appropriate service provision for under aged children who have committed offences is substandard. Hence, there are many consequences of the lack of communication and cooperation with the juvenile judicial system that leave service providers in a helpless situation. There is one SHÇEK organisation, which was especially established for delinquent children below the age of 11 and is one of the organisations in which this research has been carried out. This organisation

obviously cannot provide services for all delinquent children and specifically for children who are over the age of 11. SHÇEK organisations for street children are not suitable for delinquent children because this group of children need special rehabilitative approaches. On the other hand, there are not enough specialised agencies for juvenile delinquents or those children with learning difficulties. There are also no specialised agencies for undocumented children.

It becomes obvious that having virtually no consistent inter-professional collaboration with the related agencies is one of the biggest obstacles to the rehabilitation process of street children, and proves the issue of isolation the service providers from the mainstream which will be analysed further in the section on marginalisation.

4.3.6.3. Insufficient professional collaboration between SHÇEK organisational units

It may be useful to repeat here the 3-Step Approach of service provision for street children provided by SHÇEK:

Contact – contacting the street children, (routinely by street workers or the mobile teams –sometimes by the police,)

Step 1 – stabilising the situation, providing secure shelter, addressing immediate medical needs ***and*** establishing identity

Step 2 – trying to get child back into school, working towards reintegration with the (extended) family

Step 3 – if step 2 is unsuccessful, considering moving the child into SHCEK residential care

When working with street children continuity of care is vital to ensure that they feel safe and secure. Otherwise their integration into the mainstream can be jeopardised. However, according to the participants' account the 3-Step approach, although appreciated as a basically correct approach, is not applied in practice such that some organisations have even chosen to work autonomously. It appears that service providers from different organisations do not even know what is on offer in other organisations and how these organisations are run. Here are some extracts from various participants' accounts in different professional positions on lack of inter-professional collaboration between SHÇEK organisations providing services to integrate the street children and SHÇEK's ordinary residential care organisations that are supposed to be the final homes for children after their integration has been achieved.

"*There is no next step station after children's rehabilitation process is achieved. Residential care institutions partially can be our next step station. But it is so difficult to get our girls to be accepted into those organisations. Ordinary residential care organisations don't accept the girls who have experienced incest or had sexual intercourse. We have to write reports to convince the manager of the organisation that the child had sexual intercourse only once or twice. But if they think that the children have had an active sexual life they wouldn't accept them.*

We were used to be the second step of the first step station at Taksim for girls, but they stopped sending us the well behaved girls they were happy with. I think they are quite right for doing so because I would do the same thing as well. When Taksim first step station was full, our

organisation started to receive girls straight from the street. So I said that I don't want children from Taksim at al. Since then we have become two separate organisations. I think the '3 Step Approach' is very effective. But we don't use it in practice. We have the 3-step approach on paper. For example even though Taksim should have been our first step station we are working independently. There is no inter-professional collaboration between different SHÇEK Organisations. ÇOGEMs (Child and youth centres providing services for street children) are all lonely organisations. "(Manager)

The first part of the extract above shows that even if a child's integration process is completed it is not easy for the child to be accepted into ordinary residential care organisations. Consequently, there are few children in each organisation who stay there continually, as there is no other suitable organisation they can go to. The extract above also draws attention to the confusion introduced into the uniformity of the system conceived by the policy maker as the 3-Step Approach as SHÇEK organisations start working separately. Participants working in different SHCEK organisations have raised this point. The report that care stations tend not to send children to a next step care stations probably reflects the need of service providers to work with relatively well-behaved children who give them job satisfaction. Findings suggest being in continual touch with 'difficult' children undoubtedly contributes to the exhaustion of staff. Below there are two more extracts given to illustrate the lack of cooperation between SHÇEK organisations.

"*I think the reason why we can't succeed is that we don't work cooperatively with other SHÇEK organisations. Our communication isn't good. We all have to be in touch with each other. We should have regular meetings with other organisations. We do all the work to prepare the child for the second step station but when we go there with the child, staff in the second step station shouldn't greet the child saying "Oh! Is that you again?*" (Sociologist)

"*The other day I took one of the girls to the second step station for girls, everywhere was locked, and I could not see anyone I don't even know who works in there*." (Support staff)

As it can be clearly followed in the three extracts given above, collaboration not merely on a consultative basis but also on the routine procedures has failed between the organisations which are supposed to be following up each other's work to complement the integration process of street children. It also appears that it is not easy to get the children accepted into ordinary residential care organisations. Findings indicate the likelihood that each organisation is working in isolation not only from mainstream but also from each other. If service providers themselves don't feel integrated into the system, it would be difficult to expect the successful integration of the children with it, which is vital for them to be able to step out into the society as a normal member.

4.3.6.4. Insufficient professional cooperation within the same organisation

Effective communication and teamwork is essential for the delivery of a reliable service to the

children trusted to the care of SHÇEK organisations. As participants from different positions have pointed out, inter-professional collaboration is not experienced within the organisations and communication failures are extremely common. Although the relationships between service providers are reported as being good, cooperative work is weak. Extracts below demonstrate the insufficiencies in this respect recognised by the service providers themselves.

"*There is no team work between those in the same profession or between those of different professions.* "(Manager)

This account given by a manager suggests that each service provider is working independently according to his or her abilities and that they cannot get organised in degrees of team work to meet the service demands. The extract below gives the point of a peer big brother on this problem.

"*This is an organisation so we have to work as a team. You couldn't achieve anything on your own. Here staff has monthly regular meetings but it is interesting that I have never been invited to these meetings. Our manager knows that I am here so he should think of me and invite me to the meetings. I couldn't go and ask him to invite me. I have this problem here. Does this upset me? No. If they can't think about it, it is not a problem. I am doing my job. Communication between the staff occurs at different levels here. I mean on the first floor there are two cleaners, two people doing tea/coffee service. On the next floor there is social service consisting of people who have a 4-year university education. On the other floor there are old ladies coming from public education centre. There should be teamwork but I don't cooperate with anyone. I thought of doing teamwork with other two peer big brothers. But they don't feel as confident about themselves as I feel. When I look at the children I can identify very different problems. Staff here don't benefit from my experiences.* "(Peer Big Brother)

In order for teamwork to be successful there must be sufficient communication between all the team members. Establishing this is vital for productivity and goal attainment. Research findings, however, suggest that SHÇEK organisations are devoid of sufficient level of communication between the service providers. Especially peer big brother's account above suggests that lack of communication is even greater between different groups of staff, such as between support staff and social services staff, which cause some service providers to feel excluded. Feeling of exclusion is experienced on the part of individual workers as well as on the part of an organisation.

4.3.7. Staffing

Working in direct contact with street children is hard work as the nature of the work can be emotionally exhausting, and turns out to be physically and psychologically demanding given the administrative burden it imposes. Therefore, fully qualified, well trained, experienced and emotionally well prepared people are needed in the field. The quality of service providers influence the

effectiveness of the services they deliver. In practice however, as the research findings reveal, most service providers do not have sufficient training before joining SHÇEK. Many participants, in different positions, argue that service providers are not adequately trained for their job. Most of the social service personnel are either newly qualified or inexperienced and the support staff come from a totally different background, at the lower end of the social scale. It also appears that to work in SHÇEK is not people's first choice, but that they stay in SHÇEK until finding better job opportunities. Two main issues put forward regarding the quality of staffing have been:

- Inexperience
- Professional qualifications

Participants in different positions have pointed out how unprepared and inexperienced they had been when they first started working for SHÇEK. Extracts below are taken from the narratives of participants in which they raise the problem of the inexperienced employees.

"*This area requires experienced professionals. We employ people straight out from the door of the universities. Employees are too young; most of them haven't even completed their puberty. This exhausts me a lot.* "(Manager)

Working conditions in SHÇEK are in many ways difficult and not fulfilling for the service providers. Therefore working in SHÇEK is not a preferable job as participants' accounts confirm. This affects the quality of service providers who apply for the position. It is also the reason for employing a sociologist, since not enough numbers of psychologists and social workers choose to work in SHÇEK. It has become clear that SHÇEK is only preferred by inexperienced young people who want to gain experience in order for them to move onto better job opportunities. It is also a way for them to get into the system. Having to employ young and inexperienced staff, as the manager above points out, affects the quality of the service they deliver. The manager considered this as one of the most tiring aspects of their job. The account given below is from a social worker and concerns the quality of workers in SHÇEK.

"*Unskilled staff can't get into the system so that they can't find a job anywhere else and become in need. They can only find a job in these organisations.* "(Social worker)

A social worker's view is representative of most participants' view. Working in SHÇEK appears to be chosen as a last resort for many unqualified and inexperienced workers to get into a salary paying system. Findings suggest that especially support staff's situation causes a great concern for social services staff as the support staff generally come from a demographically different background to the others. According to participants' accounts while the social service staff are newly qualified, the support staff are uneducated. All participants, except for support staff, have raised this point. Below is an account of a support staff whom children address as ''dad'.

"*I was working as a driver of this organisation. One day, I was told that one of the 'night dads' left the job and was asked if I would be interested in it, an offer which I accepted.* "(Support staff)

While social service staff are busy with admin work, children spend most of their time with support staff. Therefore support staff's background is as important as of that of the social services staff'. As demonstrated in the previous section, some support staff's attitude is considered as inappropriate towards children by the social services staff. Service providers' relationships with children will be separately examined in detail in the next chapter.

4.3.8. Marginalisation

Many participants, except for support staff, are conscious of the problem of marginalisation. The fact that marginalisation is not complained about by support staff might be due to belonging to a relatively marginal group in society in most demographically assessable respects. As reported earlier in this chapter, support staff share common features with the street children's families. In the extracts below it can be seen that like service users, the organisations providing services for street children tend to also be marginalised in SHÇEK as a whole as well as in the society. The extract given below was recorded with a manager working with street children, girls in particular;

"*These girls are regarded as 'bad' girls. So public don't want to help them. If I were looking for a sponsor for the circumcision I could find many sponsors, because this centre is considered as the rubbish bin of the city where nobody wants to help us. My friends even said to me that what I am doing is useless as nothing can help or change these girls which I don't believe.* "(Manager)

The general misconception is that street children are addicts, uncontrollable and violent, that they have no emotions or moral values. As a result of these misconceptions and prejudices, people tend to be unsympathetic and indifferent to the actual plight of street children. This lack of social acceptance pushes street children out from mainstream society and forces them to survive on the fringes of social structure. It was reported earlier that the lack of inter-professional collaboration with related organisations such as schools lead to these children not being welcomed in schools. This means that they are at risk of experiencing educational marginalisation too. The extract below is included to further confirm the manager's statement quoted above.

"*Nobody would like to work in this work area so that it is difficult to find employees. This work place is an exile. This work place is kind of a punishment. Managers send their unwanted personnel here.* "(Manager)

Some service providers define their job with negative adjectives. They feel that senior managers and decision makers working in other SHÇEK organisations alienate them. In short, as can be seen in the extracts below, perception of some research participants' is that they are working with

unwanted people, doing a useless job in an undesirable work place. Like their service users service providers experience being unwanted. With regard to this, the account of a sociologist's given below is quite significant.

"*Doctors have a social circle with doctors. Professors have a social circle with professors. Our social circle consists of beggars and thieves.*(She laughs)"(Sociologist)

Service providers have drawn attention to the fact that it is not only because of their service users but also for being a member of SHÇEK that causes their marginalisation by the society. Here is how a service provider describes public's perception of SHÇEK :

"*The biggest problem I have is other people's preconceptions about SHÇEK. When they learn that I work in social service they immediately say that the state of social service in Turkey is terrible, children are treated badly and beaten in SHÇEK. I come here every day even though it is quite obvious what our salaries are. In our society there is prejudgment. SHÇEK organisations are associated with violence. This disturbs me. I love my job. Of course, we shouldn't be the barracks but we have to be the authority for the children. Nobody wants to be a foster parent. Nobody can go one step further than criticising.* "(Social worker)

The service providers in many ways experience stigmatisation. As shown above, public perception is another contributing factor for marginalisation. Service providers' experience is linked to the experience of being outside the mainstream, to social disadvantage of varying degrees. Like their service users, service providers at times feel alienated. Their isolation from the mainstream replicates the marginalisation experienced on the part of street children.

4.4. Summary of chapter four

Research findings reveal that service providers have systemic problems deriving from the institutional context within which they work, e.g. lack of social security system. It was found that front line workers are experiencing workplace stress; they are dissatisfied and discouraged with their working conditions. Staff's deprivation of overall support has resulted in higher levels of stress and insecurity amongst the service providers. Stressful aspects of the job include;

- Lack of inter-professional collaboration from policy level to practice,
- Excessive workloads caused by unwieldy caseloads,
- Overwhelming paperwork and poor working conditions.
- Limited contact with the clients served,
- Role ambiguity and role conflict,
- Bureaucratic constraints,
- Lack of service provider autonomy,
- Having to provide service for children other than street children
- Meeting needs of children at different levels in terms of their integration process

The above are among the most central problems that service providers encounter which have significantly contributed to their wish to leave the organisation. Service providers like their service

users feel marginalised from the mainstream. Stigmatisation is experienced not only by service users but by the service providers too.

Chapter Five: Second Finding Chapter
Findings on Treatment Level

5.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, the work environment and the work experiences of the SHÇEK service providers were explored. This provided good grounds to explore the quality of care delivered to street children. Participants have talked more about their own experiences and struggles as service providers, and less about the interaction with their service users. As previously discussed, the reason being, in the words of Karabanow (2004) that the culture of the organisation is too far from the "Culture of Hope", which leaves not much opportunity or thinking space for service providers to actively engage with service users. Research findings are significant in clearly demonstrating the profundity of the impact of the organisational culture on the quality of care delivered.

The present chapter focuses on the service user's experience of the service provided. It transmits through the eyes of the participating service providers experiences of their service users into the context of the work. Findings yield information on service providers' perception of the service users and of the quality of care delivered as well as the quality of the interaction between service providers and service users. Findings disclose the general view of service provision through the eyes of the service providers.

The initial part of this chapter explores the views of service providers on their service users setting up a good substructure for the analysis of their interaction with service users. The first section starts with the participants' discourses on their service users, leading to discussions about the effects of the service providers' perceptions on their service users. In the second section service providers' interactions with the social service staff and the support staff .are examined. In the third section service providers' accounts of service provision are examined. The first two subsections are also revealing about service providers' view on service provision. This chapter ends with a summary of the contents.

5.2. Service providers' perceptions of their respective service users

Service providers' discourses provide information on how they view their service users. Their accounts indicate that there is no clear cut differences in their perceptions of the service users. Their perceptions range from the ''undeserving'' to the ''deserving'' children. The same participant can have sympathy as well as disdain towards street children. Though service users are generally described as antisocial, unreliable, undeserving, and unwanted, some participants also view them within their social context by acknowledging their unfortunate social circumstances.

In this section service providers' perception on their service users are explored from two different perspectives based on their accounts. While the first perspective draws attention to individual factors cited by the service providers, the latter draws attention to social factors and covers the discourses of the service providers in which children are viewed as 'social products'.

5.2.1. Individualising the street children phenomenon

Service providers used frequently derisory adjectives as, for example, 'antisocial', 'unreliable', 'undeserving', and 'unwanted' to describe their service users.

5.2.1.1. Antisociality

Street children were frequently described by most service providers as being antisocial. These participants reported street children to be impatient, acting quickly, often without thinking or caring about the consequences. Some participants also emphasised the unpredictable nature of street children's behaviour and viewed them as unreliable and dangerous. A social worker's account, given below, demonstrates the participants' general perception of antisocial behaviour on part of the street children.

"*All of these children are antisocial, over reactive and give sudden reactions. I suppose these features are what all adolescents have, but these children are at the extreme. They are self-harming, e.g. they cut themselves. They have sudden tantrums. Some children have personality disorder.* "(Social worker)

The account cited above represents the general perception of service providers on street children since similar accounts of the children's antisocial behaviour have been given by many participants. In general these children's 'antisocial' behaviour is associated with mental health problems which interfere with their normal development and functioning. An account given below is another example for street children's antisocial and impulsive characteristics reported by the participants.

"*You can never keep the door of the social service room closed because they keep coming in. They never understand the word, 'No'. They always want their demands to be met immediately* ". (Psychologist)

Street children are perceived as extremely demanding personalities. Impulsive behaviour is a prominent characteristic of antisocial personality disorder and has been reported for both female and male street children by many of the participants. The demanding and impulsive children are often reported to be unable to control themselves which results in a struggle on part of the service providers to control them. A psychologist's account given above well illustrates this point. The psychologist thinks that these children find waiting particularly difficult, and they invariably expect their needs to be fulfilled immediately. Participants repeatedly pointed out that children are inclined to act on impulse rather than thought and that they are unable to curb their immediate reactions (i.e., think before they act). An account given by a support staff further illustrates participants' perception of antisocial and impulsive behaviour on part of the street children.

"*Those girls who are smokers are given 10 cigarettes a day. For example, they can have one after*

breakfast. Soon after breakfast, they start shouting "Mum give me a cigarette! Mum! Give me a cigarette!'' Though we say that we would, they can never wait. They would like everything to happen immediately so they very often show great temper. They never show patience on anything. Girls, for example, are responsible for making their beds and keeping their rooms tidy. But they never do. Even if they tidy up, the next minute you can see their room to be in a mess again. They never listen to us. To get them to do something is an impossible task. For example, they are very dirty. They have hair lice, and there have been times when we all had lice because they sometimes collect their own lice and thrust them on us. They always want to go out. We take them out but they put us to shame. They bring disgrace on us because every time we go out they always shout out at men. They scoff at them. They are very much preoccupied with men." (Support staff)

This particular support staff was desperate and in exhaustion while talking. This report suggests that girls are perceived as almost uncontrollable. In the SHÇEK organisations all female support staff are addressed as 'mum' and all male staff are addressed as 'dad' by the children in care. In the extract above, adjectives such as 'easily agitated', 'irresponsible', 'rebellious', 'dirty', 'untidy' and 'impatient' indicate the feeling of helplessness by the service providers. Significantly, they have a need to protect themselves from girls. Here, the impulsive behaviour of the girls towards men should be underlined as well. Although boys are also reported to be antisocial and impulsive, several participants with direct experience argued that girls were more difficult to work with compared to the boys as indicated by the reasons cited by a manager **:**

"*It is more difficult to work with girls than boys because girls show more tendency to violence. They speak more and can devise more detailed plans to create trouble Therefore, it is less difficult to work with boys. There are also more risks involved in working with girls. Girls have menstruation, get pregnant and so on. Girls experience puberty with greater difficulty*. "(Manager)

The tone of the participants reporting that girls are more difficult to work with is often quite strong and implies to some extent an element of rejection. In rural Turkey, as in most developing countries, girls have fewer opportunities than boys. Education for girls is often not a priority of the family and, girls may actually be kept away from school to help and support the family at home. While girls are used domestically, boys are culturally regarded as part of the workforce to contribute to family income. Participants also report that one of the common reasons for girls to run away from home is having been sexually and physically abused in the home. It has been reported that all of these factors together with family pathology and poverty increase the risk of leaving home. Once girls leave home, they cannot stay in the streets like male street children as they are very likely to get involved in prostitution. Here is the account of a Manager to explain this view:

"*When we first started working with street children, we realised that girls could not take refuge in the streets and were most likely to be used in prostitution so that they are also exposed to all sorts of*

health risks. Those days we used the expression that "Girls got lost in red lights". (Manager)

The manager's above account is disturbing in revealing that female street children are more likely to become prostitutes than finding rehabilitative care in the SHÇEK premises and are faced with increased health risks including contracting HIV/AIDS.

Not only has the term 'impulsivity' been associated with antisocial personality, but research findings also put forward that the outcomes of children's antisocial tendency can be demonstrated by aggression and even violence to others. Extracts are given below as examples to the perception of violence in children towards staff as well as each other.

"*If a child is cross with you, he might harm you when he sees you outside the organisation"* (Psychologist)

Although incidences of children being violent to staff have not been reported by many participants, there is nevertheless strong perception that they can be dangerous towards staff. This anticipation might decrease the confidence of the service provider in the children. This raises the issue of staff security once again which was examined in detail in the previous chapter. Children's relations with each other also raise a concern for staff. It has been reported by a number of staff that children can be violent towards each other. A support staff's account below illustrates the general attitude of children towards each other.

"*Girls argue with each other a lot. If they have a knife or a cutting object they could pitilessly attack one another. The difficulty here is you never know what they might do and when.* "(Support Staff)

Besides their antisocial characteristics, street children are generally reported to be unpredictable and not worthy of trust. Findings showed that some participants from different services could not place trust in them because of the perception of antisociality in these children. The extract below is included to demonstrate this view.

"*They are not very reassuring and confidence inspiring. The capacity of our service users is obvious. They find it hard to work. We find private courses for them to support their academic life but they don't continue. We force them to join in the after school hours- activities but no matter how much we try, they don't attend. There are girls that can never gain anything from service provision.*" (Teacher)

A teacher's account quoted above suggests that service providers have almost given up on children and how little actually is expected from the children. This view has been reported by various participants involved with these children in different contexts. The account above draws attention to the fact street children are generally deprived of their right to education and have little or no access to

the formal education system. Majority of them are illiterate and either have never been enrolled, or have dropped out of the formal education system. These children find coping with academic work particularly difficult.

Participants have drawn attention to their service users' antisocial personality traits by resorting to expressions as, for example, 'impulsive', 'unpredictable' and 'violent'. Findings suggest that due to these personality traits, children are generally perceived as difficult and even unwanted, This appears to lead easily to feelings of hopelessness and mistrust towards children. Consequently, children are not expected to reward the service provider. Few participants have also drawn attention to perceptions and attitudes of both the society and the children's own families in having given up on these children. The general attitude is such that the street children can be described as being 'unwanted'. Here is a pungent account given by a sociologist:

"*Even their families don't want them. Nobody wants these children. The public, the police... Nobody wants them* ". (Sociologist)

As also pointed out in the previous chapter, these service users are defined as unwanted as if they were society's drop-outs. All of the above cited accounts individualise the problem of street children. Instead of referring the problem to the social causes, it is reduced to the personal pathology of the children. Certainly, all reasons for living on the street lead to antisocial behaviour such as drug use, conception of children out of wedlock and crime. A lot of street children get involved in street fights. Additionally, after spending time on the streets, they develop more anti-social behaviour by acquiring criminal methods in order to survive in the harsh reality of street life. As they make their way into adulthood, the expanding range of their criminal know how becomes detrimental to society. This acquired range of behaviours through the exposure to life on the street enhances the impulsivity in children.

5.2.1.2. Being 'undeserving'

The second commonly used description of street children by the participating service users was 'undeserving'. This perception of being undeserving was made mostly by the support staff addressed as 'mum' or 'dad'. Having viewed the street children as undeserving seems to affect strongly the service providers' attitude towards their service users. For example, support staff's attitude has been described as inappropriate by the social service staff, which can be seen in detail in the section on 'support staff's relations with children', and indicates that in service training is urgently needed for these employees of SHÇEK. It is important to note that support staff have low income like the families of many of their service users. This could mean to them that their own children might be at risk l because of their own financial situation. Therefore, support staff might identify negatively their service users with their own children. The extract quoted below vividly demonstrates support staff's general point of view on street children.

"*I sometimes say to the children that they are luckier than my own children. The state doesn't take my*

own children on holiday. These children sometimes don't like the meals we serve them. I tell them that my own children can't have that meal at home. I tell them that there are children out there who can't have that meal. For example, we serve them pastrami (cured spiced beef). To tell the truth I can't effort to buy pastrami. I tell them how lucky they are. I tell them how unthankful they are. I say to them that my own children don't see me as much as they do ". (Support staff)

As discussed in detail in the previous chapter, support staff's financial situation causes great concern. Support staff think that their own children have less opportunities compared to their service users. Support staff think that service users are luckier than their own children, but that they are not taking advantage of the service. Their tone suggests anger and even hostility towards the service user. Their needy situation prevents them from acknowledging the needs of the street children brought to care premises. Staff of other orders also report children as being undeserving. In the account quoted below, a psychologist points out that children do not appreciate what they are given.

"*Girls sometimes come into the social services complaining to us that we are useless or that nobody likes them. This really upsets me. When your work is undermined you get really angry. They are thankless. Though we don't project our anger onto them, we get really upset.* "(Psychologist)

Those participants who describe children as undeserving people have complained about them for not showing gratitude. Most street children are deprived of the quality of the relationship that is crucial to develop an attitude of gratitude. Gratitude is inborn and crucial in developing the primal relationship between mother (the good object) and child. It is also the basis for the child to perceive goodness in others and herself/himself (Klein, 1975). Therefore, it is not surprising that these children are unable to feel gratitude and show appreciation. These findings support the arguments for the necessity of appropriate training and education of the SHÇEK service providers.

5.2.2. Socially constructed character of street children

5.2.2.1. Vulnerability

Participants also draw attention to the children's vulnerability and dependency on peer groups because of their traumatising past and present experiences. Children's attempts to run away from care organisations are frequently cited as a sign of these children's emotional vulnerability.

As discussed in the previous chapter, departure from home usually takes the form of a series of steps in which individuals find out more about the urban environment, investigate work opportunities and make contact with other street children. The factor prompting departure from home is less commonly a single bounded event, but rather a combination of stressors on different causal levels. Research participants' accounts have further illustrated these facts about the characteristically problematic family background of street children.

"*30 per cent of their families are actually very good families, 70 per cent of them come from broken families. The parents are married a second time and their new partners reject the children from the*

first partner. But actually all of these families have internally migrated and very poor. The elder siblings of some children set up an example for them by having earlier become street children. These children have grown up without any parental affection. "(Social worker)

A large majority of street children's psychosocial needs are not met within their families. Findings suggest that usually more than one child leaves home from one family and the first child who leaves home sets the example for the others. Internal migration and poverty are reported to be one of the main reasons for going out to the street. The account included below is a striking example of family neglect**:**

(During this interview, there was a knock on the door. A child appeared at the doorway of the room. He had terrible scars from burns on his face, neck and arms which were painful to look at. He was asking about something to the psychologist whom I was interviewing. I could not quite understand what he was saying because part of his face, especially his mouth had been deformed by the burn. He then went off closing the door behind)

"*His name is A (*referring to that child*). While he was glue sniffing on the street, he spilled it all over his body, and when he was lighting his cigarette, he accidentally set himself on fire. He was hospitalised for a long time and had to have several surgeries. During that time his mother came and stayed with him at the hospital. She was a very intolerant, stressed woman full of anger towards life. After he had been discharged from the hospital she left him again. If families were spending a little bit more time with their children, our work would be easier.* "(Psychologist) (this was an incident when the researcher witnessed the painful plight of both the street child and the service provider).

Hence, some children turn to street life as an escape from their deprived or traumatising family environment. In escaping life in one hostile environment, the child is cast into the unknown by the family or with his/her own option. This report above was significant in having indicated the presence of the element of human agency, the involvement of human self determination and not just structural problems behind the street children phenomenon. Lack of access to welfare is an important element but cannot be the only explanation for child abuse and neglect.

It has been reported by the participants that glue (or paint thinner) is the most commonly used substance by children to escape the harsh reality of street life. They told that fumes reduce one's concept of reality, minimise fear, and nearly eliminate pain. The glue is usually, at least initially, sniffed to elevate hunger pains, or and/ or to tolerate cold weather or other physical ills.

Findings reveal that children tend not to stay in the organisation for various reasons. Children's runaway attempts are reported by most workers. Some participants state that anything can cause a child to return to street easily because of their vulnerable state. They claim that street life provides freedom to children as opposed to the life in the organisation which affects the continuity and, therefore, the progress of their integration into the society.

Children desire autonomy. For many street children, freedom from adult control is the most

important feature of their adopted way of life. Participants report that in winter, because of the harsh living conditions, they stay in the organisation but when the weather gets better children go back to street life. The extract below demonstrates how easily children can return to street life:

"*When children get upset or demoralised, they will run away from the organisational home. We can't stop this reaction. In winter, they usually stay in the homes but in summer, incidences of running away increase* ". (Peer big brother)

Participants report that peer pressure is also among the reasons for children to stay in the streets. They argue that peer groups are the most influential factor over children. Data show that some children take the option to join the street due to pressure from their friends. When children are with their peers they tend to do the same as their friends do. Being a member of a group gives children a sense of belonging and identity, together with a feeling of security. The extract below shows how dependent some children can be on their friends in the street.

"*Sense of belonging to a peer group is very powerful and very important. To get closer to the leader of the group a child starts using drugs. The group might say to the child that they don't accept him into the group unless he starts using the drug. They allow the child to join in only if the child starts using the drug, which the child does. Peer pressure is very powerful on them. They can easily change their life according to their friend's wishes* ". (Social worker)

Participants have reported that when there is no family to hold onto, it is not surprising that friendship becomes so powerful among the street children. For many children on the streets their peers become their families and, breaking these ties with their children is yet another trauma in their lives. Participants' accounts suggest that street children live an insecure life of a different kind. They become vulnerable when having just arrived in the streets because they do not know what to do, what to expect or where to go. They are desperate for someone to give them the right directions. But participants have also said that when children live on the street for a period, they learn not to trust others. Here is an account of a psychologist**:**

"*They 'close' themselves off as a means of coping with traumatic experiences and to not get hurt and bruised again by someone. Some children get mentally unstable or tired of living. The self-image of street children is often low. Children who are physically abused often have the feeling of being a burden, unloved and alone*."(Psychologist)

During this research most participants have drawn attention to the emotional vulnerability of their service users and how difficult it has been for them to trust somebody. This fragility has been put forward as a cause for the readiness of the children to return to street life. It was reported that making progress is not a straight forward task for these children. Some extracts from the interviews have been

included here to demonstrate how emotionally vulnerable street children can be.

"*It is so easy for the children to get back to street life again. For example after a child comes back from a weekend visit to his family, he might start using drugs again; or, when a child has had a bad time with his friends, he can easily give up on everything and go back to street life and using drugs.* "(Deputy Manager)

This account suggests that children might develop resilience to the brutal facts of street life, but not as capably against the problems presenting them with traumatising experiences in their close social circle of family and friends, putting forward once again the fact that there is an element of human determination in relation to the phenomenon of street children. Family pathology is one of the most influential factors in this respect. The ultimate reason for children's initiation into street life lies within the family, the economic hardships and/or liaisons of harmful nature which lead young individuals to get introduced to the street society. Children may be carrying out activities which generate income to help their families and, their departure from home is frequently linked to family dysfunction and disintegration. Children's vulnerability leads children to be easily affected by anything around them. As a result of their exposure to degraded and abusive families and economic need, the youthful individual is presented and surrenders to the temptations on the street. As it can be seen in the extract below, having traumatising experiences prevent children from adapting to the life in care organisations and , thereby losing the benefits of service provision. Here is an account of a social worker on the impact of traumatising experiences on these children:

"*Although these children are directed to academic life, they have all sorts of problems due to their previous street experiences, as a result of which they struggle with their social skills and their personal hygiene. Their previous street experiences affect their cognitive abilities. Children who have stayed long in the streets can't use well their fine motor skills.* "(Social worker)

Street children are the most vulnerable group worthy of special interest, attention and intervention in the society. Along with children's previous traumatising experiences, the street life itself has been reported as a traumatising experience with a long lasting effect on children. Poverty and having street life experiences have cumulative effects on children's cognitive abilities. They also find it very difficult to live in restrictive places imposing clear structures and boundaries in which they must operate. They are generally unable to adapt to such a controlled environment. The participant's account above suggests that children are expected to carry on with their school life even though most lag behind their peers. Considering these children's educational background and abilities, the strict academic work might not be what they need. What children are offered as service provision and are expected to accord with are probably beyond their abilities and do not fulfil their needs. This might be one of the reasons for why children tend not to stay at the care organisations. Findings suggest that there is an absence of the authentic voice of the children themselves in these surrounds. Children's

views are not sought or, if sought, still not brought to force within the daily context of activities of the care organisations.

Street children are highly predisposed to traumatisation. They show developmental risk and vulnerability across physical, emotional, social, and cognitive/ educational areas.

5.2.2.2. Positive perceptions

Less than half of the participants have expressed sympathy towards their service users. Some have used positive adjectives as for example, 'respectful' or 'responsible'. Some service providers regard their service users not differently from ordinary teenagers. In fact, some participants have even expressed comparatively better views on the behaviour of some children they have worked with at different times.

Thus, some participants regard some of their service users as sensible individuals making efforts to secure their future and benefit from the opportunities service provision provides. Children who are willingly cooperating with the service providers are considered to be 'sensible', a particular view generally held by the support staff.

As it can be seen in the following extracts, especially some of the support staff tend to view few children as people who have the full capacity to make conscious decisions for their lives and that they hold full responsibility for the consequences of their actions. These findings suggest that no matter what the child's past and present experiences are, some service providers expect them to behave in the way that 'ordinary' children do.

"*There are some sensible children who are concerned about their future. These sensible ones want to go to school to secure their future. They know that they can be looked after here until a certain age only. For example we had a child who saved his future life by working very hard*. "(Support staff)

As mentioned before, support staff share many common features with the street children's families such as earning a low income, living probably in shanty towns and having to work hard for their families and children in order to secure their living. The support staff cannot see the reasons why other people should fail to do the same. As pointed out previously, they consider their service users to be in some ways even luckier than their own children.

Participants state that although in theory children can only stay in the care organisations until the age of 18, in practice they can carry on staying in care if they don't have a different place to go to.

Despite all the harshness of street life, the participants suggest that streets become attractive for these children because they experience almost unlimited freedom and, in some ways life in the street is perceived to be better than life at home. It has been also reported that members of the public help children to survive in the street by giving them food and money. The following extracts explain how children survive the 'street life':

"*There are some shopkeepers who give food to the children. Children are extremely free in the streets.* For *example, one day I went to one of the places where street children were staying. It was a small, dirty environment. Seven children were staying in a tiny space. When I went there, children were having breakfast. It was such a dirty and smelly place. They were eating omelettes. One of the children scoured the teflon coated pan with a spoon to get the last bit of the omelette. He then put the omelette with teflon inside a bread and ate it heartily. I will never forget that. They enjoyed the fact that there was nobody around them to question or intervene with their behaviour.* "(Manager)

This account shows how resilient these children can be. They adapt to living conditions by developing necessary defence mechanisms and surviving skills. As Aptekar (1994) suggested, ''there are things that we can learn from street children''.

The participants reported that when children go on the streets, and realise that they can make a living, they become autonomous and independent and, they remain on the streets. On the streets, children feel a warped sense of power. They decide when to wake up, when to eat. All of these give them a sense of freedom which they don't wish to part with. When this acquired freedom and independence are taken away from them in care homes, it is difficult for them to adapt to the changes, even though they are in a better environment. The account of a peer brother who was a former street child, demonstrates how addicted children can be attached to the street life;

"*I came to this organisation first as a service user on 24th February 1998 and since then I ran away 20-30 times. You are free in the streets. In the streets you can stay anywhere you would like to. You eat wherever you would like to eat. People give you money. In the dormitory (meaning the organisation) however, there are rules that you have to obey. This restricts the children*. "(Peer Big Brother)

According to similar findings, children struggle to adapt to the rules and, find it difficult to live in the SHÇEK organisations. Children have become accustomed to fending for themselves on the streets and making life choices without having to answer to adults. As a result, any attempt to take that liberty away would end in rebellion. Moreover, public unintentionally make the streets attractive for the children by giving children food and money. Few of the participants in various professions have given accounts indicating that they did not view all of their service users as being different than ordinary teenagers.

"*Our children have 1000 times more respect for their seniors and the regulations than ordinary school children. When I first started working here, I was very scared of street children. But I realised after I came to know them that they are very cooperative when they don't use drugs.* "(Sociologist)

Extracts above suggest that few service providers regard their service users as ordinary teenagers and do describe them as respecting and sensible individuals. The sociologist's account

given above also draws attention to the general stigma on street children that links these children with street crime in the minds of many people. Street children in their conspicuously dirty appearance, their flirtation with danger in their day to day living and their cunning thievery, all of which take place in full public view, have contributed to the opinion being defiant of adult authority. In general, those children who behave well and cooperate with staff are perceived as children deserving the service given. But since the numbers of these 'deserving' children are not many, general perception on street children is held as being 'undeserving'.

5.3. Quality of the interaction with the service users

In SHÇEK there the two main groups working with street children. These are the social service staff and the support staff. Administrative staff are mainly involved in managerial work. Social service staff usually consist of psychologists and social workers and, in some organisations, of sociologists as well. Findings reveal that support staff consist of people with only primary school education and without any previous training before or after starting working in the care organisation. In this section the quality of the interaction of social service and support staff with children is explored separately and, is based on the service providers' account.

5.3.1. Social service staff's limited interaction with children

Findings have revealed that social services staff, such as social workers, psychologists and sociologists spends little time with children. This is acknowledged by different professionals including the social services staff themselves. Having excessive work load, such as administrative work, is put forward as a reason for not spending time with the children. Therefore, service provision doesn't provide adequate professional support, such as therapeutic help, to the children. Consequently, children spend most of their time in the presence of support staff. It appears that service provision is mainly sheltering the children to be able to fulfil their basic physical needs. Here is an account of a psychologist to illustrate this point:

"*I cannot regularly do sessions with children because I have quite a lot of other things to do*. "(Psychologist)

As reported in the previous chapter, the staff at SHÇEK do not have the opportunities to deploy their therapeutic skills on account of various reasons they have presented. As a result, service provision mainly fulfils the basic food, shelter and safety needs of the children. Therapy and counselling services, however, are not provided regularly. An account from a peer big brother who used to be a former street child further illustrates this fact**:**

"*There is indiscipline in the organisation. Staff can't empathise with the children. In order to understand these children therapies are needed. There should be continuity in interaction. It is not enough to behave nicely just once to these children. If children were engaged with on a basis of one to one and*

convinced of personal care, they would not run away from the organisation. But there isn't such service here. I give children examples from my own life to convince them not to run away from the organisation. "(Peer Big Brother)

Many participants at various occupational positions, including managers, have admitted that service provision for street children lacks a coherent approach specifically developed for street children. Findings have revealed that services do not include regular individual therapy and counselling or, mentorship, which is vital in the service provision for street children. Both the literature review (Karabanow, 2004) and the research findings reveal that children can benefit a lot from one to one sessions. In this regard, the account of one support staff member is quite significant.

"*We used to have a psychologist who worked here for about 1,5 to 2 years. Every morning and every afternoon she had regular meetings with the girls. During that time girls were much better and did not have tantrums. If we had two psychologists like her, things would be much better here. Our former manager also had regular meetings with the girls. But now, social service staff always have their doors closed. I don't think it should be like that. I tell this to them, too; but they say to me that there is nothing they could do about it as they have a lot to do. I wish social services staff spent more time with the girls. After all they are the experts not us. I think it would be much better if they had a relationship with them. Social services staff always spends their time in their room. They always have work to do.* " (Support staff)

This lack of approach and structure clarified by the above quoted account of a member of the support staff shows that service provision relies on the individual efforts of the employees. Lack of role clarity and structure, discussed in the previous chapter, has left children alone without the required professional support. The account given above shows clearly that in the service provision for street children every one to one assistance produces positive results. When there are professionals who regularly spend time with these children and show the children that at they are cared for, the efforts pay back. Social services staff in SHÇEK, however, have little contact with street children in care.

5.3.2. Support staff's interaction with the children

Two features of the support staff's interaction with street children bear significance. These are the problems with boundaries and not having appropriate attitude and language towards children. The participants themselves, including support staff, have drawn attention to the problematic aspects of the support staff's relationship with service users.

Findings have revealed that although children spend their time mainly in presence of the support staff, boundaries in their relationship with the children have not been defined. A powerful significance is actually attached by the children to the support staff by calling the male staff 'dad' and the female staff 'mum'. However, boundaries are necessary to protect the service user from

mistreatment by the service provider and, to establish the professional nature of the relationship. It is essential that service providers maintain clear and unambiguous boundaries in their relationships with service users. Otherwise, worker-client relationships that are based on confused boundaries can be very detrimental to both sides. A manager's account below represents an example for the problems with professional boundaries in care organisations.

"*The problem here is the relationship between the service users and service providers which is not of the professional standard. Support staff develop emotional bonding and get emotionally attached to the girls. This prevents them from making professional decisions. For example they would give a cigarette to a child when they are not meant to give it.* **"**(Manager)

While social service staff are occupied with administrative work in their rooms, the children are left alone with support staff. The manager's account quoted above indicates the development of personal relationships between the children and support staff who possess strong personal feelings about their clients. As asserted before, developing personal relationship can have destructive consequences not only for the children but for the workers too. An account from a support staff is a striking example in this respect;

"*We have a lovely girl here. She is a real lady. She does not have any street experience. I would like her to marry my son. My nephew says that I got carried away with this job and that this idea is nonsensical. He might be right. I don't know. Because my son is doing his military service and he is away from home, I have been even more attached to the girls (She starts to cry). I come from a family where family ties are so strong. You feel sorry about these girls. You are also afraid that your children might become like them, God forbid!* "(Support staff)

This account firstly reveals that support staff can really be distressed and yet find nobody to turn to for advice and support. It also suggests that support staff is overly identified with their client group such that they experience the need to do things *for* clients rather than help clients accomplish goals and learn to do things for themselves. This bonding emotionally burdens the service providers and augments the feeling of helplessness in their relationships with children.

As raised by the participants, intimate care is an area in which boundaries are almost inevitably crossed but, it is by no means the only area in which a spontaneous response can have unforeseen implications. A professional relationship without clearly defined boundaries may lead to ethical dilemmas and violations. It was, for example, stressed by members of the social service staff that some support staff sustain inappropriate attitude and language toward children. According to the research participants' account, this occurs because support staff have been employed without systematic regard to their eligibility for the job, references to background and previous work experiences. Further, this group of staff are employed without the measures to give them the necessary supervision and the in service training. Support staff's own accounts have also reflected

reality. An account of a support staff on how he has come to be employed has been given below to illustrate the problem of staff eligibility in SHÇEK.

"*I had been working as a driver for the organisation. One day I was told that one of the night dads (male support staff are called 'dad') had left the job and was asked if I would be interested in the job, which I accepted.*"(Support staff)

This demonstrates that a support staff, actually addressed as 'dad' by the children and, is expected to spend a lot of time with them, can be this casually appointed to his job without being given preliminary training. Also, as reported, this member of staff worked without any ongoing supervision while on the job. During the interviews, managers and social services staff have raised the issues of the want of ongoing professional support and the concerns associated with the support staff's attitude to the children in are. Findings suggest that support staff's attitude causes some problems that might even have harmful consequences for children. As mentioned before, support staff's background and low income have been repeatedly reported among the reasons for their inappropriate attitude towards the children in care. A social worker critical account on support staff's relations with children has been quoted below.

"*I think all support staff e.g. driver, cleaner, should be given training. They don't know how to talk to children. While I am talking to a child a driver for example could interrupt my talk and start shouting at the child. He can ruin all my efforts. Support staff blame the children for coming to live in the streets. They don't think that this is our responsibility to help these children. Support staff can be over reactive. They have difficulties in fully understanding the problem. They also have economic problems. They should be paid better.* "(Sociologist)

As reported earlier, support staff generally regard their service users as unworthy of welfare support. They deem that the children are on the street as a consequence of their personal pathology or choice. This perception of 'unworthiness' has negatively affected their approach towards the children in their care. Instead of helping these children, children are blamed by support staff for being in the streets. Thus, ethical issues related to professional boundaries are among the most problematic and challenging. It is clear that support staff's relationships lead to ethical dilemmas and violations of duties. Findings show that though workers' professional knowledge and skills enable them to deliver effective care, the attitudes of workers towards their service users are also important as they affect the extent to which this professional knowledge is accepted and used, altogether influencing the service providers' willingness to interact with the service users, which is an important predictor of effective engagement with service users.

Negative professional attitudes displayed by regarding the service user as undeserving and antisocial would lead to ethical issues in service provision since the service users are bound to reciprocate these through their perceptions of the service provider who demonstrates prejudice and

stigmatises them. This would determine the adverse quality of interaction between them.

Although research findings reveal that service providers' perception of their service users vary, the perceptions of the majority of participants from different positions on their service users are based on individually determined factors. The finding of nuances in the attitude of the service providers do not lend themselves to be easily divided into categories. For example, as pointed out earlier, some participants who express sympathy towards their service users can also refer to them with the terms: 'antisocial', 'undeserving', and 'unreliable' and the similar.

5.4. Service provision is considered to be inadequate

Two separate services make up the service provision by SHÇEK to benefit street children**:** street work and institutional care. During street work, children are met in the streets and, they are brought to a care organisation that appropriately responds to their needs. Institutional care starts after child is brought to the care organisation. As previously explained, institutional care provided consists of 3 steps: Step 1 directives are to stabilise the situation, provide secure shelter, address immediate medical needs and, to establish identity. Step 2 directives are to try to get the child back into school and, to work towards reintegration with the (extended) family. Step 3 directives stipulate that if step 2 is unsuccessful, moving the child into SHÇEK residential care is to be considered.

5.4.1. Institutional care

Almost half of the participants of this research have considered the service provision as inadequate by referring to its problematic aspects. Disbelief and finding inadequacies in institutional care service provision has been stated by various participants. The participants have explained that this is mainly because service provision lacks the structure and approach specifically developed for street children. Some service providers are even questioning the real intentions of the decision making senior managers in the institutional work with street children. Managers have the opportunity to review the service provision at the upper management level. A manager's account below is striking in its hypercriticism of another manager:

"*Everything is for show off. These children are used as materials for bureaucracy. While I was working in a provincial directorate as a deputy manager, my manager developed a campaign project for media. When I told him that children shouldn't be treated as materials, he hang up on me. Everybody is just thinking how they could get their picture on billboards with these children.* "(Manager)

Here, a manager is complaining that what is done for street children is just a vehicle for bureaucrats to boast with and questions the real purpose behind the planning of service provision. He accounts that children's best interests are not always the priority for some seniors such that he even describes these senior managers as hypocrites. An account from a peer big brother is quoted below to further illustrate the disbelief in the existing service provision.

"*Our work place is very different. I can't say it is bad. I can't say it is good. Are we working very professionally here? No. We have problems because of our system. I don't think we are working efficiently. There is an enormous ill communication here. This ill communication doesn't have any extra ill effects on children because the quality of the service we provide is terrible anyway.* "(Peer Big Brother)

Here, a peer big brother calls the service provision 'terrible'. He particularly draws attention the impact of the communication gap among the service providers on the quality of service provision. He stresses the lack of systematisation in the service provision. Although the centre's objective is to help children to be able to fit in the society, and the activities developed for them are meant to keep them busy and out of streets, the requisite quality and the intensity are lacking, which makes a centre unable to help the children effectively. As dealt with in detail in the previous chapter, there is shortage of human and material resources, resulting in paucity of the correct institutional approach to the problems in hand.

Another point put forward by the participants, which again indicates disbelief in the service provision, is on the subject of housing children regardless of their needs and backgrounds. This has been reported by various participants who have stressed the resulting negative effects on the institution and the child. A manager's account below provides a good is an example to this problem.
"*I don't think it is good to put all the girls with different backgrounds and needs in one place. If you do, they will affect each other negatively. Better children will get worse.* "(Manager)

This account suggests that although the aim of the service provision is to help children, it can have harmful consequences instead. As discussed in more detail in the previous chapter, the defined criteria which determine the allocation of children to different organisations are not put to practice by SHÇEK offiicials and, the 3-step approach is not accurately in place. For example, children with street experiences are housed along with children who do not have any street experiences. Housing children coming straight from the street with relatively settled children can have harmful consequences for both groups of children. In some organisations children without documented references, mentally retarded or addicted children and children who have committed crimes are also housed together. Concentration of such different groupings cause children to negatively influence each other. This diminishes the benefits of the children from service provision. Having such mixed groups of children makes service provision almost impossible, impeding delivery of effective care. Participants have also drawn attention to other disadvantages of institutional care.

"*Service provision fulfils the needs of the children up to a certain level, somewhere between minimum and maximum. Institutional care isn't the solution. Instead of putting money into this institutional system it should be allocated to foster care.* "(Social worker)

In the above account, after drawing attention to the costliness of institutional care and citing the limitations of residential care, the necessity of its radical modification has been stressed. The

encouragement of foster care has been proposed as a better and more effective alternative for the integration of street children into society.

In short, it has been demonstrated here that institutional care is regarded by the service providers as insufficient in its lack of structure and approaches specifically developed for street children. They have stressed especially the harmful consequences of ineffective care by housing children with different problems and backgrounds together in the same organisation providing the same basic service for all.

5.4.2. Street work

Street work is carried out by SHÇEK's mobile teams. The mobile team brings together social workers or psychologists and a police. During the day they regularly reach the points where street children gather. Children involved in substance abuse, if amenable to treatment, will be referred to a branch of ÇEMATEM (Child and Adolescent Substance Abuse Treatment and Support Centres). Children living in the streets are referred to rehabilitation centres. If children are working in the streets, they are brought to a care station which is specifically allocated to children working in the streets and children at risk. After children are brought to in, they stay at the care station until they are picked up by their parents. When their parents come to collect their children, they are informed that having their children working in the streets is illegal. They are also warned that if their child is found again working in the streets, the family will be penalised; and, if that happens for the third time, they will be taken to the court. It was reported that very few families have faced a legal action so far.

Participants frequently reported that collecting children from the streets is not an easy task as not all children voluntarily come with the mobile team workers. In some cases, children are forcefully brought to the organisation. In fact, they run away from the mobile team workers when they see them in the streets. A sociologist's account is given below to reflect the general view on street work.

"*In street work children show resistance. When we try to tell the child how dangerous the streets are, he tells us very sad stories to convince us how desperate they are for the money. I sometimes think to myself why these children run away from us. This is a contradiction. This is a strange situation because we are there for their benefits and their best interests. I think this is because we are not in a position to solve the problem. We are like sweeping the problem under the carpet. The conditions in Turkey should get better first to solve this problem. We always have problems in street work like getting bitten by children, our getting our vehicle stoned. Once we were even going to be lynched by the public. Street work can be very difficult. When we go to the usual areas to find children we hide our vehicle as if at combat ambush, because they know us and our vehicle (He laughs).* "(Sociologist)

The participants have emphasised the significance of poverty that underlies the necessity of child labour in needy families. They were convinced that simply preventing children from working in the streets would not solve this social problem. However, it is known that children working in the streets have financial hardship and that they are working to contribute to their family income. Therefore, as

the participants have stressed, social welfare policies are needed to support these families financially. This fact has led some service providers to question the function of street work. They have suggested that money needs to be spent on social welfare and community development with funds allocated at the local level. A more holistic approach to community development, focusing on community and family support, has been suggested to address many of the issues that force children out to streets. The participants have stated that collecting children from streets might even have dangerous outcomes both for the children and the service providers doing street work as children do anything to get away from mobile team workers. They even put their lives at risk in an effort not to be taken off the streets.

"*I think this approach rushes, hurries things. It doesn't solve the problem. In a way, you are just clearing the streets from the children by collecting them off the streets. Now there are very few children on the streets compared to the previous years. We don't know why there are very few children on the streets of Istanbul now. Is that because family communication is better now or not? I think the services provided by SHÇEK should be more widespread. For example we are brought children from different parts of Istanbul. Children stay in the minibus for hours before they are brought to the organisation. Or sometimes children stay in the organisation for days until we reach their families. In every borough there should be a centre like this. This way the centre in the borough can provide community based service. It would be easier to get in touch and to communicate with the families. This way the service would be more child-centred.*

Mobile team workers bring a child to a place which is completely strange to her or him. This is a trauma for the child. When brought for the first time, they are in tears. But if it is not the first time, you see children even turn this into a play. "(Manager)

Extract above shows how ineffective and even dangerous street work can be for the children. Recognising the necessity of working in the streets for children, in the absence of a social security system, puts SHÇEK workers in a difficult position. On the one hand research participants justify the fact that families need their children's financial contribution in order to survive. On the other hand, they recognise the dangerous facts of street life. This contradicting situation leads SHÇEK workers to question the significance of the present system of service provision. Instead of working like the police to keep children off the streets, they suggest to carry out community based interventions. Findings also reveal that, other than collecting the children of the streets, there is no specially prepared work program carried out for the benefit of the retrieved children and their families.

The Participants have also drawn attention to the difficulties faced from the public while doing street work. When attesting SHÇEK workers preventing children from working on the streets, members of the public many times react against the workers and side with the children. In fact they can go as far as sabotaging SKÇEK workers' job, sometimes by directly attacking them. The example given below demonstrates public reactions against the street work of mobile teams.

"*Public attitude toward us is strange. When we attempt to get the working children from the streets, children start shouting. This results in people gathering around us to protect the children. We have had our colleagues getting punched by the public who defend the children against us saying that they are working for their living and which is better than stealing.* "(Sociologist)

There is public acknowledgment that poverty is the bitter reality for many families in Turkey. In the absence of a social security system, people develop their own mechanisms to secure their lives financially. Having their children work is a common tradition in many rural families even after they move to cities. In the traditional Turkish culture, it is common to view children as a workforce. There is even a positive stigma or norm of child labour in Turkey (Patrinos and Shafig, 2008). This positive stigma approves of child labour, or at least it could approve of select forms of work for child labour. While the public attitude towards child labour makes streets attractive for children, it creates a great deal of hardship for the service providers. This might lead children to perceive service providers as enemy rather than perceiving them as helpers to meet their best needs and interests.

During fieldwork, the researcher has also observed how street work fails to mind or help the children working on the streets and, that street work can have harmful consequences for the children. Below is the account of the researcher's experience with a child found working in the street**:**

One of SHÇEK organisations was temporarily located in a seven- floor building. While looking around on different floors the researcher met a little boy in a large and almost empty room with two chairs and possibly a TV set. As the eye contact was made when the door was opened the little boy ran towards the researcher. He was close to tears and tried to say said something about his family probably to the effect that his family was not coming despite the long wait. He seemed to be 7 or 8 years of age, dirty and quite tired. When asked his name, he started to cry. When asked what he was doing there. he explained that he was selling paper hankies in the street when he was brought there the previous day. He did not know why he was brought there. He had not eaten anything since his arrival. He had to be explained by the researcher that he was brought here because working in the streets was really dangerous for him. People here should be waiting for his family to come and pick him up because they also would like to tell his family how dangerous streets were for children. He wanted to know if his family was going to come and pick him up. The researcher, against her will, reassured him his family would come and pick him up. It was necessary to take him down to the administration office. On the way he had to be explained he was safe here, that they only wanted to help him here, although it became obvious in the office that they had been traumatising him by not minding him.

The manager, who had been previously interviewed by the researcher, was drinking coffee in the social service room at the time. . He had to be explained that the little boy was found on the fourth floor on his own and, that he had not eaten anything and, did not know why he had been brought here. He looked at the boy and asked if he had eaten anything and then asked why he had not eaten anything. The boy simply shrugged. The manager asked the social worker about him. The social worker, who also had been interviewed earlier on, said that he did not know anything about the boy.

*Then a man appeared in the corner of the room and explained that they had brought the little boy the previous day. The manager asked him if he knew his parents' telephone number. The lady sitting at one of the tables in the room said that this was the second time he was brought there. They rang his family but were not answered. The researcher had to ask the manager if the boy could join in with the other children in the building.(*This particular organisation provided services for children living locally. They ran workshops, art classes and similar occupations*). The manager said that they should keep children who are found working in the streets away from other children until their parents come. The explanation by the researcher that the boy was frightened and should not be left alone visibly annoyed the occupants of the room. The manager asked the social worker to take the boy to the meal room. Just then a lady appeared at the door of the room. The social worker asked her about the little boy. It was understood that she had been on duty the previous nigh but seemed to be ignorant about the little boy. The social worker shouted across the room to the manager saying that there was lack of communication in the management. It was understood that the little boy had actually been forgotten."*

What was witnessed was very significant in terms of the aims of this research. It appeared as if SHÇEK's street work is carried out to punish the children for the situation they are in. They are forced to work by their living conditions and punished by the government as a consequence. This little boy had been brought to the organisation with good intention but, had been forgotten on his own in the building. In addition, nobody had explained to him why he was there and what procedures were to be followed. It clearly revealed that collecting children from the streets does have harmful consequences for the children: as there isn't a program to be followed when meeting the children on the streets and after bringing them to the organisation. This explains one of the reasons why children run away from the mobile team workers. This particular example suggested that street work is not effective other than clearing the streets from children and, once again stressed the importance of community- based intervention as well as welfare policies.

The participants have emphasised that when proven interventions are implemented at the community level by trained and well supervised local workers, coverage, impact, and equity can be favourably affected. Community-based approaches are particularly relevant for interventions which involve behaviour change at the household level. In addition, community-based care enables communities to reach their own people within the boundaries of the community's values and cultural norms.

5.5. Summary of chapter five

In this chapter service provision at the treatment level was explored through the participants' account. Findings revealed that service users were generally perceived as undeserving, impulsive, aggressive, unwanted, and unreliable children. Some participants viewed the children as a social product of their unfortunate circumstances and described them as capable of respecting others and rules and, of being responsible for their actions.

Service provision was seen to lack an approach specifically developed for street children.

Service provision mainly involved meeting the basic needs of the children, rather than providing them professional assistance and therapeutic help, which should be there in compliance with the objectives of SHÇEK to help integrate them into the society. It was admitted that while social service staff with the required qualifications spend little time with children, the children had to spend most of their time in the presence of the support staff, whose lack of job training, language and attitudes to the children were constant causes for concern. Service provision was generally considered by the services providers themselves as inadequate on grounds of wanting a proper administrative system, better resources, and fair distribution and remuneration of the labour load. Service provision, street work in particular, was considered to be inefficient and even harmful for the children.

Chapter Six: Discussion

6.1. Introduction

Research findings reported here provide an in depth insight to the state welfare service provision for street children in Istanbul, Turkey. The study of service provision from service providers' perspective presents an opportunity to examine not only the experiences and work situation of social care workers providing services for street children but also demonstrates how it actually determines the scope and the quality of care. Findings also lead us to see the broader picture of street children phenomenon in Turkey together with the socioeconomic and cultural issues related to this particular social phenomenon.

Study findings are discussed in three main sections in the order of the topics given in Chapter Two on literature review. In the first section, the street children phenomenon is discussed from a socioeconomic and cultural perspective. Macro-economic problems of Turkey and specifically the effect of internal migration are discussed in relation to the street children phenomenon. This section also covers the socially constructed character of childhood with reference to the Turkish culture. The second section discusses the 'organisational culture' of the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection Agency (hereafter SHÇEK) in which the service providers operate and the experiences of the service users made up of a vulnerable group of people referred to as 'street children'. In this section formal and informal aspects of providing services by SHÇEK for street children are examined with the emphasis on the quality of the service provided under the poor working conditions in SHÇEK organisations, where service providers neither feel contained nor confident of the jobs they are expected to perform. Lastly, the quality of care provided for street children is discussed at a treatment level. In this section, philosophical underpinnings of the service provision and the characteristics of the interactions between service providers and users are explored using the qualitative findings of the research. This section is followed by the emergent of conceptual framework. The emergent of a conceptual framework section was especially placed towards the very end of discussion chapter as it has been developed from the well-grounded study findings. This chapter ends with a discussion of the limitations and implications of the study.

To set the institutional context first, this chapter begins with the section on the street children problem in Turkey, discussed as a social problem, including the concept of street children in reference to the socially constructed character of childhood.

6.2. The street children phenomenon from socioeconomic and cultural perspectives

Research participants shared many of the perspectives cited in the global literature in relation to the street children phenomenon. Study findings, in parallel to the literature review, reveal that the basic causes and the characteristics of the street children phenomenon are globally true. The accounts of the participants reinforce the commonality behind the street children phenomenon as migration and continuation of poverty associated with insufficient social policies.

Research participants linked the origin of the street children phenomenon in Turkey to the

wider issues of internal migration and social change as seen in other developing countries. The participants' accounts strongly indicated that the street life in Turkey is an outcome of an organic and linear chain of adverse factors including migration, economic hardship, family dysfunction and child abuse (Altanis and Goddard, 2004).

The participants particularly stressed the fact that internal migration is the dominant factor behind the emergence of street children. They drew special attention to the situation of Istanbul and the difficulties of having to provide services for street children accumulating in the city. The reason for this, as discussed in Chapter Two, is that Istanbul, as the most industrialised city in Turkey, has attracted most of the population displaced from all over the country, becoming the largest city in Turkey as a result. The city's population grew from 1 million in 1950 to 5 million in 1980, 10 million in 2000 and 12 million in 2007 (Değirmencioğlu, 2008). As in all large cities in the developing world, the increase was due to higher birth rate within the subpopulation of migrants as well as to migration (Keyder, 2005). These events have created problems in the pursuit of achieving stability and control over street children in Istanbul. As one of the managers in SHÇEK has admitted**:** "*We are not dealing only with the problems of Istanbul, because it constantly attracts migrants from all over the country, we are dealing with the problems of Turkey.*"

The problems relevant to the issue of service provision for street children are primarily the prevalence of high rates of unemployment and the limited scope of social policies implemented in Turkey. Lack of employment, lack of education, lack of health care, and in some cases social unrest have pushed many rural families to cities in Turkey, probably to acquire a better life (Keyder, 2005). The outcome of this, however, is the societal stress associated with social inequalities, rapid industrialisation and urbanisation (Aptekar, 1994). When people migrate to cities, the first problem they encounter, as a largely unskilled population, is unemployment and, consequently, the problems with integrating into the city life since there aren't enough facilities to address the newcomers' needs of housing, health care and education.

In parallel to the global events the breakdown of traditional family and community values and structures (Mourna, 2002) , besides poverty, have also been indicated by the research participants to be among the major factors contributing to the increase of street children in Istanbul. Family dysfunction and the subsequent insertion of children onto the streets to work are described as the ingredients in the makeup of street children. Participants have thus acknowledged the fact that the family situation of street children has also its origin in the macroeconomic problems of the country.

According to Duyan (2005) children in Turkey remain on the streets not only because of poverty but because of overcrowding and sexual and/ or physical abuse at home. He has written that many street children come from dysfunctional families with serious problems, where the children suffer physical and mental abuse. In agreement with the reports discussed in the literature review, the study findings also show that the ultimate reason for children's initiation into street life in Turkey lies within the family, its economic hardship and/or, its harmful nature. As a result of exposure to degraded and abusive families and economic need, youth appear to surrender to the temptations of the street.

Research participants have reported that as well as chronic impoverishment, the reason why a

child may leave home and go to work on the streets could be due to the cultural expectations; such that a boy might have to go to work on the streets as soon as he is able to supplement the family income. The following sections will look at the street children phenomenon in Turkey from specifically a traditional Turkish culture perspective to identify the cultural factors based on the research participants' accounts, with emphasis on the socially constructed character of childhood.

6.2.1. Socially constructed character of street children in Turkey

Findings reveal that children in Turkey, similarly to other children in different parts of the world, often turn to the streets in an attempt to resolve problems that arise from the social structures and situations in which they find themselves (Grundling and Grundling, 2005). The concept of socially constructed character of childhood (James et al. 1998) constitutes one of the major theoretical tools helpful in conceptualising research findings on the street children phenomenon in Turkey. As discussed above, the literature review reveals that the impact of the social context is profound on this particular social phenomenon, so that it can only be analysed in terms of this context. Research findings support the view that childhood is a construct which depends critically on culture and historical context and, that it is the social space that determines how childhood is lived through as childhood is socially constructed (Kuznesof, 2005). As a result, the social space of childhood is different for different children.

According to the research participants' accounts, the social construction of street children starts with macroeconomic problems favouring migration, which in turn leads to settlement in margins of urban areas where a sequence of adverse events resulting from social inequalities unfold around child and parental poverty (Altanis and Goddard, 2004).

Research participants have frequently complained of the impact of insufficient social welfare policies in Turkey on the street children phenomenon. They have strongly argued that "*unless financial circumstances of the families change, there will always be street children.*"

Turkey ranks particularly low on indices related to child welfare in the Human Development Index of The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) which captures the difference between economic growth and welfare indicators (Değirmencioglu et al., 2008). Turkish government cannot guarantee minimum living standards, including a minimum income. According to the World Bank, Turkey's social security system is unable to provide any benefits to vulnerable groups (Zabcı, 2006). Because of the lack of sufficient welfare policies, immigrant families cannot be provided help and support to adapt to the norms of city life. The accounts given by the participants of this research have revealed that when people migrate to cities, they find it hard to fit in by encountering many changes in terms of village versus city life. They face a totally new life that is even more challenging than the one they have rejected. Without formal employment there are no schemes of social support to benefit from. Formal welfare provision by the Turkish state is confined to the formal employment sector and, even then, only provides an insignificant unemployment compensation (Keyder, 2005).

Research findings clearly demonstrate the fact that unequal income distribution in Turkey has forced some children and families to live under hard socioeconomic conditions (Duyan, 2005). Poor

and dysfunctional families and their children lack the characteristics of the mainstream social real (Mourna, 2002). Rural migrants who cannot adequately take advantage of urban facilities and services are bound to remain 'unintegrated'. In other words, settling near urban surroundings does not give immigrant families access into the city life. As a result, immigrant families can only exist on the margins of the society, without adequately benefiting from health care and the educational system. Research participants have explained that disadvantaged people find themselves in a situation of having to survive on their own in the best possible way they can find since poor citizens don't have adequate social protection and provision of services. Given the problems of job finding, financial strains of the migrant families force their children to make contribution to their family income. Having their children work are among the families' survival strategies. Children, boys in particular, are sent to the busy streets of cities to sell small items.

The streets, especially in city centre, become a primary site of employment and economic survival for these children. One can say that these children have no option other than joining the labour force to supplement family income (Erman, 2001). Children who start appearing in the busy streets of cities gradually turn into street children. Street children phenomenon can be considered as a tragic evidence of the trauma resulting from rural to urban migration.

The case of street children vividly shows that it is the social context within which children are living that determines how childhood is lived through. Within the current concept of an ideal world, a child lives with his parents and attends school. The disadvantaged children's reality in Turkey, however, is far away from this ideal. In the case of street children, it is the public space that constitutes their social space, not their family environment. This background information for street children based on the participants' accounts manifests that they are not necessarily society's 'drop-outs', but rather victims of unfortunate circumstances who cannot 'get in'. In short, this study reveals that, similarly to Brazil (Goldstein, 1998), childhood in Turkey is a privilege of the rich and is practically non-existent for the poor.

However, the account of one participating member of support staff in SHÇEK on the financial struggles that many disadvantaged families face, puts more into context of the problem: "*The state doesn't take my own children on holiday. These children sometimes don't like the meals we serve them. I tell them that my own children can't have that meal at home. I tell them that there are children out there who can't have that meal."* This reveals that poverty cannot be the only explanation for children being on the streets. Familial factors, amongst others, also play an important role in relation to the street children phenomenon.

Hence, internal migration and poverty alone cannot explain the street children phenomenon. Internal migration has an impact on the structure and function of families in many ways but, family problems are the other contributing reasons. Besides migration and poverty, there are multiple causes behind the emergence of the street children problem as the participants have reported. Poor and dysfunctional families with problems such as alcoholism, physical or sexual child abuse or child neglect force the children to leave home to live and/or to work in the streets.

To take a close look at the street children's situation in Turkey, it is also necessary to

understand how children are generally viewed in the Turkish culture and, what the traditional practices of child rearing are.

6.2.2. Children from a traditional Turkish culture perspective

The common vision is that globalisation has been produced of what the experiences of childhood should be and, what the children do (Wyness, et al., 2004). This vision generally suggested that children should be protected from harsh knowledge or experiences, should play and go to school. However, this global notion constitutes an elite vision and does not coincide with what the experiences of childhood have been in Turkey or in other developing countries (Kuznesof, 2005). Study findings clearly indicate that this description of childhood is not the experience of children of poor families.

As discussed Chapter Two on literature survey, the circumstances of children in Turkey show that significant differences exist between the childhood experiences of children living in towns with relatively good socioeconomic standards and, those who live in rural areas or, have migrated to towns on grounds of poverty. As discussed earlier, internal migration has had a great impact on Turkey's population dynamics for decades. A very large sub-population of city dwellers in Turkey were born in villages or, are the children of parents born in villages (Sunar, 2002). Hence, the population of Turkey is largely rural and traditional child rearing practices are prominent in Turkey. In rural families, children are mostly valued for their labour potential. In the traditional rural Turkish culture children, boys in particular, from an early age of as young as 5, have been expected to make material contributions to their family welfare and that is partly why among rural families there has been a strong preference for having sons rather than daughters (Duyan, 2005). Indeed, households take pride in working for family business or farm, especially if the child combines this work with school.

Traditional life in Turkish rural areas has always involved children contributing to household work. Patrinos and Shafig, (2008) drew attention to what they called the 'positive stigma' or norm in child labour or, select forms of work for child labour that is common in some developing countries as an activity worthwhile in its own right. Ataöv and Haider, (2006) also argue that working on the street is an attractive alternative for many children. This position gives them a privileged economic status in their family because they start to earn money and, gain a feeling of independence both in their family and among friends. As a result of the 'positive stigma', children working on the streets are seen to be saying to the public "*Please purchase my staff to help me with my school expenses*".

Considering children as potential workforce can be evaluated as a cultural aspect of Turkey's rural societies that contributes to the street children phenomenon in Turkey. This has been the conclusion of the SHÇEK workers participating in this research. It can be seen as a cultural factor that facilitates the meeting of the child with the street, upon serious need to provide income for the family. It is a well established fact, as also iterated by the research participants, that some members of the public believe that children do a good turn by working in the streets to earn for the family. Members of the public in general support the children on the streets by purchasing the items they try to sell, and/ or giving just the money, and by buying food for them especially upon the complaint of hunger by the child. This public attitude has led on many occasions, as presented in Chapter Four on findings, to

dramatic and serious struggles on the streets between the members of the public and SHÇEK's mobile work teams trying to collect the children off the streets. This protectionism reflects the recognition of the poverty of the families the children come from, as well as the discrimination of the street child as the 'victim' of this circumstance, engaged in useful labour in streets as against the 'deviant' street child engaged in illegal activities like thieving for income.

Children's resilience is raised by the research participants involved in street work. The participants have reported that when children are asked not to work on the street, they resist saying that they have to as they have no other option. This statement by the children can be argued to stem from their awareness of being a workforce. This awareness may play a significant role in the resilience of these children to many prohibitive factors faced while working on the streets. Children are enacting according to their social role and what is expected of them.

Research findings suggest that there are conflicts between children's needs and best interests. While the government is trying to remove children from streets, children's reality of poverty forces them to stay in the streets to earn a living. Collecting children off the streets therefore creates a confusing situation for SHÇEK workers with the reality of poverty and the true need of remuneration of the child, on the one hand, and the traumatic interventions to follow the ideology of street children's removal from the streets, on the other. The participating service providers see service provision by removing the children from the streets alone as an 'unrealistic expectation' to solve the chain of social problems involved in the making of the street children. According to them, when there is no provision of welfare targeted to the familial problems of the street children, which is at the root of the phenomenon, there will always be street children. The pressure to bring the children into care is evident in the way the service provider describes their situation that: "*We have to deal with the symptoms of the problem while the causes remain untouched"*. Another and even more striking complaint has been: ''*If the prime minister giving money to the children he meets on the streets is shown as a positive deed on the TV, what is the purpose of our struggles?*'' This also reflects issues relating to inter-professional collaborations of SHÇEK workers, which will be discussed later in the chapter.

The phenomenon of street children is one of the most obvious evidences that childhood is radically differentiated by the various social contexts in which growth can be culturally enacted (James et al., 1998). Disadvantaged children's situation in developing countries strongly points out the fact that children's rights are played out differently in different cultural contexts with inevitable points of dissonance and conflict (Wyness, et al., 2004). After social and structural change over the whole of the country, many children appear to work on the streets of large cities (Duyan, 2005). Children are sent out to the streets in search for resources to bring home in the absence of a social security system. Of course, this does not suggest that child labour should be encouraged under any conditions. Child labour is a clear violation of children's needs, well-being and development when their safety is at risk and, when they are deprived of schooling.

The research participants' accounts explain the reasons why some children working on the streets eventually start living on the streets. They have reported that sometimes children come up

empty handed at the end of the day and are afraid to go home lest they are punished by their parents for bringing little or no money. Since most of these children live in shanty towns, they often have to travel long distances, by using multiple forms of transportation, to come into the city centre. At times the effort and money to go home seem too much. They prefer to stay in the city centres with other children they meet on the streets, who are either working and/or living in the streets. Participants have also reported that sometimes prospects of eating is better on the streets than with the family. All these factors make life on the street preferable for some children compared to the life at home.

SHÇEK being the core agency working for the children who live and/ or work in the streets, the organisational culture in SHÇEK will be discussed from service providers' perspective before moving onto the section on service provision at a treatment level.

6.3. Organisational culture of SHÇEK centres

The two main aspects of service provision by SHÇEK for street children, as explained in detail in Chapter One, the introduction to this thesis, consist of street work and residential care. Street work is literally removing those children who are working and/ or living off the streets and bringing them to a SHÇEK centre. If the children are working only, then they are united with their families. If a child does not have a permanent or loose connection with his/ her family or, if the family is not suitable for the child to return home for reasons like child abuse, then the child is referred to a suitable SHÇEK centre consisting of the first, second or third step stations, accordingly to his/ her needs. Provision of residential care will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

To be able to discuss the service provided by SHÇEK and, the philosophical underpinnings of this service through the accounts of the service providers employed by SHÇEK, one has to look firstly into the institution's organisational culture, which is the primary determinant of the service given, as also evinced by the research findings presented in this thesis.

Organisational culture refers to diverse problems, ideas and styles of organising (Wright, 1994). Organisational culture combines both 'formal' and 'informal' organisational values which determine the quality of care delivered (Alvesson, 2002). Doing a qualitative research provides an insight into not only the structures of the SHÇEK organisations but, also about how service providers think, feel, value and act. These 'informal' organisational values such as thoughts and feelings are guided by ideas, meanings and beliefs of a cultural nature.

Considering in this study social science and psychological perspectives (Wright, 1994) has offered a more interpretive approach through which to understand organisational culture in SHÇEK organisations. While the social science perspective helps to conceptualise observable (formal) structures and functions, the psychological perspective helps to conceptualise emotional (informal) aspects of an organisation. Here, use has been made of the 'framework for organisations' (Prins'; 2006), as it explores the way in which subjective experiences and fantasies about organisational life influence feelings, thoughts and actions in the work place. Prins argues that individual and group behaviour and the structural features of the organisational life are in a dynamic interaction, such that the organisational structures stimulate particular patterns of individual and group processes and, these

processes, in turn, influence how particular features of the organisation are developed.

SHÇEK staff have frequently reported that they are continually confronted with unpleasant and frightening tasks. Therefore, their work arouses strong and mixed feelings that may be difficult to control (Van Der Walt and Swartz, 1999). Exploring emotional life of the organisation provide insight (Gibson and Swartz, 2000) into the feelings experienced by SHÇEK workers. It has been argued that to neglect group emotions by focusing exclusively on instrumental tasks is likely to prove ineffective and costly. Instrumental tasks and organisational emotions must be kept in a close relationship to one another. Anger, frustration, envy, fear, contempt, resentment, grief and desire are some of the many emotions that direct organisational life, so that it is useful to think of the existence of emotional culture (Hoggett and Miller, 2000). To avoid the risk of psychological reductionism, structural factors are also paid special attention to understand the organisational culture in SHÇEK.

Research findings clearly show that SHÇEK organisations have structural problems. The system lacks a social structure with identifiable boundaries in order to accomplish a goal common to all of its employees. The accounts of the service providers who have participated in this research have sufficiently emphasised that these employees are without a competent management that designates clear tasks and roles and, gives backup with adequate resources. Consequently, it has been seen that SHÇEK organisations lack a clear description of themselves. The intended structure and the primary task have ended in uncertainty. Labour division in the organisation exists only between managers and the social services, educators and support staff. There is not, however, a labour division among the social services staff, for example between the social worker and the psychologist. This, as the participants of this research have argued, causes a great deal of uncertainty and ambiguity with respect to role clarity.

Together with this weak structural background, participants' accounts on how they think, feel, value and act contribute a lot to the exploration of the organisational culture. Considering the participants' feelings, burnout is widely experienced as a result of various work related stress factors. The themes cited under the impact of work-related stress contributing to staff burnout include 'feeling vulnerable and neglected', 'helplessness', 'insecurity' and 'lack of job satisfaction'. Besides these feelings, working in poor conditions with a vulnerable and unpredictable group of children, without initiatives and under excessive administrative work load are reported by the participants as factors which lead to work-related stress. Feeling vulnerable is one of the most recurring themes in the participants' account which leads to burnout. It is noteworthy that vulnerability of the street children has also been stressed by most of the service providers. This particular finding indicates that it is not only the service users but also the service providers who are vulnerable. They also suffer and need help. This finding raises questions on the ability of a care system, where both the helper and those to be helped find themselves helpless, to function. Further consideration of this finding also points out that service providers and users need help in different ways.

All of the factors cited above with respect to the work situation at SHÇEK organisations have led to difficulties of staff employment. Various participants, but especially the managers have complained of high staff turnover. In this regard, a manager's account that a*s a manager, he would*

want to work with the same staff at least for a year has to be taken very seriously. Findings suggest that this fast turnover of staff stems from over-burdening with underpayment. It adversely affects the performance of the staff as coherent teams. The relationships between staff and clients are also disrupted leading to deficits in the knowledge base. The despair and uncertainty dominating the institutional culture in SHÇEK organisations result in generalised disbelief in the merits of service provision.

6.3.1. Burnout phenomenon

The burnout phenomenon is defined as a loss of energy and interest in one's job and threatens the quality of care children receive in child care centres (Leon et al. 2008). Frontline staff working in high-end psychiatric facilities, such as residential treatment centres are particularly susceptible to burnout; certain qualities and conditions of the job the ability to function as effective therapeutic agents for youth in the milieu (Leon et al. 2008). Research findings here have shown that failures of qualities and conditions as, for example, allotment of the lowest pay and the lowest position to frontline staff within the mental health system, long working hours during the day, in the evenings, or at overnight shifts without the autonomy to control their own work, are also issues in the SHÇEK organisations. All of these conditions have been cited by the SHÇEK service providers, who have participated in this research, as factors complicating their work.

As argued above, emotional dimensions of organisational functioning, as well as structural problems, are key factors influencing the results achieved. Staff burnout is the predominant issue in the emotional dimensions of the SHÇEK organisations, widely experienced by the participants. Factors that lead to staff burnout in SHÇEK organisations can be discussed under four headings consisting of 'systemic problems resulting from the institutional context regarding the street children phenomenon', 'systemic problems arising from the institutional setting', 'the impact of working with highly vulnerable children', and, finally, 'the impact of the lack of overall support for service providers'.

6.3.1.1. Systemic problems resulting from the institutional context

SHÇEK service providers participating in this research have strongly emphasised that the phenomenon of street children is a social problem closely related to internal migration and child and parental poverty and, that in the absence of an all inclusive social security system which covers these families, migratory movements are bound to continue when the children will find themselves in a situation of having to work in order to contribute to the family income. Service providers believe that situation they describe is a vicious circle of intractable problems in which both service users and service providers are currently trapped. Some have stated that the problem of street children is very much to do with wider structural problems the solution of which is far beyond their responsibilities and capacities as mere service providers. As one of the participants complained: "*We are dealing with the symptoms not the causes*". The notion that the services they are providing are not progressing to sustainable solutions has led to feeling of hopelessness and helplessness that contributes to feeling burnt out.

6.3.1.2. Systemic problems arising from the institutional setting: Poor working conditions

Macro-economic problems and the lack of efficient social policies have created a feeling of helplessness in that sector of population with low socioeconomic status. The same helplessness, as cited earlier, is observed to be present in SHÇEK organisational culture as well. Here the institutional units appear to be sites where these micro-political processes can be seen at work (Stevens, 2006). The systemic problems in SHÇEK organisations can be considered as a reflection of the systemic problems that exist in the institutional setting.

Systemic problems in the institutional setting contribute significantly to the staff burnout. Uncertainty and ambiguity in the work statutes leads to significant decrease in the mean level of role clarity and job satisfaction and, an increase in the mean reported experiences of emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation of staff members involved. For staff members involved in integration, job satisfaction is positively related to team role clarity and team identification, and negatively related to emotional exhaustion (Gulliver et al., 2003).

As the findings of the present study have revealed, the work place has become a source of frustration and anxiety for SHÇEK service providers, contributing to their job stress and psychological burnout. Inadequate resources, poor physical conditions and lack of security have been reported on the subject of working conditions. The feeling of neglect varies from 'not having been provided with free lunch' to 'not being able to take annual leave at the time it is needed'. One participant's account that "*The system is against you*" summarises the feelings of the service providers. Hence, SHÇEK organisations are understaffed, poorly equipped and insufficiently financed. Not having a system in which they can feel safe and in which their rights are protected have negative effects on the service providers. Excessive workload has been particularly emphasised by the research participants. Heavy workload, isolation at work, short-term funding are discouraging factors and diminishes the idealism and enthusiasm in the long-run (Thomsen et al., 2006). Apparently, the service providers can derive only moral satisfaction out of their job.

Additionally, participants have frequently reported that they do not feel empowered and effective in the system. Their voice is not heard. Consequently, they do not feel satisfied in their job which underlies staff burnout. This is partly why all the service providers approved of the research question of this thesis and volunteered to take part in the research which has given them an opportunity to be heard.

6.3.1.3. Effect of working with highly vulnerable people like the street children

The demands of child and adolescent work can sometimes provoke powerful and overwhelming responses from those who are involved in caring for them (Gibson and Swartz, 2000). Study findings confirm that working with street children is in many ways psychologically consuming. The participants have described their work as a never ending process in which success stories are very rare. They could mostly see no positive results. Working with a very vulnerable group like the street children heavily contributes to staff burnout in SHÇEK.

Constant proximity to people in great pain, whether physical, emotional or both, is a major source of stress. One way the sufferers rid themselves of painful feelings is by communicating aspects of their experience, which they cannot put it into words, by projecting them onto the staff (Menzies, 1999). Hence, those caring for street children are additionally burdened by the children's emotional difficulties arising from traumatic life circumstances. Findings reveal that SHÇEK service providers constantly experience physical and emotional exhaustion which lead to feelings of helplessness, hopelessness, and apathy.

The distressed SHÇEK service providers appear to deal with this by projection, too. What is meant by projection here is that instead of working through their service users' emotions, they project these back on them. Spending most of their times closed up in their rooms and, frequently reporting the service users' tragic circumstances and harrowing emotional and physical experiences is an evidence of projection. The details of the complaints made by the service providers about their own circumstances are very similar to those they narrate in reference to the helplessness of the children they work with. It can be said that they have given relatively little space to the stories of the children, mainly dwelling on their own distresses and helplessness. It is an unfortunate fact that these children, not entertaining an adequate place in the thoughts of their natural parents, cannot gain compensation from those specifically appointed to help them either, because service providers' minds are very much occupied with their poor working conditions rather than the needs of their service users. The whole organisation has been caught up in the same state of mind as that of the clients it is there to serve.

6.3.1.4. Lack of support

Findings reveal that SHÇEK workers are deprived of the necessary professional, emotional and financial support. As pointed out by Hoggett and Miller (2000), they need to express their emotions about such issues, about being together collectively, about surviving, struggle, achievement, and (re-) establishing their sense of self. Hoggett and Miller argued that human feelings are not just disruptive nuisance but, if harnessed sensitively, provide the basis for creative collective action. While, lack of ongoing professional support strongly affects workers' confidence, lack of ongoing emotional support leads to lowering of moral and burnout. This has been acknowledged by the research participants from SHÇEK. Participants have frequently reported their need for a 'safe forum' in which to discuss and talk about their feelings and thoughts evoked by their job, for ways of reflecting on their own painful experiences at work and even for '*rehabilitation*', just like their service users.

SHÇEK staff working with service users of challenging behaviour feel various negative emotions as, for example, sadness, hopelessness, helplessness, frustration and guilt (Bailey, et al., 2006). Therefore, it would be beneficial for care staff to receive psychological support to address these emotions. By addressing the thoughts and feelings expressed by staff more effective support systems can be developed for them and promote their concordance with suggested interventions (Jahoda and Wanless, 2005).

The findings of this research have shown that service providers' needs are not just limited to emotional support, but they include professional support through training at work, the immediacy of

which has been frequently expressed by the research participants for the benefit of all, and especially the support staff. It has been reported that support staff's attitude towards children has damaging effects on them and has been a cause for ethical concern.

Considering that most service providers in SHÇEK are either newly qualified or do not have sufficient training before starting to work, professional help such as supervision and in service training is important for them. Having training would have a sizeable impact on staff confidence and efficiency (Tierney, Quinlan and Hastings, 2007). Findings reveal that SHÇEK workers have been expected to cope with the needs of large numbers of children for extended periods of time, with limited or no formal support. Not being provided with professional support affects SHÇEK service providers' confidence and eventually their feelings and thoughts about their professional roles as well as their service users.

All participants from various positions including managers have strongly emphasised that they do not feel appreciated by the senior management; that they need their superiors to express some form of gratitude towards them. Feeling neglected has been frequently mentioned by the research participants. This raises questions on how service providers can have a sense of usefulness in a job rarely rewarded with success stories, if they don't get any kind of positive feedback. It appears to be part of SHÇEK's general culture that efforts have not been acknowledged and appreciated at any level of the organisation. This leaves few alternatives for service providers other than feeling a lack of personal and job satisfaction, which results in increased numbers of burnout.

In terms of service providers' work situation and experiences with street children, research participants while mostly talking about their own struggles as service providers have made considerably less references to service provision at a treatment level. As stated earlier, service providers' statements cover in detail their own desperate situation due to poor working conditions or, to that of their service users because of their poor living conditions. Research findings categorically show that working with vulnerable children in such poor working conditions does not leave much mental and physical space to provide care for the service users. Especially social service staff consisting of social workers, psychologists and sociologists have clearly stated that for various reasons they do not even actively engage with their service users. This is another explanation of why service providers generally talk about their position in the organisation and little about the interaction they have with children. As a result, service providers' working conditions constitutes the larger section, while information on treatment level constitutes relatively the smaller section of the findings.

6.4. Service provision

Having looked at the organisational context of the operations of SHÇEK centres, service provision based on the qualitative findings is discussed in this section. To recapitulate from Chapter One, SHÇEK's residential care services for street children are located at sites called stations which are organised in three different levels described as the first step, second step and third step stations. 'The first step stations' are temporary housing for the children to meet immediate needs like bathing and nourishment. If the children are convinced of the suitability of the services, they go to 'the second step stations' where the 'rehabilitation' process starts. These are also temporary accommodation sites

for children, the aim being to encourage the children to proceed to the 'third step stations' where they can go to school and stay permanently until the age of 18 on the condition of not pursuing any kind of substance abuse. There is also another organisation affiliated to SHÇEK. This particular organisation is established for those children under the age of 15 and have committed offences. Because most of these children have had street experiences by living and/ or working there, that particular organisation was also included in the research.

In SHÇEK hierarchy, social services staff constitute the core group of professionals in delivering care. They consist of qualified social workers, psychologists and sociologists. Besides the social services staff, there are administrative workers, educators and support staff whom the children address as 'mum' and 'dad'. Street children are viewed as needing rehabilitation as well as protection from the horrors of street life.

In order to be able to evaluate the services provided by SHÇEK, it is necessary to discuss the angle of regard of the members of the public as well as of SHÇEK workers on street children which has important effects on the service given. Subsequently, the philosophical underpinnings of the service given, and after that, the traditional Turkish parental attitudes will also be discussed.

6.4.1. Turkish society's and the SHÇEK workers' view of the street child

Most frequently, definitions of street children tend to oscillate between their portrayal either as the victim or the deviant (Aptekar, 1994). This ambivalence towards street children is present in Turkey, too. On the one hand, these children are perceived as the victim of their unfortunate social circumstances. It is, for example, common in Turkey that children are given money by the public without purchasing what the children are selling, solely with the intent to support. Children are provided with food as well. Hence, streets attract many children from families experiencing financial hardship. On the other hand, however, street children are treated as undesirables. The widely held social attitude, influenced by the generally hostile media, especially towards the older street children, is contemptuous in regarding them as deviants. Some tragic events over the last decade, such as the killing of an army officer and one of the wealthy industrialists, and finally the recent stabbing a tourist in Istanbul made street children almost a household name. These events and the exaggerated and ill-informed media attention have led to further public scrutiny in the last five years including a parliamentary investigation (Değirmenci et al., 2008). This has resulted in placing a stigma on street children in being considered as a 'social threat' and their being often treated as undesirables. They are seen by many as a potential source of public nuisance rather than poor kids or cheap labour on the streets. In the recent years, reference to these children has been altered by the use of the term 'tinerci' (sniffer of paint thinners), a term equivalent to 'glue sniffer' in the U.K (Ögel, 2005). Such terms suggest that street children are considered to be dangerous and not trustworthy, a blight on the urban landscape, or a pressing social problem against certain interest groups such as home owners and business owners (Scheper-Hughes and Sargent, 1998).

Considering service providers' perception of their service users, some participants have viewed them within their social context by acknowledging their unfortunate social circumstances, though the service users have been generally described as antisocial, unreliable, undeserving, and

unwanted. Thus, there is a degree of dichotomy in service providers' perceptions of their service users. Although their perception varies from undeserving to deserving children, the same service provider can have sympathy towards children as well as disdain, in agreement with other reports in the literature (Leon, 2008).

6.4.2. Philosophical underpinnings of the service provision

Looking at the philosophical underpinnings of the service provided by SHÇEK, organisations caring for street children are called 'rehabilitation centres' where they try to apply what might be described as a family model approach since the children are encouraged to call the support staff as mum or dad.

Research participants have stated that these centres work with an open door system. Children are not forced to stay at the centre against their will. The reason being that these organisations are not incarceration centres, and, there is no point in forcing a child to stay in the organisation against his/her wishes. On the other hand, children are not allowed to stay on the streets. In practice this leads to a vicious circle since the escape attempts are reported to be quite prevalent.

Service providers give account, however, of serious breach of the statutes by housing in some care organisations a mixture of children with different needs and backgrounds including delinquent children, undocumented children and even mentally disabled children along with street children, who at times constitute the minority group among other groups of service users. Service provision evidently cannot meet the particular requirements of all groups of children in care according to their capabilities and backgrounds. As a result, SHÇEK organisations are perceived as 'depots' by the service providers who have participated in this research. As one of the participating managers has stated, these organisations are perceived by the service providers as the "*rubbish bins*" of the city to which those children who, for one reason or another cannot integrate into the mainstream, are sent.

The term "*rubbish bin*" has strong implications regarding service providers' perception of themselves and the service given, as well as of their service users, and suggests that they perceive their activity as working with worthless "material" that is to be disposed of. This derisory term also suggests that the function of the centres is only to provide the children with a place of stay called 'a depot'. There is not the belief that a true rehabilitative service is provided, a point which will be discussed later.

It has also been reported by the participants that although the three-step approach is stated on paper, it is not correctly applied in practice. For example, the second step station and even the third step station can have a child straight from the street. This is partly due to the fact that the police delivering the children do not know much about the SHÇEK system. What is known to the police is that there are such centres for children found on the streets. This bolsters the image of the "*rubbish bin*". Another reason for not applying the three-step approach is that children are not appropriately redirected between different centres. This draws attention to the fact that the service provided is not ensured to have a continuity for the children. Failure to apply the three-step procedure correctly can upset the lives of children already settled into the program at a given centre because a child who comes straight from the street can lure an apparently settled child to run away back to the streets.

Children who arrive at the second or third-step centres directly from the street can also upset the conformity established with difficulty.

Study findings reveal that there is not a systematised care with a defined approach specifically developed for the benefit of the street children. The approach claimed by SHÇEK is the 'rehabilitation' approach, but considering the ascriptions and the perceptions of the service providers, and the all importance of clearing off these children from the streets, the service applied can be taken as more of a correctional approach (Carizosa and Poertner, 1992).

The reason for emphasising here the priority given by SHÇEK, among its measures, to clear the streets of children is the claim made by SHÇEK that it is the success of its mobile teams that there are significantly fewer children in the streets now. This claim assumes that the street children problem has thus been solved. In fact the mobile teams are out on a 24-hour basis to prevent the stay of the children on the city's streets, sometimes resorting to force to bring them in. But, the frontline staff regard this claim as a mere show off and reveal that the care stations can only provide for basic needs as food and shelter. Also, they explain that since the mobile teams cover the main streets, there are hidden pockets of children outside these streets. These findings might explain why the numbers of children in streets as given by SHÇEK sources are always below those assessed by other sources, as mentioned in Chapter One. SHÇEK wishes to evaluate 'the reduced number of children in streets' as the success of its services, instead of talking of 'rising numbers of the rehabilitated'.

SHÇEK employees participating in this research have drawn attention to experiencing difficulties in meeting the health and educational needs of the children brought to care centres. For example, they have frequently reported that it has been extremely difficult for their service users to get an appointment at the national health system, let alone gaining access to the national mental health and health care system for treatment. It has been equally difficult to get their service users accepted into the state schools. They have repeatedly pointed out that the system is excluding street children and have considered these children to be undeserving of the protection and welfare provision.

Watters (2007) wrote that socio-economic and political factors have a potential role in gaining access to mental health and health care. Watters' three-dimensional model incorporating analysis of interrelatedness of the political-legal, service and clinical dimensions, referred to as the institutional, service and treatment levels, respectively has been helpful for conceptualising the service provision for street children in Turkey. Service provision for street children is critically circumscribed by the political and legal contexts in which service provision is offered. This, Watters referred to as a *moral economy* of care. Within a moral economy of care street children are viewed as undeserving of welfare support and are discursively located within the context of concerns for security.

Nature of the service provided reflects the norms and values of the society and, is not tailored to meet the specific needs of street children. The perceived needs of particular groups are represented in political-legal context (Watters, 2002). Service provision, however, is not designed to meet the service users' needs. Research findings in this thesis indicate that service provision is available mainly in theory but not in practice. Albeit the managers participating in this research have claimed that they are working towards the rehabilitation of the street children, one cannot find related planning and

organisational measures within the context of field applications. There is not even professional or psychological support for the employees who describe their work medium as chaotic. Having to do without defined job descriptions, the service providers are trying to accomplish results within the limits of their talents and skills. This, however, doesn't allow them to be with the children for adequate periods of time or to develop healthy and fruitful programs for their benefit. The genuine aim here appears not to improve the emotional, social, cognitive well-being of the children by acknowledging the issue as a social phenomenon. Because SHÇEK does not collaborate successfully with institutions like schools and hospitals or, present a service comprehensive of the needs of the children in its centres. Hence, there seems to be much difference between what is claimed verbally or on paper and what actually is performed in the field.

The concept of moral economy becomes particularly relevant when street children are stigmatised as young thieves, pickpockets, purse snatchers or deviants, since service provision accordingly becomes either limited or non-existent, thus excluding those who are routinely considered to be undeserving of the protection and welfare service provision. If however, the issue of street children is perceived as a social problem, service provision in response would have been developed accordingly. There should be, for example, sufficient welfare policies or programmes targeted to the causes of the street children problem.

There is a dichotomy to the legitimacy of the measures of moral economy that distinguishes the 'worthy' and the 'unworthy', the 'good' and the bad'(Watters, 2001b cited in Watters, 2007, p.399). Watters has drawn attention to the necessity of a fundamental inter-relationship between the composition and delivery of mental health services and the broader socioeconomic and political context in which they are placed. Thus the services provided can be 'morally' justified within a circumscribed context of societies' wider institutions and values. In other words' street children have to achieve 'biolegitimacy' to benefit from the service provision in order to deserve protection of care, the concept having been evoked through the observations on the situation of undocumented migrants in France at the end of 1990s (Fassin, 2001). This suggests that a form of legitimacy can only be gained based on the presence and proof of physical sickness (Fassin, 2001). Here the attention needs must be drawn to the ''sick'' identity which the society has conferred on these individuals, rather than granting them opportunities for meaningful citizenship. Here the children would not be given social recognition.

As pointed out in Chapter One, the Introduction, a large number of the research reports on street children in Turkey cover their drug addiction problem reflecting the perception of these children within a 'clinical context'. When the identity ascribed by the society is that of a sick person, an 'addict', service provision is developed accordingly. There is for example, a specialised clinic for drug users street children, called UMATEM, equipped with a capacity of 10 beds allocated to adolescents who live with their families and 22 beds reserved for those on the street. There are however' no programmes or services allocated to helping street children's integration into the society or to the prevention strategies which acknowledge the problem as a social problem. This again brings one back to the *moral economy of care* in which street children are perceived as undeserving of welfare support

and are treated within the context of concerns for public security.

The social construction of street children is a powerful and enduring instrument used to guide interventions (Mourna, 2002). Although the research participants have expressed the view that street children are a social problem, in practice a clear shift from socialisation to individualisation of the problem can be observed in service providers' interaction with children. The discrepancies between claimed norms and actual practices have been largely justified by the participants in reference to work load, lack of resources and other similar circumstances. Participants have reiterated that service provision is understaffed, poorly equipped and insufficiently financed. Fassin (2008) drew attention to the lack of social recognition felt by staff that, in turn, reflected in their moral evaluation of patients, which goes beyond concepts of values and worthiness. Service providers, as do the members of the public, generally associate children's behaviours with mental health problems which interfere with normal development and functioning. Most participants of this research have described street children as antisocial, unreliable, undeserving, and unwanted. In this sense, the term 'street children' is a symbolically loaded term that concerns social class as much as location; it represents a kind of symbolic apartheid (Scheper-Hughes and Sargent, 1998).

This population is commonly perceived as criminals and delinquents (Karbanow, 2003). By labelling specific individuals as 'delinquents', 'criminals', 'victims' or 'clients', we fail to see them as human beings. Kuznesof (2005) argued that blaming the irresponsibility of the families or the children themselves for their situation is a means for the society to exempt itself from social disaster. Scheper-Hughes and Hoffman (1998) wrote that this is a convenient way to avoid confronting the more fundamental social and economic problems affecting the families and communities of the poor. This partly explains why the interventions follow the ideology of removing street children's from society and correction of their personal pathologies.

It can be argued that 'criminalising street children' could be a way to bring them under state control. Holmes (2002) called this kind of social control a 'pastoral power' implemented by 'psy' disciplines, such as psychology, psychiatry, psychiatric nursing and social work. These disciplines, through their respective 'scientific' knowledge, seek to achieve normalisation of individuals and populations. This is what Curtis (1995) had earlier called the new art of government. Removing children off the streets, in some instances forcefully and bringing them to the state organisations appear to be the government's way of imposing social control over street children, and therefore the society. In this way priority is given to the clearing off streets from children rather than paying attention to the true needs of this particular group of children to help their integration into the society. Cities are cleaned up since the presence of poor, barefoot and ragged children is viewed as illegitimate (Kuznesof, 2005).

To varying degrees street children are subject to a process of being socialised away from the institutions of family and education. Street children appear to have created a place away from their parents and schools, therefore away from government's correctional facilities, in short, a place at the margins of the society and outside the governmental control. West (2003) underlined that the use of the term 'street children' is a sense of children being out of place in a particular context. The concept

of '*govermentality'*, as defined by Foucault (1991, cited in Holmes, p.84, 2002) would be helpful in thinking not only about the society as a whole but the SHÇEK organisations by themselves. 'Govermentality' involves domination and disciplinary techniques as well as ethics of self-government. Governing implies a deliberate attempt to direct human conduct in order to regulate, control, shape and turn to a specific end (Holmes, 2002). The art of government rests upon the many and varied alliances between political and other authorities that seek to govern economic activity, social life and individual contact. Family and school are the two major institutions of the society through which government controls its citizens at a distance. To fully understand the 'art of government', as termed by Foucault, Morris (1998) drew attention to the process of governing at a distance. In this sense, street children constitute one of the most challenging groups of people as they fall into a place relatively outside of governing. Society's attitude towards street children pushes them even further away from the mainstream because placing children as dependents is the reason behind excluding them from political participation. Wyness et al. (2004) point out the powerful political and social sources. Instead, a voice should be given to those who would be otherwise marginalised in policy debates and decision making.

Currently dominant policy for street children in Turkey, however, fails to acknowledge street children as actors (Ataöv and Haider, 2006). Degrees of participation can be linked to how children are seen in society (Stevens, 2006). Before discussing the active participation of the children in the services provided to them, the traditional Turkish parental attitudes needs must be looked at to evaluate the degree to which children can partake in social life.

6.4.3. Traditional Turkish parental attitude

Parental control is a prominent feature of child rearing in the traditional Turkish family. Sunar (2002) identified three sub-dimensions in the parental control, namely, the extent to which the parent exercises authority and control, the style of discipline and punishment used by the parent, and the extent to which the parent encourages autonomy or dependency in child. Both sons and daughters are trained to be respectful and obedient. This culture of control over individuals from early childhood and onwards dominates the Turkish culture and is widely observed in its institutions.

The current practice of policy-making in Turkey treats childhood essentially as an educational matter and very quickly excludes children outside of the school system as a residual category (Değirmencioğlu et al., 2008). For example, when children come to school age, parental control and authority is passed onto teachers. There is an expression in Turkey commonly used by parents when they first meet the teacher of their child:" *His* (referring to the child) *flesh is yours* (addressing the teacher), *his bones are mine*".

In Turkish culture children are viewed as "novices" playing a passive role and pushed to the margins of social structure by adults as their lives, needs and desires are controlled through careful training (James at al., 1998). In schools, for example, codes of conduct include respect for authority and reflect great concern about students' dress with detailed listing of dress requirements. Turkish schools have uniforms and detailed references to zero tolerance consequences for breaking rules.

While the overall control over the child is passed onto the teacher and the school, there is not much space left for children to perceive themselves as active agents. This reflects a recurrent tendency to view children as 'human becomings' rather than 'human beings' (Qvortup et al., 1994). In Turkey, only some private schools provide greater possibilities for student involvement and provide students with more say and focus less on the top-down rules.

In this respect, services for street children in many ways reproduce the traditional child rearing approaches in Turkey. Hence, very importantly, children's authentic voice cannot be heard and their active participation is not sought in the service provision for street children. At SHÇEK, decisions regarding children's daily lives and even children's needs are made by the senior managers rather than by the frontline staff who are closer to the children. Instead of appreciating and supporting the differences of children, the children in care are expected to become unified. There are, however, some practices in the service provision that cannot be tolerated in the Turkish family culture, such as having an open door system and leaving the decision to the child whether he wants to stay or not in the organisation and, giving cigarettes to those children who are smokers. This contradiction has been stressed by some of the research participants, too.

6.4.4. Lack of active participation by the children

Street children are active agents rather than passive victims and, street involvement can be understood as a rational response to situations demonstrably worse at home or institutions (Jones et al., 2007). Findings show that, in their own ways, street children actively participate in the society and are observed to adapt and get internalised by the society (Prout, 2000).

Findings of this research reflect the literature (Leonard, 2005) in that children who are working and living on the streets are observed not only to make use of existing networks of the adults, but also to develop their own network both to survive and earn money on the streets. This might be explained by the fact that in rural families children are viewed as active agents compared to the protected passive identity of the children born to modern urban families. Street children coming from rural families are capable of engaging in attempts to make financial contribution to the family income despite the aim of the service provision to make them ineffective and bring them under control.

Street children are defined, define themselves, and become social agents (Kuznesof, 2005). While the nurtured children are the rich and the ultimate consumers and unexpected to engage in productive activity, street children are the 'nurturing children as a result of poverty (Duyan, 2005). They are expected from an early age to contribute to the production by the family and the income of the household (Kuznesof, 2005). Service provision however has failed to recognise children as people, let alone as citizens with rights (Scheper-Hughes and Sargent, 1998). Service provision is directed at a greater surveillance, control and regulation of children and is quite academically oriented. For example, street children are expected to start going to school and show academic achievement. In SHÇEK care stations there are activities in place after school hours. It has been reported that, quite expectedly, these children cannot easily adapt to school life. Most of them lag behind other children at school and refuse to attend school as a result. This is partly why runaway attempts are prevalent in

SHÇEK organisations.

Lusk, (1992) argued that street children are prescribed with special type of education rather than formal institutionalised education, which is thought to suit their needs. This once again brings to mind that service provision is not developed accordingly to children's needs as well as their skills and abilities. Children in general find their voices silenced, suppressed or ignored in their everyday lives. Karabanow and Clement (2004) suggested that instead of imposing their ideas and expectations, service providers need to be reflexive to the particular children and believe that people can change. Agencies equipped with a rigid specific set of policies related to working with children and allowing for little flexibility and individuality in the worker approach are described as ineffective on a few levels. It is important to modify therapeutic interventions to be more culturally appropriate by always considering background issues. The idea of children's spaces being not just physical but also social space, cultural space and a discursive space changes the conceived relationship between professionals and service users. Professionals become facilitators and both the children and the adults are co-constructors of knowledge and expertise (Hill et al., 2004).

Street children have challenged the idea that the child is a subject in a family where the parents are responsible for creating activities. The idea of the child being a subject in a family has led to the incipient exclusion of children from public space and making children more subject to regulation and control. Therefore, while the space of childhood is becoming more specialised and more localised for 'ordinary' children, it is the opposite for street children. Gill (2007) argued that today's children, spend much of their time under greater surveillance and control. Street children, however, to a certain extent have freedom.

Although street children, as the service users, do not have their say and are not consulted about their residential care environment, they are capable of exercising rights and making decisions concerning their welfare by themselves and for themselves. It can be argued that street children are courageous children in being able to leave their dysfunctional families behind and resilient enough to survive in the streets. However, research findings have indicated that children brought to care stations cannot adapt to and internalise the service provision. That is why the government is struggling to control these not easily obedient children. Stevens (2006) drew attention to the ambivalence about the views on children in care. They are either seen as potential victims who need looking after, or as potential threats who need to be controlled. One of the consequences of this ambivalence is that they are seen as passive recipients of services and not as 'active and creative actors'. In thinking about street children and childhood, street children prove that children *are* active agents. Street children in particular are forcing us to implement a participatory approach in which children's voices and concerns are immediately accessible. Participatory approach creates possibilities for children to determine the way in which they choose to participate, propose their own terms and attempt to contribute to political debate within local and national groups, institutions, organisations and services.

It is important to note here that it is not only the SHÇEK service users who cannot actively participate in the service provision, but the service providers, too. Service providers participating in this research have reported that they do not feel empowered to use their own initiatives. Service providers

find their voices just as silenced, suppressed, or ignored as do their service users. Mackie et al., (2001) argued that employee involvement practices reduce work stress through providing greater utilisation of skills, increased personal control, less role ambiguity, and increasing participation in decision-making. Participatory approach is needed not only for street children but service providers too. There is a need to ensure that service providers' as well as service users' views and voices are heard.

6.4.5. Service users: Characteristics of street children

Research findings show that street children in Turkey do share many similarities with street children in other countries. Common characteristics of street children include poverty and the need to work. These, in turn, are linked with vulnerability to exploitation and the risk of coming into conflict with the law. An additional characteristic of street children is their being marginal, meaning that they are living at the fringes or on the edges of the society and, that they bring danger and criminal behaviour (Kuznesof, 2005).

Street children experience stressful situations on a daily basis and endure extremely difficult times. The use of illegalised substances serves as a temporary escape from the harsh reality of street life. The more time these children spend on the streets, the greater the likelihood that they will show signs of cognitive or emotional dysfunction. It is very common that street children suffer developmentally and socially (D'Abreu et al., 1999). Fluid, unpredictable and elusive life styles of many street children create particular problems. Peer group is most important support system since it replaces the family as a source of emotional and economic support. Children often live in groups with a strong sense of community. Peer group is also the most influential factor over children's behaviour. For example, as participants of this research have pointed out, the decision of whether or not to stay in the care stations is determined by peer group pressure.

Glue is the most commonly used substance by children to bear the severe conditions of street life. It helps them to sleep, especially when they are hungry. For some small street children, sniffing glue is used interchangeably with thumb or dummy sucking, a practice that street children sometime engage in as late as adolescence (Scheper-Hughes and Sargent, 1998).

6.4.6. Quality of interaction with service users

Service providers appear to be ill-equipped for effectively supporting the children in their care. Service providers participating in this research clearly stated that they are not formally qualified for their jobs and had not been prepared for it by the organisation before starting to work. Indeed, some service providers have only limited educational qualifications and few opportunities within the constraints of their financially strained work places for further advancement. Although they work with extremely deprived and emotionally distressed groups of children, staff often have little or no background in psychology and counselling, or any other mental health discipline, or specific training in advance to prepare them to work with street children. They heavily rely on a system of external referrals to address the emotional needs of the children under care as SHÇEK does not employ specifically trained psychologists and psychiatrists. But the research findings presented here reveal

that getting an appointment from a psychiatrist or any kind of specialistoutside SHÇEK is not an easy task because of the long waiting lists of state hospitals.

A close look into the service provision shows that while social services staff is busy with administrative work in their rooms, children spend most of their time with support staff. Support staff, however, give cause for concern as their attitude and language towards the children are not appropriate. As discussed earlier, the established societal attitude towards street children is shared by some of the service providers. Participants in this research from the ranks of the support staff view the uncooperative service users as being undeserving of the care given. Whereas, those children who cooperate with service providers in an effort to make the most of the service provided are described by the support staff as deserving. This attitude towards children leads to ethical problems in service provision.

Since the social services staff keep busy with the administrative work, children do not receive professional help individually or on a group basis to help their integration process. It can be asked whether engaging in excessive administrative work is a 'way out' for not getting involved in an environment where they do not feel confident and contained. Bion (1961) pointed out that groups often respond to uncertainty by generating emotional cultures. This could be an unconscious as well as conscious way of avoiding anxiety, uncertainty and threats to their self esteem and an attempt to achieve control, predictability, and ways to enhance their self esteem (Prins, 2006). This is what Menzies (1989) called socially structured defence mechanism against anxiety, the concept of splitting as a social defence (Van Der Walt and Swartz, 1999). Thus the protection is gained from task orientation which limits full personal contact between service providers and the children. All children are treated in the same manner and there is no effort to adapt the nature of the interaction to suit the special requirements of the individual children. Splitting, detachment, depersonalisation and denial of the feelings have been the past experiences of the research participants who also say they no longer experience these emotions. Typically, they have also emphasised that '*'they also used to"* question the system earlier on but having got used to adversities they no longer do this. ''Getting used to adversities is indicative of the desensitisation and detachment of the service providers which affect adversely the qualities of reality and sincerity of the relationship formed with the children. The expression 'getting used to' indicates pacification of the energy to improve the system, and can be considered as unconscious defence that comes into play in the circumstances.

6.4.7. Marginalisation

Isolation appears to be one of the significant characteristics of SHÇEK organisations. Participants in this research have addressed the importance of co-worker relationships and 'team spirit' and how difficult it is to work in the absence of it. Each SHÇEK worker and every SHÇEK organisation appear to be working in isolation. Findings indicate that the service providers experience isolation from their colleagues in sister organisations as well as from the mainstream, in which respect the service providers themselves are marginalised, too.

Prins (2006) proposed that multiparty collaboration is a process through which parties who see different aspects of a problem constructively explore their differences and search for solutions that

go beyond their own limited vision of what is possible. The advantages of this practice are however lacking in SHÇEK service provision. Literature review reveals that collaborative acts, programmes, and structures can achieve more than what could be achieved by the same professionals acting independently (Bronstein, 2003). Lack of inter-professional collaboration between related agencies is one of the very important obstacles to the progress by the children. The impact of a combined mental health and social care provider on the moral of the staff members was explored by Gulliver et al. (2003). They found that there was a significant decrease in the mean level of role clarity and job satisfaction, and an increase in mean reported experiences of emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation for staff members involved. Professional role, structural characteristics as, for example, an agency culture, manageable case load, and also personal characteristics and history of collaboration all are the factors that influence interdisciplinary collaboration (Bronstein, 2003). Without having a clear understanding of the distinction between their own and their collaborator's professional roles and using them appropriately, it is not possible for professionals to function interdependently.

The absence of inter-professional collaboration In SHÇEK activities is experienced from policy to practice level. A striking evidence of this is that SHÇEK workers don't think their knowledge, experience and views are taken into consideration by academics, senior managers and politicians although they, as frontline workers, know best what is going on at the ground level and have much to say about the street children phenomenon and service provision. Participants of this research have generally stated that they have not been listened to. Further, there is not a satisfactory professional cooperation between them and the police or the judiciary. As stated earlier in this chapter, participation in this research project has given the service providers power to express their thoughts.

Participants, especially managers, strongly emphasise that national policy formulations offer only a broad framework for practice, the articulation of which says little about the lived experiences of street children and service providers 'on the ground' or at 'street level bureaucracy', as also pointed out by Lipsky (1980). This makes the service providers to feel alienated and undermined. They cannot develop a sense of ownership of the system in which they are operating. That is partly why they do not expect service provision and the service users to make progress.

Lack of inter-professional collaboration from policy making to putting the policies to practice means that SHÇEK organisations are indeed marginalised from the mainstream which further promotes the marginalisation of the street children. As a result, service providers define their job with negative adjectives. Perceptions of some of the research participants were that their job, work place and service users were all undesirable, and that they were isolated on the fringes of the social system. In practice, street children, undocumented children, mentally disabled children and children with severe behaviour problems who cannot stay in child protection agencies all fall into the same category as they are all housed in the same place.

It is difficult to compare SHÇEK organisations that provide services for street children with the SHÇEK residential care organisations in terms of funding and their relations with other related agencies by relying on the participants' accounts alone. They might or might not have similar problems. What is clear is that other SHÇEK organisations working for children particularly avoid

integrating with the organisations providing services to street children. The participants' accounts suggest that street children are kept separated from other children receiving state welfare service and who stay in child protection agencies. Repeating here a manager's powerful statement well reflects the feeling of marginalisation by the service providers: "*We are the rubbish bin of Istanbul*".

Karabanow (2003) pointed out that one of the main functions of services formed for the benefit of street children is to have a positive link with the mainstream society that enables street children to have a sense of belonging to a greater community, getting integrated into their local environments and existing as productive citizens. In order for children to feel part of a community, to feel normalised and active citizens, they need to form positive relations with the outside world. Children need to create their own fusion between street culture and mainstream culture. Active collaboration of institutions with other community resources is essential for helping their residents to integrate in the community (Bamba and Haight, 2006).

Ensuring collaboration between health and social care providers is a well established policy concern in most developed countries (Allen et al, 2004). Community organisations, especially health and human services, can draw on the broad range of resources and expertise provided by the other organisations in the network by working together. As a result of this collaborative work, the efficiency and effectiveness of community-based services improve. In many communities, organisational networks have become an important mechanism for building the capacity to recognise complex health and social problems, systematically planning for how such problems might be addressed and delivering the needed services (Provan et al., 2005). In this regard, the role of a 'peer big brother/sister', formerly a street child, employed as a peer in SHÇEK organisations is quite important in terms of assessing the needs of street children and bridging between service provision and street life. Though not all SHÇEK organisations employ 'peers', they play an important role by providing a mentorship intervention. Karabanow and Clement (2004) suggest that mentorship intervention involves the pairing of a street youth with a role model who shares the youth's cultural and racial characteristics. Mentoring provides street children to develop positive relationship and talk in a non-judgemental setting. This model would lessen the marginalisation on part of both the service providers and users. However, research findings have shown that not all managers of SHÇEK centres will encourage the participation of the peers in the planning of services.

Streets represent the extreme of social marginality and anonymity. They evoke strong and contradictory emotions of fear, aversion, pity and anger (Scheper-Hughes and Sargent, 1998). General stigma on street children shared by the public and service providers affect the approach to provide care for street children. This study shows that it is not only the general stigma on street children shared by the public and service providers that affect the approach targeted for street children but also the organisational culture as well. Wright (1994) argues that the viewpoints of service providers attribute a great deal to the characteristics of groups of people who need care, who are categorised alike as dependent or deviant. It is the institution that forms the perception and interpretation of the client's behaviour. The client role is moulded to fit with the organisational culture, just as staff roles are moulded through training and cultural learning.

Uncertainty, ambiguity resulting from lack of structure, isolation, burnout, hopelessness, helplessness are the expressions that describe best the organisational culture of SHÇEK which has failed to promote motivation to change this problematic situation. The absence in child welfare institutions of motivation to change a problematic situation produces street children by inculcating learned helplessness. The street becomes a final resort, once child welfare agencies 'let the street children down', leading to more neglect and abuse and 'finally a sad, desperate death', (Van der Ploeg, 1989: cited in Karabanow, 2004, p. 49).

In conclusion, SHÇEK workers are stigmatised in many ways. Public perception is a contributing factor to marginalisation. Service providers' experiences are that of being outside the mainstream, with social disadvantage of varying degrees. Like their service users, service providers at times feel alienated. Their isolation from mainstream replicates the marginalisation experienced by street children. The organisational culture reproduces marginalisation which fails to create a place with an effective quality of care for children.

6.4.8. Disbelief in the service provision

Disbelief in service provision has been expressed by most of the participants of this research, who have described the child welfare services as 'bureaucratic' and 'ineffective, which has also been observed elsewhere (Karabanow, 2004). The qualitative findings reveal that the quality of care children receive in child care centres is threatened by "burnout". As acknowledged by the participants, their own need for support and obligation to work in poor conditions prevents them from addressing the needs of their service users.

Working without proper job definitions and an approach to care specifically developed for street children have been given as reasons for the disbelief in service provision. Limitations of the residential care approach have also been pointed out by the participants. Previous studies have reported that children in residential care have more mental health problems than children living with foster families (Marinkovic and Backovic, 2006). The participants of this research have drawn attention to the limitations of institutional care which cause instability in children's relationships with care givers. It is important to consider that the long term consequences of isolation by institutionalisation, especially of young children, from cultures in which there are strong traditions of extended family and community support, can be extremely serious (Tolfree, 1994).

SHÇEK participants in this research have repeatedly referred to their helpless situation because of the socioeconomic and cultural factors involved in the problem of street children and how they feel hopeless as a result. They even question their jobs by asking whether preventing children from working in the streets is really what is best for them in the absence of a social security system to redress their fundamental problem of poverty. Service providers have strongly argued that unless the government implements the necessary social welfare policies there is not much service provision can offer to better the circumstances of the street children.

6.5. The emergent of a conceptual framework

As it can be followed in the Findings Chapters Four and Five together with the Discussion Chapter, conceptual framework has been developed from the data. Therefore, discussion of developing the conceptual framework section is placed just before the discussion of limitations of the study and the recommendation sections.

The SHÇEK workers' constructions of their practice with street children have been conceptualised around three major areas, including the participants' references to 'the structural problems arising from the organisational context' and 'the position of the service providers in the SHÇEK work places', as the two areas in relation to their work settings; and lastly, 'the service provision at a treatment level'. The lack of structure and the general uncertainty experienced as a result of these were the dominant themes in the research within which service providers' interactions with children occur.

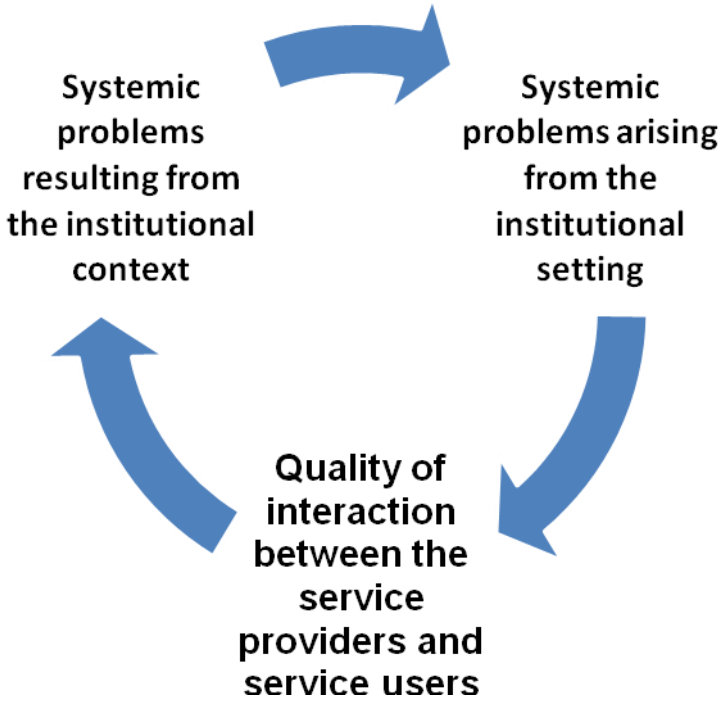
Participants position the service provision in a nationwide context and Istanbul in particular, drawing attention to the macro-level factors in relation to the services they provide for street children. They particularly emphasise the fact that service provision cannot be explored and understood regardless of its social context within which SHÇEK organisations exist. Indeed, the phenomenon of street children is a social issue as most participants agree. As a result, not only the social problem of street children is perpetuated by the structural problems in the social context, such as migration, poverty, lack of welfare policies, but the way SHÇEK organisations are run is also deeply affected. As it was discussed in detail, the society's attitude towards street children, as well as children in general, also determine the philosophical underpinnings of the SHÇEK service provision in terms of funding opportunities, the administrative approach to the divergent problems in hand, and the internal and external collaboration of the professional work force to gain efficiency and effectiveness.

In thinking about service provision, participants talked about their position in the organisations drawing attention to the meso-level factors in relation to the service they provide for the street children. Findings strongly indicate that service provision cannot be explored and understood regardless of the views, thoughts, attitude of the service providers as the findings clearly showed that this was profoundly affected the position of the service providers as well as the position of SHÇEK organisations in a national context. In a service provision in which service providers were in need due to the systemic problems arising from the institutional settings as well as the systemic problems arising from the institutional context have become unable to provide good quality of care to their service providers.

The findings clearly revealed that the quality of interaction between service providers and users was profoundly affected by the macro-and-meso-level factors. Indeed the structural problems resulting from both the institutional context and institutional setting did not leave much both mental and physical space for the service providers to operate. The service provision become inadequate, as most participants say, in which both service providers and users feel uncontained due to lack of structure and an approach specifically developed for street children.

Therefore the conceptual framework can be well summarised as macro-meso-micro level factors affect one another other (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Conceptual framework



The aim of the study was defined as examining the service provision in SHÇEK through the eyes of the service providers. It needs must be emphasized that this thesis does not undertake to prove a specific hypothesis proposed at the outset. Instead, the researcher was very interested in eliciting the SHÇEK participants' understandings, perceptions and experiences of the world, and since in social sciences it is not always possible to control the conditions under which social phenomena are observed, grounded theory has been found to be a suitable basis for this research.

It undertakes to examine the perspectives and practices of service providers in a state-run institution (SHÇEK) set up to rehabilitate street children and with a reputation of not having successfully met its objectives. An initial period of working with this institution indicated the importance of staff role in the success of the institutional performance. The performance of such an institution was seen to depend not only on its program, but more importantly, on the staff implementing it. At the time there was no accessible information on any investigation in comparable institutions on the subject of 'service providers'. This research was therefore designed as an examination of the perspectives and practices of the service providers at SHÇEK –Istanbul. It was conceived as *a first attempt* to build a bridge between the service providers and academics and create an opportunity to learn from those working on the ground.

A qualitative research method was found to be suitable for the exploration and the understanding of the previously unexplored services of SHÇEK for the street children in Istanbul.

Since there was little known about the topic area of the research undertaken here, as shown in the Literature Review Chapter, and since there were no 'grand' theories to explain adequately the specific psychological constructs, or any behaviour to be investigated, the researcher elected to base the work on grounded theory. The lack of 'grand' theories provided the impetus for development of grounded theory as a working method. What was hypothesized at the beginning of the research was only that examination of the service provision by specifically engaging with service providers would provide insight into the service provision by SHÇEK. The research did prove that listening to the views of the service providers was a very valid approach to examine the service provision and the required systematic corrections to the operations, as have emerged consistently from the context of the interviews, have been discussed in this chapter.

6.6. Limitations of the study

Carrying out a research in an organisation without belonging to that institution involves disadvantages as well as advantages. Using, for example, participant observation as a research method would have provided even more findings and deeper understanding about service provision. But, considering the constraints of the organisational setting, it would have been even more difficult to get permission for participant observations. As discussed in detail in the methodology chapter, establishing rapport and building trust was not easily attained in SHÇEK centres.

The aim of the research was to explore the service provision by engaging with its service providers so that the absence of the street children's authentic voice should be considered as a enrichment rather than the limitation of the study.

6.7. Recommendations

The findings of this study have a number of practical implications. One of the most important implications of the study is that service provision for street children cannot be analysed and improved regardless of its service providers. This is because as this study clearly shows that the experiences and work situation of social care workers have a profound effect on the quality of care they provide. The implications of the findings are the need for a comprehensive approach in service provision encompassing efficient professional cooperation internally and externally , need for children's active participation, need for creating a culture of hope for both the service users and service providers.

6.7.1. Need for a comprehensive approach

With respect to the subject of quality in child care, institutions have been encouraged during the recent years to shift from large residences to small residences in order to provide individualised services that allow each child more space and privacy (Tolfree, 1995). Marinkovic and Backovic (2007) drew attention to the disadvantages of residential care, one being that children living in foster care scored lower on competence and higher on all problem scales than children living in foster families. In Japan, for example, the rebuilt facilities are structured similarly to regular family houses (Bamba and Haight, 2006).

To date there has been an over reliance on institutionalisation and a failure to explore alternative ways of working with marginalised children in Turkey. Although there are some formal procedures in social welfare departments for identifying foster carers, for making placements of 'at risk children', and for training and supporting carers, they are not sufficiently applied in practice.

Study reveals that there is a need for a more comprehensive approach and a mental shift amongst policy makers that street children are a manifestation of communal dysfunction, not an isolated problem. Structural definition of situations results in the linking of political and economic forces to the individual's present situation, rather than viewing street children as an individual pathology.

Street children phenomenon is a social problem resulting from social causes. The government has the responsibility for the welfare of its citizens through programs to provide social security and health coverage with its institutions and social arrangements. Despite the recent social policy reforms, the welfare provisions are very low and in most cases insufficient to cover the needs of the poor in Turkey. These problematic social circumstances have led to disbelief and a pessimistic atmosphere in service provision. The structural problems of the work environment can also be considered as a reflection of the systemic problems stemming from the institutional context. Findings suggest that the quality of care is profoundly influenced by the systemic and cultural factors arising from the institutional context.

The research findings clearly indicate that there is a need for comprehensive strategy that includes a continuum of services ranging from income, maintenance, public housing to rehabilitation and alternative schooling for children at risk as also discussed by Lusk (1992). Interventions need to be informed by this and they also must focus on the immediate, underlying and structural causation. Money needs to be spent on social welfare and community development. There is also a need for intensive community- based interventions for at risk children in these urban neighbourhoods. Governments must ensure that services exist and are properly implemented. Support measures should address the root cause of children living and/ or working on the street. Successful interventions must address the multiplicity of levels. The research results have strongly indicated a great need for coordination of services in order to seek out and fill gaps in the provision of services directed to street children, and for standards to be developed, implemented and monitored as also argued for by West (2003).

Research findings have also shown in this very respect that there are not sufficient studies on families of the street children. Families of the street children have been regarded not as a source of information to work with, but as the pathologically crippled institutions responsible for the circumstances of the street children. Therefore, the studies made with the children are short of the family background. The integration of street children to the society without entertaining family relationships is not possible. Family studies are quite important for the work done for street children to ensure their integration into the society Therefore, in the cases involving physical or sexual abuse in the family, reliable individuals should be selected from the family circle to be included in these works with the families. Involving the families in the work carried out with the children and programming of work to support the families to enable them in turn to support their children is believed to be very

constructive.

6.7.2. Children's participation

Disengaging from street life is not an abrupt procedure, like beginning street life. It is a slow process of estrangement brought about by the inability to live well on the streets, feeling meaningless and a sense of not resolving the psychological issues that lead to beginning street life in the first place (Visano, 1990, cited in Aptekar, 1994). Street children cannot be helped without accurately understanding them. There needs to be a range of interventions that respond to the many complex needs of street children of different ages, genders and psychosocial, educational and physical requirements.

Turkish state welfare service provision, including mobile teams and institutional care has practices directed at a greater surveillance, control and regulation of children. Children's authentic voice however is not included in the service provision. Children's views are not sought, or if sought, still not brought to force within the daily context of activities of the organisations. Comparison of the current 'children's services' with the alternative idea of 'children's space' has raised the question whether the organisations in Turkey provide service for street children which takes into account children's view, and consult with children and give feedback to them. Despite very recent decisions in Turkey in favour of a consultative approach, the children's voices remain generally excluded and their participative activities remain under-resourced.

In this sense, the case of street children is forcing the adult world to rethink about the general perception of children and childhood. Childhood should be conceptualised separately from the institutional context such as the family, schooling or welfare systems within which it has been hidden (Prout, 2000). That is partly why Turkish state service provision fails to integrate children into the system. A child perspective (Skivenes and Strandbu, 2006) approach should be implemented in the care for this most vulnerable group of children. This perspective is vital for children's empowerment and involvement as actors because adults and professionals have a tendency to mould children into adult's way of thinking (Ataov & Haider, 2006). Street children should be seen as individuals. One approach does not suit every child and their individual needs must be responded to on a case by case basis. In principal, children of all ages must be regarded as subjects with their own agendas and perceptions of what is important and meaningful in their lives. Children should be seen as social actors who can provide a unique perspective on the social world about matters that concern them as children (James, 2007).

Children's voices should play a greater role in developing policy and practice. The benefits of children's participation can be profound both for the children and residential care environments. In this way, attitudes and real needs of young people, as opposed to their perceived needs by the professionals, would be better understood. Also participation can help children gain a better understanding of the organisations charged with their care. If the needs of individuals are reflected in the program, it is highly likely that street children would be cooperative and enthusiastic (Veeran, 2004). Otherwise, further damages will be incurred in the already fragile egos of street children who need to stay strong in order to survive on the streets (Orma and Seipel, 2007).

Empowering service users by encouraging their active participation into their care helps to create a safe environment for street children and equip them with the skills to help them re-integrate into society. This is one of the main characteristics of the informal system which has been repeatedly described in the literature as a more favourable and congenial environment for street children than the formal child welfare institutions (Karabanow, 2004). This is because informal agencies tend to rely upon client experience and participation as the predominant mode of intervention and rationale for activity; engage fewer professionals, and pursue egalitarian and sharing relationships between participants and staff.

Building the connection between street children and the service providers is another vital factor for an effective intervention (Kidd, et al., 2006). It has been suggested that it can be achieved by meeting with the children where they are, speaking to them in a respectful way, building a trusting relationship as this is one of the few things that they can count on. In this respect, 'the street education approach' would be suggested as the most appropriate (Carizosa and Poertner, 1992). This approach views street children as 'normal' yet forced by social inequality to survive under difficult circumstances. Street education approach stresses that the street children phenomenon is more about structural dysfunction than personal pathology. So that, for example, the street education approach does not use the term 'rehabilitation' in the service provision for street children.

6.7.3. Creating a culture of hope both for the service users and service providers

Research findings reveal that Turkish child welfare system for street children has shown limitations in providing a safe and caring environment for both service providers and users. Turkish state welfare service provision for street children is lacking a system specifically developed for street children within which service providers operate. Lack of a well articulated system affects the quality of work place and of the service delivered for street children. As a result, service provision only meets the basic needs of food, shelter and safety. Other categories of services required by service provision, as, for example, medical services, therapy and counselling services, skill-building services to develop street youth's interpersonal skills for reintegration into society, however, are very limited (Karabanow and Clement, 2004). As a result, as mentioned earlier, because of the loss of motivation to change a problematic situation, child welfare institutions produce street children by inculcating learned helplessness (Van der Ploeg, 1989: cited in Karabanow, 2004, p. 49). Consequently, service provision is reproducing marginalisation and in some cases causes further damage to the already fragile egos of children. Children, however, need a safe setting that allows for meaningful interaction and genuine explorations of the individual's past and present and future goals and experiences. This is one of the characteristics of anti-oppressive organisational structures which attempt to build safe and respectful environments for marginalised populations (Karabanow, 2004). Otherwise, as is the case in Turkish state service provision, marginalisation will be reproduced.

Findings of the present research suggest that not only street children's but the service providers' situation, which is also alarming in many ways, requires special attention. Findings show that service providers' appalling situation very much determines the quality of care. Unless service

providers' working conditions are improved it will not be possible to create a safe and caring environment for street children. Therefore, interventions should not only be aimed at improving living conditions of street children but also the working conditions of the service providers'. In order to treat these children with greater regard and empathy, service providers themselves need to be treated with greater regard and empathy.

Study findings reveal that there is a need to create a good working and learning environment. Good working environment is recognised as one in which the workers are supportive of one another, with openness and availability for discussion and processing experience with clients. Learning environment was described as one where the knowledge is shared (Karabanow and Clement 2004). This research reveals that service providers do not feel equipped to handle cases they encounter. The ongoing development of workers' competence and confidence within organisations should be ensured through education and consultation. There should be a continual learning process in which good supervision that incorporates both teaching and support is readily accessible (Bailey, et al. 2006). For example, Bailey et al. reported that care staff who work with service users with intellectual disabilities and challenging behaviour feel, varyingly, sad, hopeless, helpless, frustrated and guilty. Especially, receiving psychological support in human services organisations is extremely important for care staff to address these emotions. One of the most striking findings of the study is that the clients' feelings have a profound effect on the staff group. Service providers too can become distressed and burnout and deal with this by projection. They project their feelings onto service users. As a result, the entire organisational culture becomes caught up in the same state of mind as the clients it exists to serve (Menzies, 1999). Therefore, it's not surprising that in the SHÇEK care system both the helper and the helped are in need.

Working with street children is hard work as its nature is emotionally exhausting, as well as being physically demanding. Armstrong (2005) drew attention to the human aspects and, hence, to emotional aspects of organisations, saying that every organisation is a human invention, serving human purposes and dependent on human beings to function as organisation. People working in organisations, despite their unconscious and non-rational aims and needs; are expected to serve continuously with the rational aims of the organisation. The heavy emotional demands of child work needs to be generally recognised especially for those involved in caring for children with additional emotional difficulties arising from traumatic life circumstances (Gibson and Swartz, 2000). Better understanding of the emotional dynamics that come to the surface can help the service providers to facilitate creative collaboration, change and productivity in emergent organisational context (Prins, 2006). Only if the intense feelings of service providers are contained, the psychologically safe environment will be achieved (James and Clark, 2002).

In the case of SHÇEK workers, the social defence system actually inhibits the development of their capacity to deal with their stress and to experience it less acutely (Van Der Walt and Swartz, 1999). If not identified and understood with adequate support, these feelings can interfere with the individual's care giving capacity to contain or work with the emotional needs of the children, as well as the organisation's overall functioning (Gibson, Swartz, 2000).

SHÇEK staff face a reality in which there are few, if any, material or emotional resources available to meet their work related stress. The experience of lack within SHÇEK organisations often resonates with the deprivation brought by many of their children clients who in most cases are themselves struggling with poverty and deprivations on a variety of levels. The realities of deprivation among both children and staff provide fertile ground for feelings of inadequacy, anger and envy which consequently paralyses the organisation (Gibson, Swartz, 2000).

Fully qualified, well trained, experienced and emotionally well prepared people are needed in the field. The quality of workers influence the effectiveness of the services they deliver. Research findings reveal that most SHÇEK workers don't have sufficient work experience and are not adequately trained for their job. Most of the social service personnel are either newly qualified or inexperienced. Support staff come from totally different occupational backgrounds, such as driving a van. Findings also show that working for SHÇEK is not people's first choice because of the poor working conditions. They stay with SHÇEK until they find better job opportunities. It has become clear that SHÇEK is preferred by inexperienced young people who want to gain experience to be able to move onto better jobs. It is a way for them to get into the system. Having to employ young and inexperienced staff and high staff turnover rates profoundly affect the quality of the service delivered to the children. By improvement of working conditions and pay schemes, social services can be attractive to able professionals.

This research has shown that in order to ameliorate the conditions leading to burnout among other adverse outcomes, staff involvement in decision making needs must be increased, job title distinctions be examined, and the break and substitute policies at work be improved. Social support and financial resources are needed to avoid the poor working conditions which ultimately result in burnout. Informing legislators and policy-makers of work conditions, pressuring organisations which represent child care staff, developing media outreach programs to inform people about child care work, creating new organisations for staff which enable them to support each other and share ideas should be put to practice by the higher management.

This study shows that both the service providers and the service users are required to actively participate in the implementation of care. In SHÇEK service providers' voices and concerns are not accessible. Building the connection between street children and the service providers is vital for an effective intervention. Karabanow and Clement (2004) argued that an integrated and comprehensive approach to service provision that focuses on the individual needs of street child is required. The main emphasis in terms of service provision should be on working conditions, networking and mentoring. The recommendations cited above are part of what Karabanow (2004) identified as the characteristics of anti-oppressive organisations in order to build safe and respectful environments for marginalised populations, namely street children. Anti-oppressive organisations involve locality development; social development; active participation; structural definition of situation; consciousness raising and social action. Locality development implies the creation of a 'symbolic space' where street children can feel safe, respected, cared for and accepted. Social development is an approach that highlights the importance of human capital and acknowledges the strength of the individual and explores the

multitude of identities and characteristics which make up the person. Active participation is cooperation of workers and residents who can join together to build a common vision and direction for the organisation. Structural definition of situations results in the linking of political and economic forces to the individual's present situation, rather than viewing homelessness as an individual pathology. Consciousness raising is the encouragement of an intimate and in-depth exploration of one's actions through a process of accepting, exploring, and ultimately reconstructing one's past and present and one's future orientations. Social action is advocating for and on behalf of alienated and stigmatised populations.

6.7.4. Areas for further research

More research ensuring service providers' effective participation through methodology that empowers them would have been invaluable in providing genuine insight into the lived experiences of service providers. Further research should also be carried out with children as well as service providers rather than on them. Taking more account of children's views within research would have parallel developments in consultation with children's organisation (Hill et al., 2004). As James (2007) wrote, unless anthropologists in their own research practices with children, address the questions of representation, issues on authenticity, diversity of children's experiences, and children's participation in research, then childhood research runs the risk of becoming marginalised, and would fail to provide an arena within which children are seen as social actors who can provide a unique perspective on the social world about matters that concern them as children.

There is need for innovative methodologies grounded in the lived experiences of street children as well as those of the service providers with multi-level approaches and combination of qualitative and quantitative methods.

6.8. The summary of chapter six

In this chapter the findings of the study were discussed in the light of the literature review chapter. To begin with, the global reality of the phenomenon of street children was stressed. Subsequently, the same problem in Turkey was handled in a cultural context, in which section the vision of childhood in Turkish culture was highlighted. This was followed by a discussion on the organisational culture of SHÇEK institutions from the angles of psychology and of social sciences. The reasons behind the burnout cases among the service providers of SHÇEK were analysed in relation to the organisational culture of this institution. The discussion was then moved from the organisational culture of SHÇEK to the details of the services given to the street children. In these sections subjects like the dynamics of the relationships formed between the service providers and the service receivers, the influences of Turkish culture on service provision, the characteristics of the street children in Turkey, the disbelief of the service providers in the system they work for and the consequential effects on the service given were discussed.

A section was reserved for the limitations of this study, and the chapter was finalised with the recommendations indicated by the research findings.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions

The research presented in this thesis has been conceived out of the intention to be useful to the street children especially in alleviating the difficulties in their lives out of the home. Since the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection Agency (SHÇEK) is the service provider for street children, the study has been carried out in SHÇEK by engaging with its service providers.

The aim and the theme of the research have already been discussed in detail earlier. The conclusion section is specifically oriented to discussing the merits of this work and the significance of its contribution to the literature on the topic of street children rather than the repetition of what has already been presented in the body of the discussion chapter.

Before venturing into research work, as evidenced by the literature review chapter, the coverage of a large body of literature, related not only to the topic of street children, but also to issues relevant to this phenomenon, including findings, views, arguments and concepts on childhood, organisational culture as well as methodology for carrying out credible qualitative research in social sciences, has been undertaken. The relevant selection from what has been read has been presented in the references made in the thesis and this should provide a good and comprehensive grounding to any interested reader seeking initiation in all of these subjects.

This grounding has provided the guidelines for the critical selection of methods and approaches which have yielded meaningful and reliable results in aspects of service provision for street children which had not been previously investigated in Turkey. The preliminary fieldwork projects, undertaken before the final plans for the main body of the research, have provided the vital acquaintance with the main state organisation SHÇEK providing care for street children in Turkey, the structural and operational description of which has been presented schematically and verbally within the text of this thesis. The approaches adopted in research participation with the service providers ranging from senior management through the frontline workers, down to the support staff employed by SHÇEK at various care centres have been richly rewarded by data amassed on the modus operandi and the shortcomings of these organisations, not only supporting the reported results of similar research overseas but also providing much useful explanation for the apparent perpetuation of the street children's problems in Istanbul.

The recognition of these serious institutional problems have now provided the grounds for organising diverse ventures including, in the first instance, consultative liaisons with SHÇEK administration and service providers for further research and to plan for the improvement of both the service provision and the public awareness of the necessity of support for an efficient system of care and rehabilitation. The improvements could be realised through the planning of better professional cooperation and collaboration within the institutional system and with other professional circles and organisations, for example different departments of the universities in Turkey and abroad, the press and other media institutions, the police, the judiciary, educational

institutions and health care institutions as well as employment agencies. The attempts could aim at reorganisation of the different care facilities for cost effectiveness and better staffing, Ventures can be organised through the services of public relations agencies, the press and university departments to arouse public support, fund raising and parliamentary debates for measures to benefit street children.

However, the researcher also feels the necessity of looking at the street children problem from an international point of view and finds this an opportunity to call for an international collaboration specifically on the subject of service provision which this research work has also revealed to have common characteristics in countries facing this problem. It is indeed necessary to take a step now, having massive common data and experience, to create a worldwide awareness of the seriousness of this problem and for the development of clever socio-economic measures with organised public contribution, which unarguably would be a far more effective movement onto the problem than when restricted to national borders only.

It is important to stress, as noted in the opening chapter, the causal factors in relation to the street children phenomenon is global. Participants strongly reinforced in their accounts this commonality of causes behind the street children phenomenon by citing industrialisation, migration and the adverse outcomes of marginalised urbanisation. What is distinctive in the global scene of street children in relation to the Turkish case is the cultural perspective in which children are considered as a workforce in the rural parts of Turkey. Participants strongly report that, as well as poverty, cultural factors play an important role in the street children phenomenon in Turkey, as especially the male offspring is expected from a very young age to make financial contribution to the family income. Viewing children as a workforce is reported as a first step for children's departure from their home. Participants report that most children first start working in the streets and eventually start living in the streets. This rurally prevalent acceptance of children as a workforce is often supported by the urban public in the metropolises, at times leading to the defence of the young children working in the streets against the attempts of SHÇEK workers to remove or discourage them.

The findings of this research which merit itemising can be summarised as follows:

A review of the global literature reflecting the street children phenomenon, examined both at a macro level, within the broader context of social, structural and economic reasons behind the emergence of the phenomenon and, at a micro level concerned with the institutional care models at a treatment level. Providing insight into the meso level factors in the broader institutional context which stands as the main contribution of the study, as there is very limited research at a meso level on factors concerning staff's position in relation to the street children when compared to research at macro and micro levels noted above.

The important outcome of this research has been the demonstration that service provision cannot be assessed without the investigation of service providers because it is the service providers themselves who ultimately determine the scope and the quality of the service provision, whatever the statutes put before them, as can be seen in the findings here. As a result of this

research approach, it has been possible to reveal that the dynamics of the SHÇEK work setting in Istanbul for the service providers was characterised with lack of structure, limited resources and bad wages, employment of inadequate staff in numbers and qualifications, lack of overall support for the employees, high staff turnover rates and consequently, burnout. All of these factors were seen to affect profoundly the quality of the relationships between the service providers and users. Actually it would not be strong to argue that these have resulted in the eradication (if at all established) of a sustainable and purposeful relationship between the professional service providers, for example, psychologist social workers, and the street children brought to care centres. Service providers' poor working conditions have paralysed them. Service providers in SHÇEK consider their work place as a place of 'exile', describing it as a '*rubbish bin of the city.* They complain working in a '*system which is against them'* and of working with people '*nobody wants to work or even engage with*'. Their accounts strongly suggest that they are depressed and unable to sustain motivation to succeed in their labours. These points will be dissected further below to be able to demonstrate the potential implications of these findings.

This thesis highlights the social problems articulated by and respondent to SHÇEK's service providers and how consequently service provision is marginalised from the mainstream. The research yields significant evidence for the argument that SHÇEK reproduces, or in other words, perpetuates its marginalisation in the society, and consequently of its employees, who in turn adversely promote remarginalisation of the service users. Hence, the paucity of success recorded by SHÇEK is due to poor working conditions, poor control and support of operations and operators, where most service providers, by feeling professionally ineffective and emotionally burnout, become unable to implement the service needed to produce the required results.

Research findings clearly demonstrate that when service providers feel badly neglected and left out on their own, not only by their managers and senior managers within their organisational setting but also by the society, they are most likely to identify themselves with their service users who are also on the margins of the social control system as 'drop outs'. Here, service providers' position changes from providing standardised and/ or 'made-to measure' help, which is only possible with monetary and professional support, to that of needing help. Therefore, the most weighty outcome of service providers occupation at SHÇEK can be said to be reproducing the street children's marginalisation.

The point raised here is critical because the service providers of care institutions like SHÇEK hold a very important and responsible position by being the interface between the children and the society. In many ways they are the representatives of the society that these children are expected to integrate with. Thus, quite ironically, despite the dramatic efforts in this ''*undesirable work*'' to ''*integrate"* the children back, the children pick the slightest opportunity to run back to where they had been picked up or had come from , despite the obvious perils and hardships.

It is worth noting that as the findings reveal, it is not only the service users who 'runaway' form the SHÇEK's organisations but also the service providers, as the turnover rates are quite high. The work setting is even defined as an '*exile*' by a manager emphasising the fact that

working in SHÇEK is not service providers' first choice, they only stay until they find a better job. It seems that nobody wants to stay there so that 'runaways' attempts are prevalent both on the part of the service users and providers. The conclusion, therefore, has to be, not without understanding the plight of the service providing employees, that the service provision investigated in this research cannot be said to be successful, the reasons having been admitted openly to the researcher and thereby to the reader by the participant service providers themselves.

In this particular context, therefore, contribution to the literature of the research findings is quite important. The literature reviewed for the planning of this is research did not include direct admissions or revelations on the service providers' profound impact on the service provision. It has been acknowledged that the vast majority of research on street children has not incorporated the experience base of those most directly involved in providing the services. It should be pointed out here that there has not been enough emphasis on *how vital* service providers' impact can be on the service provision especially for street children. In this regard psychoanalytic literature was most helpful in conceptualising the impact of service providers' states of mind and attitudes on the service provision and, in turn, the service users' impact on the service providers. It is also helpful in the way it draws attention to the emotional aspect of organisation emphasising its profound impact on the quality of care. As the research findings vividly demonstrate, service providers' generally miserable state of mind has shaped their attitudes towards service provision and service providers. Therefore, it is not surprising that the context of the bulk of the participants' accounts given to the researcher has mainly consisted of issues regarding themselves as low income and overworked employees.

Having made these conclusions, one has to look seriously into the service providers' perception of their service users. The directly admitted fact by the service providers themselves that social work has become such undesirable work also reflects the government's attitude and view on the topic of street children. The quality of service provision clearly demonstrates the government's way of approaching and viewing this very important social issue. By making such limited investment in the quality of care provided for street children and overlooking the implications of the inadvertent employment of unqualified staff reveals the underestimation of the needs of the service and of its users. This, as the relevant literature points out, actually is the case for all disadvantaged people in Turkey since there are not enough social policies to cover those people in need. Neglecting appears to be a common ground both for the service users and providers. Service providers strongly draw attention to how government neglects its especially disadvantaged citizens.

Apart from the findings of the study on the impact of the institutional context on the work environment and the quality of care, support is given here to the arguments on the urgent necessity of measures to break open the vicious circle of 'poverty--immigration-unemployment-poverty' in which a considerable number of citizens have been trapped and which has been shown to underlie the street children phenomenon in Turkey.

As to the quality of care for street children, it can be seen from the findings that there is

not a service provision specifically developed and applied in practice for only the street children, although SHÇEK organisations were established in the first place to provide services for street children. This research has shown, however, that there is need for investigation and correction of the practice of extending services 'intended for street children only' to children with other problems and needs for treatment, who get placed under the same roof with the street children. This malpractice, as admitted by the participating SHÇEK employers, is not only complicating the administrative work load of the organisations, but also the positive outcomes expected from the efforts put into the progress of the rehabilitation of the real 'street children'. One can say that street children are found yet again to be marginalised from other service users.

Again, given the admissions of the participants, service provision by SHÇEK is thus mainly limited to clearing off the streets from street children and addressing the immediate basic needs of the children. It can therefore be said as a result of these findings that, service provision by SHÇEK in Istanbul is mainly oriented towards greater surveillance and control as opposed to acknowledging children as active agents, citizens capable of interpreting their lives and expressing their needs. In this regard only, can SHÇEK be said to have actually accomplished its first step goal by actively clearing the street off the children. This also explains the big discrepancy between the statistics on street children given by SHÇEK and other sources and why SHÇEK's figures for the children living in the streets is considerably lower. The institution has been claiming that at the moment there are not as many children as before in the main streets of Istanbul. However, as the participants have pointed out, this does not mean that there are not hidden children in the side streets of Istanbul.

As regards the street children themselves, by depending on the accounts of the participating service providers only, this study can only be said to demonstrate the probable lack of the voice of the children in the service provided. Clear evidence has been given by peer brothers and sisters (ex street children employed by SHÇEK as support staff) that even their advice and experience as spokes people for the service users have been excluded from implementations. The researcher has not found out much else beyond the sociologic and demographic background information and general personality features of the street children treated by the participants. The limited and what may be biased account doesn't help evaluate how much and how well the service providers knew about them, especially when given the admissions that even those supposed to spend most of their professional time with children had to allocate ''*80 Per cent of the day to administrative work behind closed doors*''. However, what has also emerged here is the reality of poverty in the lives of these children which forces them to be acquainted with the streets having no other choice but to perform what is traditionally expected of them in Turkey as potential workforce: to supplement the family income. For reasons explained in the discussion section, in time the child opts for remaining in the street rather than going home at night. This is the reality in Turkey behind the emergence of the street child phenotype.

This research therefore can be said to indicate the necessity of investigating what the street children's views on different aspects of the service provision are, so as to reach a balanced

evaluation of their main needs together with the shortcomings as well as the effectiveness of SHÇEK organisations. What would also be useful in this respect is to have directly expressed views of these children on the society they are expected to join and their expectations as integrated members.

Here also arises the important point that if 'how childhood is viewed' affects the approaches of service provision , then further investigation is required so as to reach corrective and balancing

measures in this activity.

Further research needs to be done on the service provision 'with' the service providers. This study clearly proves that doing a qualitative research with a narrative research method helps participants not only to express themselves openly but also motivates them to take part in the research. Considering the institutional constraints and the time spent and the effort put in by the researcher to establish rapport and build trust, the participants' openness and frank statements were unprecedented. This is because this method might well have made the participants feel empowered, a chance they were not given at SHÇEK.

In summary, a study has been presented here, which by being consistent in sustaining its selected methodology and approaches over an extended period of time to be able to collect the intended amount of information, has yielded information which the researcher believes has made the above cited contributions to the literature in its field.

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APPENDIX A

”Working With Vulnerable Children”:
Listening to the views of Service Providers working with Street Children

Questionnaire

This questionnaire has been prepared by Özden Bademci studying for a PhD at the University of Kent. The aim of the questionnaire is to obtain general demographic profile of the participants. As the enquiry has a scientific purpose the information received will be kept confidential. We are confident that unbiased and true answers will be given to the questions asked and we thank you for your cooperation.

Name and Surname.....

Gender…….

Age……

Whether married or single…….

The ages of children if any.....

Educational status…….

Position in the Directorate .....

Years worked for the Directorate.....

Previous work experiences.....

APPENDIX B

RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

”Working With Vulnerable Children”:
Listening to the views of Service Providers working with Street Children

You are invited to participate in a study of state welfare service provision for street children in Istanbul. We hope to improve the understanding of the impact of social care policies and practices for street children.

There are no known harms associated with participation in this research.

All individual records and notes of participation will be kept strictly confidential, such that only the researchers will have access to this information.

The results from this study will be published in the form of a research report and academic/professional journal papers.

Information about the project will not be made public in any way that identifies any individual participants. Similarly, particular institutions or departments will not be named. In additions, all participants will have pseudonames that will be used as identifiers for data collection.

Participation is completely voluntary. It may be discontinued at any time for any reason without explanation and without penalty.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact us. If you have any additional questions later, please contact either the researcher or the supervisors for further discussion (details below) who will be happy to answer them.

You will be offered a copy of this form to keep.

I have read the above information and I understand that I can ask questions or withdraw at any time. I consent to participate in this research study.

_____

Participant's signature

_____

Investigator's signature

_____

Date

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APPENDIX C

RESEARCH INFORMATION LETTER
"Working With Vulnerable Children":
Listening to the views of Service Providers working with Street Children

Hello,
My name is Ozden Bademci and I am studying for a PhD at the University of Kent in the United Kingdom. I am interested in the views and experiences of service providers working with street children. In particular, I would like to talk to frontline workers working in SHÇEK. I anticipate that this research will help to understand issues of service provision for street children and findings will assist policy makers and professionals to improve their services for these children.
If you decide to take part in the project, you will be invited for an interview. Our discussion will be confidential and I will make sure that your identity will not be revealed at any point when I present or publish this research. Your participation is very important as there is very little known about the experiences and views of professionals working with street children and your views will be appreciated very much.

I would be happy to discuss further any issues about the project with you; you can contact me (details below). If you have any concerns about the project and/or the researcher, please do not hesitate to contact Dr Charles Watters, Director of the European Centre for the Study of Migration & Social Care and Dr Eleni Hatzidimitriadou, Lecturer. They are both my supervisors at University of Kent, Canterbury, Kent, CT2 7LZ, Tel: 01227 823086.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP

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