

ISTANBUL BILGI UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY MASTER’S DEGREE PROGRAM

WHAT IT MEANS TO WORK AND GO TO SCHOOL FOR WORKING CHILDREN:
MOTIVATIONS, RESOURCES AND CHALLENGES OF WORKING CHILDREN

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İSTANBUL
2019

What It Means to Work and Go to School for Working Children: Motivations,
Resources and Challenges of Working Children

Çalışan Çocuklar için Çalışmak ve Okula Gitmek Ne Anlama Geliyor:

Çalışan Çocukların Motivasyonları, Kaynakları ve Zorlukları

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Date of Thesis Approval: 28.05.2019

Total Number of Pages: 135

Keywords (Turkish)

- 1) Çocuk işçiliği
- 2) Türkiye’de çocuk işçiliği
- 3) Çalışan çocuklar
- 4) Çalışmanın değeri
- 5) Eğitimin değeri

Keywords (English)

- 1) Child labor
- 2) Child labor in Turkey
- 3) Working Children
- 4) Value of working
- 5) Value of schooling

Acknowledgement

Firstly, I would like to thank my thesis advisors; Yudum Söylemez, your constructive comments helped me clarify my mind. Thank you for making this process easier. Zeynep Çatay, I thank not only for your support in this process but also for your support during the period of master; I am grateful everything, especially things about being a psychotherapist, that I learnt from you. It is surely beyond doubt that my dear professor, Zeynep Hande Sart, made the greatest contribution to this thesis. Your encouragement during this tough process is priceless. I am very proud of being your student and thankful you for giving me hope and courage to struggle for a better world. Dilan Can, Sevtap Işık, Sinem Banu Çelik made the data collection process easier; I am thankful for your facilitative support. I also thank to Banu Başgöl for her support from the very first. Sina Kuzuoğlu, you made greatest contribution for editing process. I thank for your sincere support. Nihal Yeniad, I am much obliged to your invaluable support in my most anxious times; thank you for your trust in me. Thank you being a part of my journey. I have special thanks for two significant people; Merve Özmeral, after graduated together from high school and university, we are now graduating from the master; we are again together. I am thankful for the great place you have in my life. I would be incomplete without you. Merve Gamze Ünal, the day starting to write the thesis together fell even further behind; but sharing memories since the first year of university, and acting with solidarity for years have been lasting. I appreciate the support you gave in this tough process, as you always do. Selen Yüksel, my kind-hearted friend, your comradeship is priceless; I am grateful for your shooting presence. Always together, always “with hope, with love, with dream...” My lovely little brother, Sinan Stephan Eke, you did more than you could imagine for me. Your unconditional love and support made me strong, and helped me achieve to finish this thesis. My deepest appreciation belongs to Ceyda Yılmazçetin; I am sure that it could not be possible to achieve without your support, love, affection and believing in me along my way. Thank you for your existence and comradeships. My dad Hasan Erdoğan, my mom Sevinç Erdoğan, my older brother Egemen Erdoğan, my older sister Çağla Erdoğan and my sister Hilal Erdoğan Kobaza; Your endeavor on the person who I am today is infinite. It is so peaceful to know you're always there for me. So glad I have you! Last but not least, I have endless thanks to the children and their mothers who let me touch their lives throughout this study. I am thankful to let me share their stories in this thesis. I dedicate my thesis to the children all around the world who do not enjoy their childhood, and I promise to continue struggling for a better world for all of us!

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Table 1: Information of Child Participants

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Abstract

This study aims to investigate the subjective meaning of simultaneously working and attending school for children between the ages of 12 to 14. Experiences of working and studying at the same time are examined from both children's and their mothers' perspective. It is assumed that each child who is working experiences unique events and, how the child interprets and evaluates his/her experiences is important to understand the conditions working children endure. In this context, semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with eight working children and their mothers. The results of the Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis revealed six superordinate themes for the child participants: (1) decision of working (2) value of working, (3) working is easy working is hard, (4) school is fun but not easy, (5) normalizing working and studying at the same time, and (6) support mechanisms. The results also revealed six superordinate themes for the mother participants: (1) ambivalence of thoughts and feelings about the child's working, (2) value of working, (3) not knowing child's issues, (4) lack of confidence for the outer world, (5) I didn't have it, but my child should, (6) support mechanisms. The results were found to be compatible with the assumptions of the study and related literature; however, the results also showed that child labor problem in Turkey has unique characteristics embedded in its socio-cultural, economic and familial structures. The results of this study suggest a more thorough analysis of protective value of working for children living in risky neighborhoods. Moreover, analysis of the phenomenon of migration and relationship between migration and child labor is recommended for further studies.

Key-words: Child labor, child labor in Turkey, working children, value of working, value of schooling

Özet

Bu çalışma 12 ile 14 yaş arasındaki çocuklar için eş zamanlı olarak çalışmanın ve okula gitmenin öznel anlamını araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma ve aynı zamanda okuma deneyimleri hem çocukların hem de annelerinin bakış açılarıyla incelenmiştir. Her çalışan çocuğun özgün olaylar deneyimlediği ve deneyimlerini nasıl yorumlayıp değerlendirdiğinin çalışan çocukların göğüs gerdikleri durumları anlamak için önemli olduğu varsayılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, sekiz çalışan çocuk ve annesiyle yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Elde edilen niteliksel verinin Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analizi sonucunda, çocuk katılımcılar için altı ana tema elde edilmiştir: (1) çalışma kararı, (2) çalışmanın değeri, (3) çalışmak kolay çalışmak zor, (4) okul eğlenceli ama kolay değil, (5) çalışmanın ve aynı zamanda okumanın normalleştirilmesi, (6) destek mekanizmaları. Ayrıca, anne katılımcılar için de altı ana tema elde edilmiştir: (1) çocuğun çalışmasına hakkındaki düşünce ve duyguların ikircikliği, (2) çalışmanın değeri, (3) çocuğun meselelerini bilmemek, (4) dış dünyaya güvensizlik, (5) ben sahip olamadım, ama çocuğum olmalı, (6) destek mekanizmaları. Sonuçlar çalışmanın varsayımları ve ilgili yazın ile uyumlu olmakla birlikte, elde edilen sonuçlar Türkiye'deki çocuk işçiliği sorunun sosyo-kültürel, ekonomik ve ailesel yapılarla bütünleşik, özgün özelliklerin olduğunu göstermiştir. Çalışmanın sonuçları riskli çevrelerde yaşayan çocuklar için çalışmanın koruyucu değerinin daha kapsamlı olarak araştırmasını önermektedir. Ayrıca göç olgusu ve göç ve çocuk işçiliği arasındaki ilişkinin de gelecek çalışmalarda kapsamlı olarak analiz edilmesi önerilmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Çocuk işçiliği, Türkiye'de çocuk işçiliği, çalışan çocuklar, çalışmanın değeri, eğitimin değeri

INTRODUCTION

Berivan was a 13-year-old child who is working in agriculture sector. In January 2019, she tragically lost her life while working at an orange grove in Antalya when she was hit in the head by a piece of sheet metal during a whirlwind and she lost her life tragically. An eighth-grade student, she came to Antalya from the Urfa, one of southeastern provinces of Turkey, to work together with her family in a few months before. Although Turkish law prohibits children under the age of 15 from working and Berivan should have been attending school, instead, she was working at an orange grove under harsh working conditions to sustain herself and her family's lives. After Berivan's tragic death, her father asserted that they told their bosses that they did not want to work during bad weather and that their bosses replied with: "Even if it's raining stones, you have to work." (Bianet, 2019). It is clear that Berivan's death should be regarded as a homicide, not as an accident - it is a violation of right to life. Unfortunately, Berivan's death is neither the first nor the last.

Health and Safety Labour Watch Turkey (2019) reported that at least 1923 people have died while working in 2018. Although 2018 was also announced as the year of struggle for child labor by the Prime Minister's Office, 23 of those 1923 people were children under the age of 14, and 44 of them were between the ages of 15 and 17. As the continuation of the trend, moreover, 10 children were reported to have lost their lives while working in the first two months of 2019 based on Health and Safety Labour Watch Turkey's datum. In this respect, Berivan's death was only one among those deaths; however, her death was not only a number. Her death profoundly indicates that child labor is a violation of fundamental human rights (ILO, 2017).

Child labor is a complex issue with social, economic, and developmental implications. It is a multidimensional problem, especially for underdeveloped and developing countries, and

varies according to individual countries' social, cultural, economic, and familial characteristics (De Mesquita & de Farias Souza, 2018). However, child labor is also closely connected to the economic systems of the global world. In this respect, child labor is an equally important issue for all countries in the world (Gün, 2017).

According to the International Labor Office's Global Estimates of Child Labor published in 2017, globally, there are 152 million children in child labor; 58% (68 million) of them are boys and 42% (64 million) of them are girls. Forty-eight percent of working children is between the ages of 5 and 11 years old, 28% of working children is between the ages of 12 and 14 years old and 24% of working children is between the ages of 15 and 17 years old. Moreover, 73 million of working children are in hazardous work (ILO, 2017).

Referring to the situation in Turkey, Turkish Statistical Institute states that there are 893,000 working children in Turkey in 2012 according to the results of Child Labor Force Survey; 69% (614,000) of working children are boys and 31% of them are girls. Thirty-three percent of working children (292,000) are between the ages of 6 and 14 and 67% working children (601 thousand) are between the ages of 15 and 17. Nearly 50% of working children continue to go to the school (TUIK, 2013). Nevertheless, child labor statistics do not include informal working or working in streets. For this reason, the statistics do not present the real picture of the child labor problem.

Beyond numbers, child labor is defined as "the employment of children in any work that deprives children of their childhood interferes with their ability to attend regular school, and that is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful." (ILO, 2012) Child labor is an obstacle to the healthy physical and mental development of a child. In this context, UNICEF recognizes child labor as a form of child abuse (Ajayi & Torimiri, 2004). In other

words, child labor deprives the child from the ability to live his/her childhood. Inevitably, this phenomenon brings developmental and psychological problems to the child (Altuntaş, 2003).

Working children experience many adversities and stressful events. Childhood is a special period, with children having special needs different from adults because of their developmental features. *“In contrast to adults, stressful life events can affect not only child and adolescent health and welfare, but the developmental process.”* (Smith & Carlson, 1997, p.232) In this regard, child labor can be seen in various forms and it affects the child’s development in many ways. Child labor makes children more vulnerable for a range of psychological, emotional, and behavioral problems as they face adult life difficulties at an early age (Bademci et al, 2017).

SECTION ONE

CHILD AND CHILDHOOD

Child and childhood commonly appear as an age-based and rights-based classification. Word of child has three lexical definitions: (1) “a boy or girl from the time of birth until he or she is an adult, or a son or daughter of any age”, (2) “an adult who behaves badly, like a badly behaved child”, and (3) “someone who has been very influenced by a particular period or situation” (Cambriadge, 2019). Biologically, being a child means being between the stages of birth and puberty (Mosby, 2013). In comparison, childhood is defined as (1) “the state or period of being a child” and (2) “the early period in the development of something” (Merriam-Webster, 2019).

Aside from such definitions, UNICEF (2004:3) defines childhood as:

“the time for children to be in school and at play, to grow strong and confident with the love and encouragement of their family and an extended community of caring adults. It is a precious time in which children should live free from fear, safe from violence and protected from abuse and exploitation”.

Beyond its lexical definition, the concept of childhood ensued as a result of the start of increasing an awareness of the special nature of childhood. As Aries notes *“the idea of childhood corresponds to an awareness of the particular nature of childhood, that particular nature which distinguishes the child from the adult even the young adult.”* (1962, p. 128)

Furthermore, modern view conceptualizes childhood as a socially constructed phenomenon (James, Jenks & Prout, 1998; Jenks, 1996). Modern childhood approach acknowledges the child as an individual who is the subject of his/her experience and the owner of a right. In this respect, societal attitudes towards the child also shape the child’s being (Uyan-Semerici et al., 2012).

According to the United Nations Convention on the rights of the Child (UNCRC), “A child means every human being below the age of 18 years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier.” (UNCRC, Article I). UNCRC is the fundamental reference guide defining the rights of child and duties and responsibilities of the states for protecting them. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims that childhood necessitates special care and assistance. Concordantly, the Declaration of the Rights of the Child states *“the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth.”* (p. 3) Recalling that, UNCRC declared definition of the child based on guiding principles required for all rights, namely non-discrimination, best interest of the child, right to life, survival and development, and respect for the views of the child (UNICEF, 1989).

In line with these age-based and right-based definitions, meaning of being a child and childhood are related to values attributed to children by their family, their society, and their culture. Particularly, Kagitcibasi (1982) asserts the value attributed to children by parents is particularly important to understand childbearing and fertility motivations. Moreover, the value attributed children by parents also provides a useful insight into parental goals and expectations thereby factors in relating the place of the child in family and society (Aycicegi-Dinn & Kagitcibasi, 2010).

Fawcett (1972) and Hoffman and Hoffman (1973) offer the initial theoretical framework about studying the value of children. Subsequent studies were conducted about the value of children by Bulatao (1979a, 1979b) and Kagitcibasi (1982a, 1982b, 1998). As a result of the study conducted with nationally representative samples in Indonesia, Korea, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Turkey, the United States, and in Germany, the value of children was conceptualized (Bulatao, 1979a; Darroch, Meyer, & Singarimbun, 1981; Fawcett, 1983; Hoffman, 1987; Kagitcibasi, 1982a, 1982b as cited in Kagitcibasi & Ataca, 2005). The value

of children was explained in relation with parents' psychological and social costs as well as benefits emanating from having children. In the original study of the value of children model (Kagitcibasi & Ataca, 2005), three different types of values attributed to children surfaced: (1) economic/utilitarian, (2) psychological, and (3) social. Economic (or utilitarian) value has to do with material benefits of having children such as children's contribution to household economy and taking care of parents at their old ages whereas psychological value is connected to the psychological benefits of having children such as joy, fun, companionship, and pride. Finally, social value is concerned with social benefits of having children such as social acceptance, continuation of the family name (especially if parents have a son), and traditions (Kagitcibasi & Ataca, 2005). In this context, viewing child and childhood as separate entities from the society at large is not possible, making the problems of the child and childhood as an integral part of societal dimensions.

SECTION TWO

CHILD LABOR

2.1. THE PHENOMENON OF CHILD LABOR

2.1.1. Definition of Child Labor

“The term ‘child labor’ is a paradox, for when labor begins . . . the child ceases to be.”

(Rabbi Stephen Wise, 1910, addressing a conference on child labor in America)

Child labor, child marriage, child poverty, child abuse and all other forms of conditions which cause negative childhood experiences, at its simplest, violate a child's rights to be a child. Childhood is a period of exploring, learning, and growing up (Mulugeta, 2005). Ideally, these processes take place in a healthy manner. Starting with early childhood, children develop both physically and mentally as they prepare to become adults. In this reasoning, Johnson et al. (2013) views childhood as *“a time to explore and learn various developmental tasks and other aspects of life that are necessary for the progression toward adulthood”* (p. 105). Unfortunately, a significant portion of the children in the world are growing away from the right to be a child. Child labor is one of the riskiest issues causing harm on the child's healthy physical and mental development. Involvement of children in income generating activities for supporting themselves and their families is an obstacle for their education and their healthy growing up (Mulugeta, 2015).

The concept of child labor does not have a universally accepted definition. Although there are many definitions of child labor, they are varied and ambiguous, that makes the concept of child labor a complex phenomenon (Moyi, 2011). According to the 1997 State of the World's Children (UNICEF),

“Child labor takes place along a continuum. At one end of the continuum, the work is beneficial, promoting or enhancing a child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral or

social development without interfering with schooling, recreation, and rest. At the other end, it is palpably destructive or exploitative.” (UNICEF, 1997: 24)

Aside from the functional side of child labor mostly related to economic value of working, it exerts a non-negligible damage over the child’s well-being (Liborio & Ungar, 2010). The child’s involvement in work differs from situation to situation, from country to country and/or from sector to sector and it also differs depending on the child’s age, the types of work, working conditions, socio-economic features of the county (Martin & Tajgman, 2002). In this respect, while defining child labor, it is necessary to pay attention to the complexity and multidimensionality of child labor.

The International Labor Organization (ILO) defines child labor as:

“work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development. Child labor refers to work that:

- is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children; and
- interferes with their schooling by:
 - depriving them of the opportunity to attend school;
 - obliging them to leave school prematurely; or
 - requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.

In its most extreme forms, child labor involves children being enslaved, separated from their families, exposed to serious hazards and illnesses and/or left to fend for themselves on the streets of large cities – often at a very early age.” (ILO, 2015)

The ILO further distinguishes hazardous work for children. Worst forms of child labor also known as “hazardous work” are defined in Article 3 of ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention No. 182:

- “(a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
- (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.” (ILO, 1999)

These forms jeopardize a child’s physical and mental dignity and his/her overall well-being, hence, the elimination of worst forms of child labor is prioritized around the world (ILO, 2002).

Article 32 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child is “the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child’s education, or to be harmful to the child’s health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.” (UNICEF, 1989) This article makes signatory states of the convention liable to take legislative, administrative, social and educational actions. The signatory states are also responsible to ensure a minimum age for admission to employment, appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment, appropriate penalties or other sanctions in the case of violation of this right (UNICEF, 1989).

Even though child labor is commonly regarded as a phenomenon that disrupts the child’s overall development, it is also a socially constructed problem. Erbay (2013) considers child labor as an *“important social problem that has social, physical, psychological, economical and cultural dimensions, and causes child abuse in those dimensions”* (p.157). Although

scholars and international organizations offer varying definitions of child labor, the term essentially refers to harm which children get because of child labor. To build a clearer picture of the process that evolved into the current child labor issue, an examination of the historical trajectory of child labor is necessary.

2.1.2. Historical Background of Child Labor

Child labor has a significant history as it exists since the medieval era. The early history of child labor mostly includes working children in the family work, e.g., farms or, in other words, the informal sector. Initially, children began to work in mills, factories, and mines. In conjunction with the beginning of industrialization and global spread, the places where children work and types of work involved changed. The British Industrial Revolution may be viewed as an important milestone in this context, inflicting dramatic changes to the nature of child labor. With the proliferation of the industrial processes, children began to work also in the formal sector. In this respect, industrialization made the child wage earner who was subject to task master (Tuttle, 2006).

Throughout history, children have been subject to economic exploitation of diverse forms. However, the recognition of children in working life and the emergence of child labor as a problem are closely related to capitalistic development in Europe. Wild capitalism caused an awareness of need to protect working children from harsh working conditions, abuse and exploitation (Gün, 2017). Ever since child labor emerged as an issue, countries have been making an effort to prevent and eradicate child labor on a global scale. Contrary to popular belief, child labor is not only a concern for undeveloped and developing countries, rather it is a global one. Moreover, child labor, as a violation of human rights, renders the fight against it a universal and fundamental value (ILO, 2017).

2.1.3. Laws and Regulation about Child Labor

A universally accepted definition for child labor does not exist (Moyi, 2011). Various definitions have led to various laws and regulations about child labor in different corners of the world. In the meantime, ILO constitutes a frame to define and to characterize child labor as well as to cope with child labor as a pressing issue. Thus, ILO is an essential institution that employs a multidimensional approach and reports guiding principles concerning child labor. Its conventions and recommendations sheds light on child labor problem and provide control mechanisms and ways of settling dispute regarding child labor.

ILO Conventions, namely, (1) the “Forced Labor Convention” (No. 29) concerning forced or compulsory labor, (2) the “Minimum Age Convention” (No. 138) concerning minimum age for admission to employment, (3) the “Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention” (No.182) concerning the probation and immediate action for the elimination of the worst forms of child labor, and (4) its “Worst Forms of Child Labor Recommendation” (No. 190) concerning the prohibition and immediate action for the elimination of the worst forms of child labor are international reference guidelines (ILO, 1930; ILO, 1973; ILO, 1999a; ILO, 1999b). In addition to ILO, the UN also has an important role regarding child labor. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child is also of international significance.

2.1.4. Child Labor in the Context of Bronfenbrenner’s Ecological Theory of Human Development

Bronfenbrenner (1979) states:

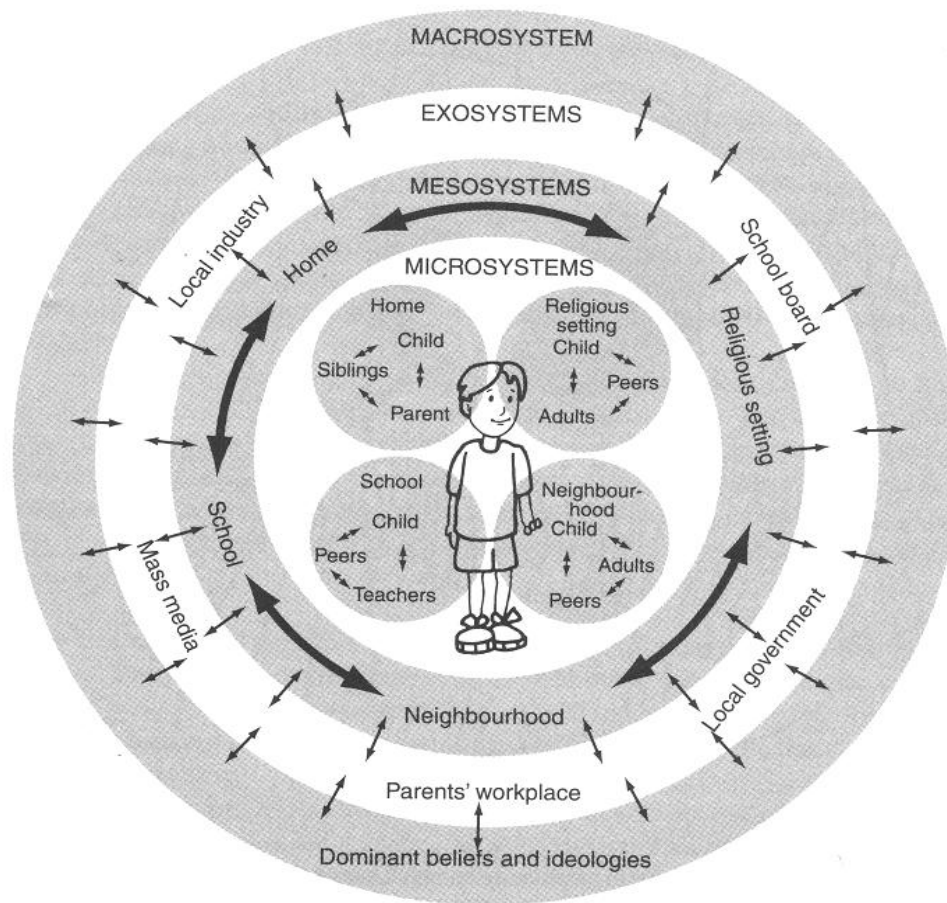
“The ecology of human development involves the scientific study of the progressive, mutual, accommodation between an active, growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives, as this process is affected by relations between these settings, and by the larger contexts in which the settings are embedded” (p. 21)

Based on this definition, the developing person is considered to be a growing, dynamic entity which both is affected by the environment and restructures the social environment in which he/she resides. In this regard, the person and the environment have a reciprocal interaction. Moreover, the environment is not a single setting. From an ecological orientation, environment consists of nested arrangement of structures referred to as the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, and the macrosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

The microsystem is the most proximal setting with particular physical and material characteristics, in which the person can interact face-to-face; the mesosystem includes the relations of two or more settings, in which the developing person has active participation; the exosystem comprises one or more setting in which the developing person is not an active participant, but, the developing person affects or is affected by the events in the setting; the macrosystem mentions consistencies with the other lower order systems based on the subculture or the culture (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Apart from the other levels of the systems, the macrosystem involves the institutional systems of a culture or subculture such as the economic, social, education, legal and political systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1976, 1978 as cited in Rosa et al., 2013). In this regard, *“the influence of the macrosystem on the other ecological settings is reflected in how the lower systems (e.g., family, school) function”* (Bronfenbrenner, 1979b, as cited in Rosa, et al., 2013, p.247). Furthermore, Bronfenbrenner added another system called the chronosystem in 1999, which means changes or consistencies over time of characteristics of the person and the environment (Velez-Agosto et al., 2017).

The major emphasis of the bioecological theory of human development is the impact of context. Following Bronfenbrenner’s basic assumption is that development emerges from the interaction between individual and context (Rosa et al., 2013) Moreover, the theory focuses on the interrelationship of different processes and their contextual variation (Darling, 2007)

Figure 1. A young child's development from the ecological approach (Hankönen, 2017)
(Picture scanned from Penn, H. 2005, as cited in Harkönen, 2017, p. 15).



When the child is placed at the center of the circle of the systems, s/he is surrounded by various people, institutions, socio-cultural values, beliefs and ideologies. In this regard, the child grows up in interaction with the environment, and the environment has important influence on the child's development. According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), the development is strengthened by the qualities of the relationships that the child establishes in his / her environment and the meanings attributed to the experiences in these relations." (Semerci et al., 2012, p. 13). In this respect, in addition to the current experience, how the child understands and interprets his/her experience is a prominent aspect of the child's development as well. Considering working children from the ecological perspective, working is an experience which occurs in the systems. It is not only an act of the child, but it is

embedded in the systems. Moreover, working experience has a different meaning and effect in each level. Therefore, it is significant point to approach causes, determinants as well as consequences of child labor in each level and interaction between the systems within the framework of Bronfenbrenner.

2.2. CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF CHILD LABOR

2.2.1. Causes of Child Labor

As mentioned earlier, child labor is a complex and multidimensional issue; child labor is deeply embodied in various economic, social, cultural, familial, traditional and educational structures. Although economic reasons, poverty in particular, are the main cause of child labor, child labor is not a problem that can only be explained by poverty and economic inadequacies and hardship. Gumus and Wingenbach (2015) state that many studies done in child labor pinpointed other reasons for child labor, namely, *“traditional family practices, insufficient opportunities for education, withdrawal from education, unemployment, the needs of employers for cheap labor, the family’s need for a daily income, insufficiency of labor regulations, and labor regulations not being applied”* (p. 1194). In this regard, it cannot be possible to isolate a singular cause for child labor, rather child labor emanates from multiple and interwoven contributing factors.

2.2.1.1. Child Labor and Poverty

Children start working at an early age especially for economic reasons and poverty is the leading cause that forces children to work. Economic crises and shocks, living in low-income families, parents’ unemployment make children bear the responsibility to contributing to household income. ILO also underlines this pattern (ILO, 2017). Poverty causes fragile and sensitive groups to form in societies, with children constituting one such group. Children in poverty take load on home care, which may normalize and simplify child labor. In short, child labor and poverty are inseparable concepts (Yayla, 2017).

ILO's global estimates of child labor from 2012 to 2016 assert child labor to be most prevalent in low-income countries around the globe. Nearly 20 percent of working children (65.203 children) in child labor and 8.8% of working children (29.664 children) in hazardous work are in low-income countries. Nine out of every ten children in child labor are in Africa, Asia and the Pacific region (ILO, 2017). It is imperative to underline that these numbers represent the registered child workers, suggesting that the actual number of working children is underestimated in these reports. In undeveloped and developing countries, *“Household survival often depends on children being sent to undertake work in the labour market. Paid child labour raises the household's present income”* (Shimada, 2017, p.313).

The relationship between poverty and child labor is not unidirectional. As poverty leads to child labor, child labor leads to poverty as well. Child labor is both a consequence of poverty and a reason of poverty, creating a vicious cycle between the two phenomena. A child's participation in labor force interrupts the child's education and development, thus may lead to the child's inability to have a skilled and qualified profession. Interruption of education makes it harder for working to break away from poverty (Shimada, 2017). In the long run, working children can turn adults who work for low wages and live in poverty as well (Nurhadi, 2015).

2.2.1.2. Child Labor and Education

Educational opportunities exert a major influence on children's involvement in the labor force. Simultaneously, child labor affects educational outcomes (Dorman, 2008). Working mostly interferes with schooling and may lead to drop out from the school system in the long run. Child labor detrimentally affects a child's school performance. Moreover, child labor can prevent children from continuing to school (Dayıoğlu, 2014).

The fact remains that although child labor has detrimental effects on the child's schooling; schooling, in some cases, is dependent on the child's work. For instance, parents may not be able to fulfill children's educational costs such as books, worksheets, uniforms and transport because of economic hardship (FAO, 2013). The complex dynamic relationship between working and schooling in some cases may evolve into a mutual dependence, facilitating the continuation of both activities (Patrinos & Psacharopoulos, 1997).

In another perspective, the quality and the availability of education determine a child's involvement in the labor force. When the child has limited access to educational opportunities and, at the same time, has a limited time and energy given for studying, it may eventually lead to low school attendance and low academic performance. And after, it may lead to drop out of the education system.

Additionally, level of parents' education and the value prescribed to education are also influential to the involvement of the child in employment. Dayıoğlu and Assad (2003) state that maternal and paternal schooling have a diverse effect on child labor. Moreover, Akşit et al. (2001) and Karatay (2000) have found in their research on children working on the streets that the overwhelming portion of the mothers of the children are illiterate although for their fathers that figure was relatively lower.

2.2.1.3. Child Labor and Socio-Cultural Issues

Child labor as a social problem is affected by socio-cultural structure within the country. The social acceptance and the normalization of child labor in some settings render the issue acceptable on community and family level as well. In this framework, culture is a decisive factor for whether the child goes into labor market or not. For example, child working at very young age is appropriate regarding certain traditions and cultural frameworks solely because working at very young age is associated with learning skills and being prepared for the future (Osment, 2014). A study conducted by Mayblin (2010) in Northeast Brazil demonstrates that

child labor is performed to fulfill moral obligations and cultural practice. This study states that “*how Santa Lucian people view children as incompetent human beings and vulnerable to the dangers of playing and ‘doing nothing’*” (Osment, 2014, p.29). Therefore, child labor sometimes offers a way to develop competent children from the values of some cultures.

2.2.1.4. Child Labor and Migration

The other important determinant for child labor is migration taking place as a result of globalization and changing global economic systems. The phenomenon of immigration is considered as one of the most serious problems for some countries in the present time (McAuliffe & Ruhs, 2017). People mostly emigrate from low-income countries to developing countries for economic subsistence. Migration provides an opportunity to overcome poverty and there are various studies supporting the association between poverty and migration (Shimada, 2017). Moreover, participation of migrant workers’ children into the labor force can commonly be observed (Maddern, 2013). The social and economic structure with a dynamic character emanating from immigration patterns paves the way for child labor.

2.2.2. Consequences of Child Labor

According to White (1996), child work occurs in a continuum from worst to best. In the one side of the continuum, there are the worst forms of child labor which has the most harmful influence on the child, whereas, on the opposite side of the continuum, there is child work whose benefits outweigh its harms. A previous example illustrates the latter occurrence: If a child’s successful educational attainment is dependent on continuing to work, the benefits of working has the potential to overcome the overall costs. The intolerable types of child work are courted to be eliminated and criminalized, however, the beneficial types of child work are striven to be encouraged (Bourdillon, 2010).

One thing is certain, however, that each type of child work has its own nature and its effects change accordingly. Regardless of the benefits, the fact remains that child work simply means exploitation of child labor and violation of fundamental human rights. Based on UNCRC, child labor commits violation of working children's

“right to be protected from abuse, right to be protected from economic exploitation, right to access to primary education, the right to be protected from all forms of harm, neglect and sexual abuse, and right to be protected from all forms of exploitation” (UNCRC, 1989 as cited in Aqil, 2012).

Consequently child labor has a detrimental effect on the child's well-being and in fact the child's well-becoming.

2.2.2.1. Mental Consequences of Child Labor

In addition to violation of child rights, child labor has negative consequences of children's physical and mental health. Fekadu (2010) made a systematic review identifying potential reasons child labor's impact on the child's mental health. Firstly, working children may feel demoralization and hopelessness as a result of many hours of high-demand, repetitive work over which they have little control. Secondly, working children may take adult responsibilities at an early age such as debt discharging and bringing home the bread. Thirdly, working may cause isolation from the family when the child has to migrate for working. And, in the case of a humiliating work, the child may experience isolation from his/her peers. Lastly, decrease of school enrollment in parallel with the increase of employment and the deprivation of educational opportunities may cause long-term harm on the child's mental health (Sturrock & Hodes, 2016).

According to Sturrock and Hodes (2016)'s systematic literature review of epidemiologic studies investigating the consequences of child labor in low- and middle-income countries, there is a significant association between exposure to work and general psychopathology.

Particularly, studies in Ethiopia (Fekadu et al., 2006), Turkey (Kıran et al., 2007), Brazil (Hoffmann et al., 2013), the Philippines and India (Hesketh, 2012) found a significant association between these concepts. In this regard, association between exposure to work and internalizing problems such as anxiety disorder, mood disorder, somatic complaints, and social and thought problems has a high ratio; whereas the literature has recorded a relatively low ratio and a weak association between exposure to work and externalizing problems. Based on the type of work, its intensity and duration, as well as socio-economic development, risk for child and adolescent psychopathology is varied (Sturrock & Hodes, 2016).

Kıran et al. (2007) conducted a research about the effect of working hours on behavioral problems in adolescents with a sample group of 899 adolescents aged 15 to 20 from a High School, Technical School and Apprenticeship School in Zonguldak. In this research, the adolescents' sociodemographic variables, working status and working durations as well as the behavioral problems by using a questionnaire Youth Self Report (YSR) were evaluated. Results indicate that adolescent students in apprenticeship programs which the students were working regularly have higher scores of withdrawn, somatic complaints, depression and anxiety, social problems, delinquent behaviors, internalization and externalization on the YSR. It was also found that compared to non-working adolescent, working adolescents have higher scores of the Total Problems, Internalizing Problems, Somatic Complaints, Anxious/Depressed, Social Problems and Delinquent Behaviors. In this respect, the study's results clearly demonstrate that working may be the underlying cause behavior problems among adolescents (Kıran et al., 2007)

2.2.2.2. Developmental Consequences of Child Labor

A child's developmental process is interrupted by his/her entrance into the labor force. *"From a developmental perspective physical, social, behavioral, and emotional risks may impact children's health and well-being in the short, medium, or long term"* (Johnson et al.,

2013, p. 114). The magnitude of these effect of child labor depend on working children's age, health status, social resources, and the type of work, along with economic conditions, availability of child welfare policy and protection from chemical exposure in their work environment. In other words, the extent of such developmental effect intimately connected to the characteristics and experiences of working children, the environmental characteristics, and the availability of protective resources (Johnson et al., 2013). Eventually, child labor impedes the ability to fulfill a child's potential in physical, cognitive, social, behavioral and emotional domains.

Child labor causes various physical illnesses and harms the physical development of children. There are a number of empirical studies investigating the association between child labor and its physical developmental effects over participants who worked at an early age. Additionally, researchers have argued that there are actual and potential benefits and/or risks of child labor over a child's health, survival, and development (Johnson et al., 2013). In a longitudinal study, O'Donnell et al. (2005) observe that individuals who have worked during their childhood are significantly more likely to report illness up to five years later when a range of individual, household and community level variables as well as common unobservable determinants of past work and current illness were controlled.

Another study conducted in India with working children found out some delays in the genital development of male children (Ambadekar et al., 1999). Furthermore, Woodhead (2004) has indicated that working children are vulnerable to various physical ailments such as anemia, fatigue, early initiation of tobacco smoking, and other mental health and behavioral health problems. In addition, children working in physically hazardous conditions such as in mines and farms with noxious chemical substances have severe health risks. For example, *"exposures to pesticides, chemicals, dusts and carcinogenic agents increase the risks of*

developing bronchial complaints, cancers and a wide variety of diseases” (Forastieri, 1997; ILO 1998, Fassa et al. 200, as cited in O’Donnell et al, 2005, p. 440).

In addition to child labor’ effects on physical development, child work also has effects on cognitive development. Several studies have focused on the effects of child labor on working children’s cognitive abilities (Johnson et al., 2013), in which working children’s school attainment and performance, neurobehavioral performance, motor intelligence, and memory have been found to be affected by child labor. Moreover, a negative correlation between working and grade advancement, years of completed education, and test scores have been recorded as well (Johnson et al., 2013).

Learning achievement and school performance are significant indicators for cognitive development. In this regard, the time and energy required to work may lead to reduce study time and tire children. As a consequence, tiring may cause reduced concentration and learning among children (Moyi, 2011) and child labor is closely related to grade repetition (Beegle, Dehejia & Gatti, 2006). Furthermore, cognitive development encompasses general intelligence as well as spatial, motor and verbal intelligence and cognitive abilities related to those cognitive domains. When work environment is characterized by extreme deprivation, lack of stimulation, or mundane and repetitive activities, this unhealthy and restricted environment significantly impairs children’s general development and spatial, motor, and verbal intelligence (Woodhead, 2004). Based on a study conducted in Ghana, Heady (2003) underlines that the comparison to working children’s reading and mathematics test score with non-working children reveals working children to have significantly lower reading and mathematics test scores even if the participants’ innate ability measured by an intelligence test called the Raven’s Test were controlled.

Childhood is a period of rapid development and healthy growth leading the child to realize his/her potential and dignity. Social and psychological development in addition to physical

and cognitive development, have a fundamental importance. Child labor poses a risk on social and psychological development of working children. Boyden et al. (1998) state that “...often children are at greater psychological or social risk than physical.”(p. 81), and associate psychological or social risk with the absence of working children’s authority and physical power. In this respect, employers do not always value the child’s work as productive activity and usually put working children in the lowest status. Moreover, while working, working children are exploited by employers due to authority and power distance. In such instances, children’s personal agency may indeed be neglected and children may become vulnerable to maltreatment and emotional abuse (Woodhead, 2004). In the meantime, social and psychological effects are more likely to be ignored simply because they are mostly invisible and latent.

Working mostly isolates children from their peers and social networks which are required for healthy social and psychological development, and simultaneously stigmatizes them. As a consequence, these may lead to social exclusion or rejection, deviant or antisocial behavior (Woodhead, 2004). Additionally, being a working child have adult, in a sense, being a working child means facing with several duties and responsibilities with which the child is not ready to meet those duties and responsibilities.

Considering child labor’s impact on the developmental process, the Psychosocial Development Theory also is a meaningful proposition. In reference to Erik Erikson’s Psychosocial Development Theory, the personality develops throughout eight stages of psychosocial development from infancy to adulthood (McLeod, 2018). Erikson refers to a life-span development of the person. In other words, growth and change continue in adulthood (Douvan, 1997). Erikson’s psychosocial view situates the developing person in a social context, *“emphasizing the fact that movement through life occurs in interaction with parents, family, social institutions and particular culture, all of which are bounded by a*

particular historical period” (Widick et al., 1978, p.1). Furthermore, the interaction of social norms and biological drives in generating self and identity has great importance (Erikson, 1950). Particularly, the fifth psychosocial stage called identity versus role confusion is addressed separately in the context of this study. That is because; the child participants of the study are chronologically in the stage of identity versus role confusion. This state roughly corresponds to the ages of 12 through 18; that is the period of adolescence from Erikson’s approach (Sokol, 2009). According to Erikson (1968), identity formation is an important task in this stage.

In conjunction with developing new cognitive skills and physical abilities, the individual begins to have increasing levels of independence and autonomy over his/her life. Moreover, the individual’s investment in social life and relations increase in this stage as well. Interactions with neighborhoods, community members, and schools constitute significant importance in an individual’s life. In this context, the individual discovers vocations, ideologies, and relationships (Erikson, 1968). On the other side, *“sometimes morbidly, often curiously, preoccupied with what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared to what they feel they are”* (Erikson, 1959, p. 89).

2.3. CHILD LABOR IN TURKEY

Historically, child labor in Turkey is a widespread phenomenon rooted in social, cultural, traditional and economical contexts, whereas the combat against child labor relatively new. Turkey has been struggling with child labor on national level since the involvement of International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) constituted by ILO in 1992. Furthermore, Turkey is also a signatory country ILO Minimum Age Convention (No. 138), ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182). Moreover, most importantly, Turkey has been signatory country of the ‘UN Conventions of the Rights of Child’ since 1990. Turkey has ratified ‘UN Convention of the Rights of Child Optional Protocol on

Armed Conflict’, and ‘UN Convention of the Rights of Child Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography’. Furthermore, Turkey has also ratified the Palermo Protocol on Trafficking in Persons (USD OF, 2018). In this respect, it can be stated that all key international conventions concerning child labor have been approved by the Turkish government. Principally, national legislations and regulations based on Turkish Constitution also guarantee the protection of child rights.

As stated earlier, child labor is a great concern for not only for underdeveloped and developing countries but for developed countries as well. Millions of children across the world are under economic exploitation (Srivastava, 2011). Child labor occurs in different faces with different causes; the factors that lead to a child’s involvement in market, family business, or domestic work are certainly not similar (Webbink et al., 2012). Although causes of child labor are varied, previous scholarship on national and international levels indicate that poverty, causes related to education, migration, traditional point of view and familial causes are the most important indicators of child labor. Aside from these, one of the most important underlying cause of child labor is the failure to abide by the prevailing laws and regulations, and the ineffective implementation thereof (Aykaç, 2016).

Considering the current situation in Turkey, there are some exceptions and ambiguous parts of national legislations and regulations, coupled with a failure to implement of both national and international legislation and regulations. Certain loopholes in Turkey’s existing legal framework prevent adequate protection of children from the worst forms of child labor (USD OF, 2018). Therefore, child labor in Turkey continues to remain an ingrained problem.

Turkish Labor Law (2003) prohibits the work of children under the age of fifteen, whereas children who turn their fourteen years and completed compulsory education are able to do light duties. According to Education and Science Workers' Union’s Report namely “Our Children and Future” in 2018, the number of working children was two million in Turkey in

2018, and eight of ten working children work unregistered in an informal capacity. Moreover, interns who are employed in within the context of vocational training education for long hours and children who take apprenticeship education are not considered to be working children.

Based on the current official figures derived from Child Labor Force Survey conducted by Turkish Statistics Institute in 2012, 44.7%, 24.3% and 31% of working children are employed in agriculture, industry, and service sectors, respectively. Considering the condition of working children in the work, 52.6% of working children work is either waged or jobber, 1.1% working children work at their own charges. Moreover, 46.2% work as unpaid family workers. In the meanwhile, 49.8% working children continue to go to school, whereas 50.2% of working children have dropped out of the school system (TUIK, 2013).

As noted by Gumus & Wingenbach (2015), “in developing countries, the number of children in the labor force in Turkey is one of the areas of the economy which remains most in the dark, and the correctness and reliability of information is questionable.” (p. 2). In line with this questionability, the underlying mechanisms for the prevalence of child labor in Turkey hold great significance.

2.3.1. Causes of Child Labor in Turkey

2.3.1.1. Economic Causes of Child Labor in Turkey

Studies on child labor indicate poverty to be the primary reason (Günöz, 2007). Child Labor Force Survey conducted by Turkish Statistics Institute in 2012 indicate that working children in the age range between six and seventeen mostly work in order to contribute to their household income and assist their household’s economic activities (TUIK, 2013). If the child is at risk of poverty in the household, then child labor is bound and the child gets away from the educational settings and commences work. Hence, poverty in the household is of primary importance in Turkey (Kahraman & Kahraman, 2017) - it is these difficulties in Turkey that

determine whether a child is in employment or not. Unemployment, unbalanced income distribution, economic crises, non-productive usage of country resources, rapid population growth, migration, unplanned and irregular urbanization, informal economy are reported to be the accompanying factors to poverty eventually leading to child labor (ÇSGB, 2017).

2.3.1.2. Movement of Migration from the East to the West in Turkey

Migratory movements, especially migration pattern from Southeastern and Eastern Anatolia to western part of Turkey, and its negative results is also a primary cause for child labor in Turkey (Erbay, 2013). Transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy has paved the way for rural-to-urban migration in Turkey. Combining this with political conflicts, violence and poverty, there has been a prominent mass migration from the east to the west within Turkey (Bakırcı, 2002). When the migration combines lack of monetary fund of immigrants and lack of skill necessary for qualified job, the migration may result in catastrophic consequences, e.g., unemployment, low income, and the eventual poverty. In this context, child labor may be considered as a solution by the migrant families (Altuntaş, 2003), and eventually resulting in children becoming one of the income providers for their family's survival in the urban atmosphere.

In reference to the study conducted in Beyoglu district of Istanbul, Karatay (1999a) finds out that children who work in streets are the children of the immigrant families that migrated from the east within the last ten years. Another study conducted in Beyoglu district by Karatay (1999b) discovered that the immigrant population in Tarlabası neighborhood of Beyoglu mostly consists of people who have a blood relation and/or fellow-townsmanship with each other. The majority of this migrant population is from Dargeçit district of Mardin; the reason is their discovery of low-cost housing in Tarlabası (Altuntaş, 2003). Despite the prevailing economic conditions that facilitate the trigger and the subsequent expansion of child labor, socio-cultural attributes are also influential for the subject matter.

2.3.1.3. Socio-Cultural Causes of Child Labor in Turkey

Child's working differs from culture to culture. A child's presence in street for working is prevalent and acceptable in some cultures and it is unacceptable and impossible in some other settings (Aptekar, 1994). Culture and traditions as extensions of culture may be a factor that normalizes the child's working. For instance, while children are turning into adults, child labor is developmentally considered as a traditional stage in some rural parts of Turkey (Bakırcı, 2002). In such territories, children move rapidly into adulthood stage and possess adult responsibilities at an early age. For example, children in rural parts may work at the agriculture and help with their family business, rendering it a cultural value (Şişman, 2004). Socio-cultural approach particularly typical to agricultural society and the early industrialization period considers the working child as an ordinary occurrence and sometimes even a necessity. That is because; the child's working implies gaining sense of responsibility and contribution to family income in the family custom (CSGB, 2017). Therefore, Turkish society's traditional viewpoint is, arguably, closely related to the prevalence of child labor in the country.

Yet, there has been a significant social structural change in Turkish society in the last three decades (Kagıtcıbası & Ataca, 2005). Changing socio-economic structure, urbanization, and the increased level of education in the society have played indispensable roles in this social structural change. A change in the value of child also changed in this period. According to the 2003 Turkish Value of Child Study, there has been a sharp increase in the psychological value of the child, whereas, there is decrease in the utilitarian/economic value of the child (Kagıtcıbası & Ataca, 2005). In other words, as the utilitarian/economic value of the child decreases, the psychological value of child increases correspondingly. Furthermore, Ataca (1992) and Ataca and Sunar (1999) found out among the sample group of middle-class urban women in Turkey, there is an increasing prevalence of psychological value of the child. It has

also been pointed out that parents expect less financial help from their children. In this regard, when child labor in Turkey is considered within the context of the value of the child, the decrease in the economic value of the child and financial expectations from the child may diminish the child's involvement in labor force. However, in fact, immigration and poverty repress the social change as well as the changing value of the child. Thus, the existence of child labor in Turkey cannot be explained when one focuses on singular aspects, rather it is the outcome of complex and dynamic set of rules.

2.3.1.4. Educational Causes of Child Labor in Turkey

One of the most significant aspects of child labor in Turkey is education. Educational opportunities have a major influence on child labor (Dorman, 2008). Rosati and Rossi (2007) found out the expansion of the quality and availability of education has decreased rates of child labor.

Article 28 of the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child ensures “the right of the child to education... on the basis of equal opportunity” (UNICEF, 1989). Additionally, article 7 of the ILO Convention 182 underlines “access to free basic education, and wherever possible and appropriate, vocational training, for all children removed from the worst forms of children” (ILO, 1999). Even though equal access to education is a fundamental right of the child, all children do not possess equal opportunities. In particular, girls, minorities, and children from low-income families do not always benefit from educational opportunities.

Children in poverty, girls, children whose mother tongue is not Turkish, children who live in the rural parts of Turkey, children with special needs, children with learning disability children of families who work in seasonal agriculture, working children, children under risk, lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex(lgbti) children, Roma children, Syrian children under temporary protection and refugees who came from the countries such as Iraq,

Afghanistan and Somali because of forced migration have problem accessing education and continue to go to school in Turkey (ERG, 2018).

In addition to educational opportunities, educational level of parents has also an impact upon the child's work engagement. An investigation of the work and schooling outcomes of male and female children aged 6 to 14 from household-level micro-data found out that child's age and gender, parental education and the region of residence as important determinants of child labor. Furthermore, the likelihood of employment is higher for older male children and those with lower parental education (Tunalı, 1996 as cited in Dayıoğlu, 2005). Besides, schooling is considered as unhelpful by parents both materially and financially in both short and long term for low-educated and low-income families whereas schooling is considered as helpful for the child's having a good job and future for high-educated and high-income families (Şişman, 2004).

2.3.1.5. Familial Causes of Child Labor in Turkey

“Family characteristics including household income, household size, parental education, and parental beliefs contribute to child labor in Turkey.” (Bahar, 2014, p. 691) Among such family characteristics, parental beliefs are separately addressed in this study. In the first place, parents' conceptualization of childhood and child labor exert influence on their decision-making processes and parental attitudes. Yılmaz (2008) argues that children begin to work at an early age in rural parts of Turkey, e.g., working in the field, and parents commonly consider the child's working as normal. Besides, patriarchal gender roles have an impact on parents' perceptions and actions about child labor (Bahar, 2014). Patriarchal gender roles land women with the role of producing offspring and subsequently taking care of those, whereas patriarchal gender roles land men with the role of bringing home the bread and providing security for the family (Gündüz et al., 2008). In this regard, patriarchal gender roles might *“[place] children in traditional low-income families at a disadvantage as they are*

more likely to be mobilized into the workforce.” (Bahar, 2014, p. 690). In relation to patriarchal gender roles, boys’ working outside is much more frequent and acceptable than girls.

A study conducted by Akşit et al. (2001) found out that girls’ working on the streets are viewed as shameful by both parents and child. Thus, gender inequality continues to constitute a significant point.



SECTION THREE

METHOD

3.1. The Primary Investigator (PI)

The primary investigator, and the author of this master thesis, is a graduate student at the Istanbul Bilgi University Clinical Psychology Graduate Program, studying at child-adolescent track of the program. During my undergraduate training, I had the chance to volunteer in programs with many children of different age groups with various social, cultural and economical disadvantages. Within the context of different short and long-term projects revolving around the basis of human rights, more specifically, child rights, I had continuous contact with these children. More specifically, I witnessed the issue of working children as part of a social responsibility project.

The primary motivation for this thesis stems from the subjective experiences with working children in the context of a social responsibility project called “İşimiz Okumak-Our Job is To Study” which involves children both attending secondary school and work to make money outside the school hours. The project was conducted as a corporate social responsibility project for eight years with the collaboration of Istanbul Provincial Directorate for National Education, Boğaziçi University Lifelong Learning Center and a private corporation. The project aims to strengthen children’s ties with their school through the academic, social and cultural activities, which are conducted in schools and out of the schools. Accordingly, project foresees that children will display higher commitment to school and continue their education without working. In this respect, the project is conducted with the high-risk population in which there are children whose risk of dropping out of the school system is significantly higher.

Working as a project assistant for three project years, I had chance to be in the field with many working children who are also in education system. My subjective experiences revealed that each and every one of the working children had a unique narrative related to his/her working experiences, leading one to conclude the importance of listening to their experiences directly from them in order to understand the situation of working children and taking the necessary steps for the name of children's well being together with them. Furthermore, when it comes to children, it is clear that parents have a fundamental effect on child's life. Therefore, it became imperative to approach the issue of working children by listening some of working children, and their mothers who are more accessible figures in the children's lives.

On the other hand, child's beginning to work at an early age is prevalent phenomenon for my kith and kin that are from the rural parts of Turkey. I have listened to various stories about child labor from them. Moreover, I had a chance to meet some adult members of my extended family who were also working children in their childhood, and who had to drop out of the school because of working. Therefore, child's working left a mark in my personal, family history. This thesis is in fact an effort to better understand my ancestry and my roots at the same time.

Concordantly, the aim of this study is to deeply examine unique experiences of working children in Turkey by investigating the subjective meaning of working and going to school at the same time for child participants and their mothers. Educational aspirations, challenges at work and school life; resources and motivations regarding work and school life are the primary investigated domains, both through the eyes of the children and through those of their mothers.

3.2. Purpose of the Study

Child labor is a complex issue and renders it difficult to solve the issue of child labor (Algan Ferrara, 2015). It is crucial to approach the issue in a comprehensive perspective in order to understand the dimensions of child labor and its influence on working children. Aside from the generalized influence of child labor over working children, it is evident that each working child experience unique events and how the child interprets and evaluates his/her own experiences tells a more accurate picture about child labor problem since children are the subject of their own experiences (Uyan Semerci & Erdoğan, 2013). They are not passive individuals who experience good and/or bad things but they have agency over their experiences. Without including children's subjective experiences and perspectives in the equation, it is not possible to understand and evaluate the conditions that children endure.

In line with this perspective, this study embraces a child-oriented approach. The study aims to thoroughly examine the unique experiences of working children in Turkey by investigating the subjective meaning of working and going to school at the same time. Motivations, resources, and challenges of working children are examined in relation to the working experience and school experience from the perspective of children. When the focus is the child, the role and effect of parents over the child's experiences is incontrovertible. Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of child's experiences requires family-oriented studies as well as child-oriented studies. In this line of reasoning, mothers' perspectives about their children's working and school life are also included in this study. Mothers' perceptions of working experiences, school life and coping mechanisms of their children constitute the primary dimension. Family is one of the crucial aspects of child labor. Socio-economic and cultural circumstances of the family, education level of the parents, perception of child and worth of child in the family have significant influence over child's entering the work force (Erbay, 2013). In this respect, this study aims to understand child labor problem by including

mothers' perspectives as well. Educational aspirations, challenges at work and in school life, resources and motivations at work and school life are examined by integrating the child's and the mother's perspective.

3.3. Significance of the Study

Scholarly literature on child labor in Turkey has limited numbers of empirical studies (Acaroğlu, 2010). There are also limited numbers of qualitative studies related to child labor in Turkey. In particular, number of studies that include children who work and study at the same time and the number of qualitative studies that includes in mothers of working children are limited. In this respect, this study offers a deeper understanding of the working children's subjective experiences at work and school by working with children and their mothers as two units of analysis.

This study contributes to the development of intervention programs by exploring various factors related to work and school life of working children. Moreover, including the mothers in this study helps understand perceptions of mothers and strengthen the family by finding out the perceived needs and support mechanisms. Arguably, the most important contribution of this research is revealing the congruence and the differences in perceptions of working children and their mothers about work and school experience. This way, it will be possible to generate systematic resolutions for child labor problem. This research, furthermore, will lead to future research paths by providing subjective experiences of working children so that it may be more effective and realistic intervention plans for addressing child labor. Last but not the least; we hope to generate ideas for policy makers on how to address this issue in the larger context.

With these aims, working children and their mothers were interviewed at a secondary school located in Tarlabaşı region of Istanbul. Participants of the study were recruited from "İşimiz Okumak- Our Job is to Study" Project", a social responsibility project with the aim of

strengthening working children's ties with their school and helping them to stop working completely.

3.4. Research Questions

This research addresses the following questions:

For working children who study at a secondary school as well as work outside of school for making money:

1. What do working children who are also in the school system experience in Turkey?
2. What are the motivations, resources and challenges of working children who are also in the school system in Turkey?
3. How the decision to work is made by the child and by the family?
4. How do working children who are also in the school system cope with the difficulties?

Furthermore, regarding the mothers this research asks:

5. How do the mothers of working children perceive their children's working and school life?
6. What are the perspectives of mothers of working children in Turkey who are also in the school system over their children's motivations, resources and challenges?
7. In what ways, do the mothers of working children exert influence on the coping skills of their children?

3.5. Participants

3.5.1. Child Participants

The study includes eight child participants and eight mother participants. All of the child participants of this research were attending a public secondary school in Tarlabası, a chaotic neighborhood designated as an urban transformation area in Istanbul, and there are common occurrences of burglary, violence, drug use, and drug pushing which cause significant risks for the resident community. In addition to studying, all participants work after the school

hours. Moreover, another common element among the participants is that they attended the project called “İşimiz Okumak- Our Job to Study” which was conducted in their school in 2017-2018 spring term.

In this research, three of the child participants are female; and five of them are male. They are in sixth, seventh, and eighth grade (four, two, and two participants, respectively) and their age ranges between 12 and 14. All the child participants are children of families who migrated to Istanbul; one family migrated from Black Sea Region and other seven families migrated from Southeastern Anatolia. With the exception of one, all participants were born in Istanbul.

Three of the child participants work at home. However, they are in contact with employers outside their homes during the process of making and/or delivering the goods. Five of the child participants work outside the home; one works on the street whereas the remaining four work in shops. Furthermore, all of the participants work either with their family members or familiar adults.

Their working time ranges from two to six hours per day. Moreover, some of the child participants stated that their working hours increase on weekends. They earn money ranging from ten Turkish liras to one hundred and fifty Turkish liras for a week.

Detailed information for each child participants is presented below (Table 1). The real names of the participants are changed in order to protect their anonymity.

Table 1. Information of Child Participants

Child participants	Sex	Age	Grade	Work
Şirin	Female	12	6	Making beads at home (handcraft)
Berkay	Male	12	6	Textile work at home
Can	Male	14	8	Selling bracelets in the bazaar
Nazlı	Female	13	7	Making beads at home (handcraft)
Çiçek	Female	13	7	Mussel production
Mert	Male	12	6	Operating a ferris wheel
Efe	Male	12	6	Helping his father in a rice shop
Mustafa	Male	14	8	Working In a clothing store

Şirin is a twelve-year old girl in the sixth grade. She is eldest of three siblings and her family has been living in Istanbul for fifteen years. She works at home making beads to earn money for the past four years. She works with the aim of covering her expenses. Moreover, she says “*I work when I am bored in my spare time.*” She works for three hours at each day of the weekend. She earns between twenty and thirty liras for a week. She spends some of the money she earned as her pocket money and hands the rest of it over her family. She wants to continue to school until the end of the university and become a doctor.

Berkay is a twelve-year old boy in sixth grade. He is the youngest child of a family with three children. His family has been living in Istanbul for fourteen years. He has been doing textile work at home for two months. He works with the aim of breadwinning and meeting his own expenses. His regular shift is two hours per day in the evenings. He earns ten liras for a week. He gives all the money he earned to his family and he states that his family uses that money for his school expenses. He says that he wants to continue to school until the end of the university and wants to be a physical education teacher.

Can is a fourteen-year old boy in eighth grade. He is the first-born of a family with three children. He has been selling bracelets in the bazaar since he began to study at the seventh grade. Beforehand, he worked in a clothing store. He works with the aim of breadwinning. He works five hours a day during the week after the school. He earns thirty liras for a day. He spends some of the money he earned as his pocket money and he gives the rest of it to his family. He says that he wants to continue to school until the end of the high school and aspires to be a football player.

Nazlı is a thirteen-year old girl in seventh grade. She is the second child of a family with four children. She has been making beads at home since the beginning of the seventh grade. She works with the aim of meeting her expenses. She works three or four hours a day during the weekend. She indicates that the money she earned changes according to the work. She spends some of the money she earned as her pocket money and she gives the rest of it to her family. She says that she wants to continue to school until the end of the university to become either a lawyer or a pre-school teacher.

Çiçek is a thirteen-year old girl in seventh grade. She is the sixth child of a family with seven children. Her family has been living in Istanbul for three years. She has been working for two years in mussel production. She works with the aim of breadwinning. She works five hours a day for two weekdays after the school. She earns one hundred fifty liras per week. She spends some of the money she earned as her pocket money and she gives the rest of it to her family. She says that she wants to continue school until the end of the secondary school. She wants to be a physical education teacher, volleyball player or lawyer.

Mert is a twelve-year old boy in sixth grade. He is the first child of a family with three children. He operates a ferris wheel with his uncle by going around in the streets. He has been working almost for two years. He works with the aim of breadwinning and meeting his

school expenses. His working days and hours are uncertain but he usually works for three hours when he goes to work. He earns between thirty and fifty liras per week, some of which he spends as his pocket money and gives the rest of it to his family. He says that he wants to continue school until the end of the university. Moreover, he wants to be an architect or a pediatrician.

Efe is a twelve-year old boy in sixth grade. He is the first child of a family with three children. His family has been living in Istanbul for thirteen years. He works to help his father in a rice shop for almost the past two years. Prior to working with his father, he had worked in a repair shop and in a barber shop and in a *kokoreç* (i.e., grilled sheep's intestines, a popular fast-food item in Turkey) shop. He states that *"I work not to stay out and not to be a buffoon."* He works six days a week and two to three hours a day. He gives all the money he earns to his family and his family gives him five liras pocket money for a day. He says that he wants to continue to school until the end of the university and wants to be a police officer.

Mustafa is a fourteen-year old boy in eighth grade. He is second child of a family with four children. His family has been living in Istanbul for twenty years. He works in a clothing store where his father and uncle work. He has been working there for two years but he worked in a glasscutter shop and in a barbershop beforehand. He works with the aim of meeting his own needs. He works for six days in a week. He works after school during the week and his regular shift is four and half hours per day. He earns fifty liras in a week. He uses all the money he earns as his pocket money. He says that he wants to continue to school until the end of the university and wants to be a doctor.

3.5.2. Mother Participants

The mothers of these eight participants are included in this research. The age of the mothers ranges between thirty one and forty two. As mentioned previously, none of the mothers were born in Istanbul but had migrated from different parts of Turkey. Five of the mothers are

illiterate and three attended various grades of primary school. All of them are married housewives and the average number of children per mother is four. One of them also states that she makes beads at home.

Detailed information for each mother participant is given in a table below (Table 2). A nickname different from real names of all mother participants is used for each mother participant:

Table 2. Information of Mother Participants

Mother Participants	Child	Birth place of mothers	Age	Marital status	Level of education	Occupation
Mrs. Ayşe	Şirin	Tokat	40	Married	Primary school	Housewife and making beads at home (handcraft)
Mrs. Asuman	Berkay	Mardin	41	Married	Illiterate	Housewife
Mrs. Zeynep	Can	Mardin	42	Married	Primary school	Housewife
Mrs. Melek	Nazlı	Mardin	39	Married	Illiterate	Housewife
Mrs. Tülay	Çiçek	Adana	39	Married	Illiterate	Housewife
Mrs. Birsen	Mert	Mardin	37	Married	Primary school	Housewife
Mrs. Hanife	Efe	Mardin	31	Married	Illiterate	Housewife
Mrs. Emine	Mustafa	Mardin	36	Married	Illiterate	Housewife

3.6. Procedure

In this study, the primary investigator (PI) reached the participants by using a convenience sampling method. At the beginning of 2017-2018 academic years, the students were included in İşimiz Okumak-Our Job is To Study Project with the approval of Ministry of National Education. The participants of this study were sampled from the children and their mothers.

Following the Istanbul Bilgi University Ethics Committee's approval, the PI contacted with the school counselor, who is responsible for coordination of İşimiz Okumak-Our Job is To Study Project in one of the project schools located in Tarlabası. Firstly, the PI and the school counselor announced the study to the children who participate in the project and asked whether they wanted to volunteer for this study. Although some children wanted to participate voluntarily, they did not participate because their mothers were not fluent Turkish speakers. Thus, they were excluded from the research. Verbal consent was taken from the children and their mothers were contacted by the PI. Ultimately, eight child participants and eight mother participants both of whom consented were included in the study. Informed consents were obtained from all participants.

Data collection period was conducted in the last two weeks of April 2018, three months after İşimiz Okumak-Our Job to Study Project started. In the first step, demographics forms were obtained from the participants, prepared separately for children and mothers (see Appendix). Consequently, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted by the PI in the school's guidance service room. Each child and his/her mother were interviewed on the same day but separately. Interviews lasted between 20 to 45 minutes. All interviews were audio taped and transcribed removing identifying information of the participants by the PI.

3.7. Data Analysis

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA: Smith & Osborn, 2003) was used to understand unique experiences of working children and their mothers. Semi-structured interviews were analyzed using IPA that revealed working children's perceptions and interpretations about their work and school experiences as well as the mothers' motivations, resources and challenges of being mothers of working children. Before beginning to code each interview and creating the themes, the transcriptions of the interviews and the PI's own field notes were carefully reviewed. The PI took additional notes for each transcript and made

initial coding by using the MAXQDA Software program. The coding was conducted separately for children and their mothers. Subsequently, the PI created theme clusters based on the coding scheme. After discussing those theme clusters with the thesis supervisor, the subordinate and super ordinate themes for the child participants and the mother participants were finalized.

3.8. Trustworthiness

During the data collection process, the interviews were recorded and the PI also took field notes in order to gather detailed information. Triangulation technique (Smith & Osborn, 2003) was used to increase the trustworthiness of the study. In each step of the data analysis process, the PI and thesis advisors discussed the initial data and draft codes. Then, themes were formed, reiteratively reformed until there was a consensus for the ultimate themes.

SECTION FOUR

RESULTS

In the interviews conducted with the children and their mothers, it was observed that the participants, especially the mother participants, exhibited profound difficulty to elaborate on the questions. On occasion, they needed to be prompted for their answers. The child participants were much more comfortable while talking about their experiences, whereas, the mother participants were less communicative. Prior to addressing the content of the conducted interviews, an important point to mention that for mothers talking about their children's experiences at work was arguably a difficult endeavor and made them defensive. For example, some of the mother participants stated that "*He does not, in fact, work very much*" or "*She works at home I do not send her out to work*". In a sense, the mothers might have felt guilty and felt like they were being interrogated. Was there anything you tried to do to ease this defensiveness? Did it make a difference?

Based on the data derived from the analysis of semi-structured interviews with the children and their mothers, this following part consists of the study's results. The results are grouped into two parts. The first part contains themes that are derived from the interviews with the children, and the second with mothers.

Six superordinate themes were identified during the analysis of data derived from the children: (1) decision of working (2) value of working, (3) working is easy working is hard, (4) school is fun but not easy and (5) normalizing working and studying at the same time, (6) support mechanisms (subsection 4.1). The data derived through mothers revealed six super ordinate themes (1) ambivalence of thoughts and feelings about the child's working, (2) value of working, (3) not knowing child's issues, (4) lack of confidence for the outer world, (5) I didn't have it, but my child should, (6) support mechanisms (subsection 4.2.).

In the first place, six super ordinate themes and related sub ordinate themes of the children will be given.

4.1 Themes of Children

4.1.1. Decision of Working

The child participants mentioned that they made the decision to work on their own. They argued that commencing work is an individual decision without any external interference or a compulsory activity. On the one hand, the child participants perceived working as their choice, and they beared all the responsibilities of working on their own. On the other hand, some of child participants also stated that their decision is not supported by their families; however, they are not prevented from working either. Finally, they stated that when the child expresses his/her desire to work; he/she can start to work even if the family does not support the child's decision.

Considering the study's sample group, the child's working is, in fact, common in both the nuclear and the extended family. The predominantly migrant profile of the Tarlabası area, primarily from eastern parts of Turkey, usually have multiple children who can be involved in the workforce and contribute to the household income, rendering the child's working usual from a familial perception.

4.1.1.1. Working as the Child's Own Decision

When the child participants were asked about how to decide to work and starting of working and whether the working is his/her own choice or not, all of them stated that working is their own decision. Some examples below illustrate this point: Şirin said *"No, I want to work myself. (...) They say do not work. I say I want to work."* Nazlı said *"I don't know, I mean, no one forces me to work. (...) No, it's my own choice."* Moreover, Mert said *"My teacher, I*

want to work myself. I have already told you that I was bored at home. This is why I did it, my teacher. I wanted to."

4.1.1.2. Families' Attitudes towards Children Working

Majority of the child participants indicated that their families did not wish them to start working. When they shared their decision and/or desire to work, their families usually objected. According to children, their families want the child to study not to work. Although the families do not support the child's working, they do not take any action to change the child's decision. And this is also reflected in children's statements:

"As a matter of fact, when I want to work, they say 'no' and say 'don't work'. I mean they prevent me from working. (...) They don't support my working. They say don't work, study. Nothing happened from us, you should become something better than us. I mean they don't want me working." (Berkay)

"Firstly, my mother said no. She said 'you cannot work, you should study'. But I told my mother that 'this work allows for studying and working at the same time. And also it is easy and you can also do it'. She said 'okay' and we gave it a try." (Şirin)

Can also said *"They say don't work. Take care of your lessons. I don't stop."*

4.1.1.3. Child's Working Considered Usual in The Family

In child participants' nuclear and/or extended families, a child's working is not considered to be surprising. Child working especially as unpaid family worker or working with the aim of helping family is common in this study sample. In this respect, a working child becomes the norm: Şirin said *"I work at home with my mother. My siblings sometimes help as well. (...) (On the interviewer's question: 'How old are your siblings?') One is 11, one is 9 and one is 8."* Furthermore, Mert said *"My teacher, there is my cousin. He sometimes comes. (...) He is*

also in “Our Job is To Study” Project. He is in fifth grade. My teacher, he sometimes comes with us (to work).”

4.1.2. Value of Working

Working has different meanings for each child participant, yet there are commonalities about value of working for the children. In fact, the value of working for the child changes based on the child’s working experiences and how the child interprets these experiences. Thus, working has many meanings in the child participants’ perspectives. The theme “value of working” is significant to understand the children’s diverse perspectives related to working. These can be categorized under five subordinate themes.

4.1.2.1. Monetary Value of Working

Initially, working means to make money for the child participants. Working helps the child earn his/her pocket money and fulfill his/her needs. Earning money mostly values for the child not to be a burden to the family and become self-sufficient, as exemplified by Çiçek stating “I do not want money from my family because I work. I can earn my pocket money on my own.” Making money is regarded as one of the fundamental motivations for the child.” The meaning attached to earning the pocket money is also evident in many other children’s statements:

“I bought clothes and I fulfilled my needs. Afterwards, we came to Istanbul. I worked in a hairdresser in Istanbul. Then, I got out of there and I got another job. I worked in a doner shop. I worked for a week there. I earned approximately one hundred eighty or one hundred seventy liras. After that, I now work with my father.” (Efe)

Çiçek said *“For example, I do not want money from my family because I work. I can earn my pocket money on my own.”* Mustafa said *“For example, if I need to get something, I can buy with my own money. I do whatever I want.”* And, Nazlı said *“I don’t know, I mean, no one*

forces me to work. I work due to my desire to cover my expenses. So, that is why I want to work so much.”

The child participants also stated that they work with the aim of physically and financially helping their families. The child's wish for economic support to the family has great importance. In this regard, some of the child participant stated when he/she gives money to his/her family, they meet the child's needs by means that. From the children's point-of-view, earning money is associated with being an adult, and as a duty.

“I am working. Helping my mother and my family makes me happy. (...) I mean it depends. I get a little money because I am a little one. My family gets a large amount of money because they work more. It's really enough for me, for example, the five liras I earned. I give rest of the money to my mother for my school needs, school uniform and so on. (Berkay)

Moreover, Şirin said *“So, I make a contribution to my family. Moreover, I learn something as well. I do on my own. I stand on my own legs. Just like that...”*

4.1.2.2. Love of Working with Family Members and/or Acquaintances

Children viewed working to value the time they spend with family members and/or acquaintances. The environment in which the participants live has neighborhood culture. People who live in there mostly migrated from the east side of Turkey in 1990s. People are usually relative or, at least, familiar with each other: they work with their families and/or acquaintances, and that includes children interviewed in this research. The child participants mostly stated the time spending with family members and/or acquaintances at work has positive emotional connotations: Şirin said *“I like working. I like being with my family. I mean, I love learning together with my family and working together with my family.”* And,

Çiçek said *“What do you like about working... Presence of my relatives and friends at work... What do you like about working...”*

4.1.2.3. Working as a Leisure Time Activity or Fun

For some of the child participants, working constitutes a leisure time activity or even fun, As if working is a type of play or an activity rather than it is a duty or responsibility:

“My teacher, I had a lot of free time. For example, I was doing my homework. I was reading a book. Instead of watching the television idly, I said that let me help my uncle for the first time. And, also, it’s advantageous.” (Mert)

“That is because working is entertaining for me... Since when I was a little boy, my father had a grocery shop. I wanted to work there very much. Industriousness is a passion for me. I mean, I fidget, I’m hyperactive and so, I work. And so, my brother needs to work as well.” (Berkay)

4.1.2.4. Educative Value of Working

The children commonly emphasized that working has educative value, which is perceived as a positive aspect of working. Learning a type of job, developing oneself, learning to take responsibilities, preparing oneself for the life and its challenges viewed as educational, as can be seen in the following statements:

“I’m working and I’m learning something while working. (On the interviewer’s question ‘what are you learning for example?’ I’m learning to talk with tourists. I’m learning Arabic just like that.” (Can)

Moreover, Çiçek said *“Working... I’m spending time. I’m learning very much. I’m having a job. When I grow up, I am learning difficulties of the work beforehand. Just like this...”*

Berkay said “... *As I said, it is better. When I grow up, I will sew my children’s torn dresses. I mean, I do. That’s it.*”

4.1.2.5. Protective Value of Working

The neighborhood in which the child participants live has economic and social disadvantages. Illicit activities such as selling and/or using drugs, burglary, fights and injuries are common. In other words, people living there daily face various security threats. In the context of this study, some of the children put forth that working protects them from the danger of the outer world. For example, working can mean decreasing the time spent in the neighborhood and in this way, the children are able avoid dangerous people:

“One of the good sides of working for me is that I don’t stay out. When I stay out, it doesn’t last too much. Well that is...I thank. If I stay out very much... There are many of my friends who dropped out the school and they are slinging.” (Efe)

“You know I’m staying out. My mother says not to stay out. When you grow up, you will also become such as those dilly-dalliers. She says this is a bad place. And so, I work like this.” (Can)

4.1.3. Working Is Easy, Working Is Hard

The children commonly exhibited ambivalent thoughts and feelings about working. Their working experiences at times feel easy but also included difficulties. In the study, it was observed that they talk more about the difficulties of working rather than the easy aspects. Furthermore, while the child participants do not explain in detail what is easy about working, they explain difficulties in great detail.

4.1.3.1. Working as a Not Difficult Activity

The child participants commonly stated that working is not difficult activity: Mustafa said *“The most difficult side of working... There is not.”* Nazlı said *“There is no compelling thing about working. Moreover, I do work when I want to do. I don’t work when I don’t want to do, just like that.”* And, Şirin said *“Working... In fact there is no difficult side of it. It is easy job.”*

4.1.3.2. Hazardous Working Conditions

Some of the child participants mentioned the working conditions and how these working conditions pose difficulty on them while working. While these were sometimes relevant to the environment where or with whom they work, they were sometimes about the physical features of the work itself.

For example, Efe who helps out at her father’s small food shop told the difficulties related the environment where he works as following:

“It’s a small shop. The rice trolley stays outside. We put one or two tables and taborets outside as well. After then, my father works until the rice is finished. My dad is sending me away when it’s late. It’s not a very proper place. There are lots of thieves around there and so my dad sends me away. (On the interviewer’s question ‘I got it. Well, what are you doing in there?’) When police come, they are calling me as well. They ask ‘what are you doing here at this hour?’; ‘Tell me where the drugs are.’; ‘Are you helping them too?’ They say something like these. It happened when the police came to our shop and looked around. They asked the same things again.”

Efe also says:

“It feels difficult that police interrogate me. They come to interrogate. I’m afraid. I’m afraid of that they’d take my father. They have already taken my father once or twice. They took him to the police station. I don’t know what happened after that. They don’t explain to me. They don’t tell us what happened not to frighten us. I only know this.”

Yet another child participant explained his difficulty about an individual with whom he works. Can said:

“For example, you see there is the boss’s uncle at work. He is old man. I hate him. (The interviewer asks ‘Mmm, why?’) How should I know? He made me do everything. There were many other people but he made me do everything. He said ‘Take this swab and clear the table’... As soon as you come to work, ‘Sweep here’. Something like that.”

Some of the children also stated some difficulties related to the physical features of the work itself. For example, Mert said *“Miss, yes there is a difficulty. We are turning the ferris wheel. After then, the car comes and we get the ferris wheel out of the way. It is a great difficulty. The work goes wrong in that time.”* And, Şirin said *“The most difficult part of working is the smell (of mussels)... It is difficult while working is also that we are whittling mussels. And so, my hand can hurt. That’s it.”*

4.1.3.3. Working’s Negative Effect in the Child’s Social Life

The results of this research suggested that there is a perceived negative effect of working on children’s social lives. Especially, working decreases the time the child will spend for him/herself and the time the child need for doing social activities and play. In their statements, working emerges as an obstacle for socializing and spending quality time.

Efe said *“I miss many jungle balls... I miss playing with my friends. They also sometimes say ‘You’re always late.’ So it is.”* Şirin said *“Sometimes I can’t play. I can’t go out and play. I can’t walk around with my friends and I can’t spend time with them. Yet, I spend time with my friends often.”* Moreover, Can said *“There is nothing to do. I work every day. There is only weekend. I walk around with my friends on weekends.”*

4.1.4. School Is Fun but Not Easy

When the children expressed their school experiences, it becomes obvious that school entails different meanings for children. Mostly, the school is regarded as loveable, entertaining place which includes friends, plays, and activities. On the other hand, the child participants also stated challenges related to the courses and relationship with friends and teachers. Additionally, the school’s physical features itself is regarded as inadequate.

4.1.4.1. School as a Play Ground

From the perspective of the child participants, the school is considered as a playground. They especially stated that break time is the time to play with friends, do sports activities such as football and volleyball. Moreover, some of the child participants stated that sometimes they can play or do activities during lecture time. To exemplify:

Şirin said *“I like talking to my teachers and spending time with them. I like spending time with my friends, playing with them, enjoying time with them. After that, I like studying, reading and writing, I mean, everything about school.”* And, Can said *“For example, we hang out and play. We play ball at the school. We do matches at the long break with the eighth-grade students for claim. That’s like this and it’s good.”*

One of the child participants said that because he works, he sometimes misses jungle balls and plays. The school gives chance to the child to compensate these. Efe says,

“My school life... I am at the school when it is 8:00, 8:10, 8:15 or 8:20. Because I missed to play ball in the neighborhood, we play ball until the bell rings. Afterwards, we attend the course. When there is an exam, we study for it or take it. When the bell rings, we play ball again. That’s every lesson.”

4.1.4.2. Conflict and Violence in the School

According to the interviewed children, the school is sometimes a place which contains conflict and violence in itself. Mostly, the reason of conflict and violence is regarded to be related to the peer relations. The child participants are sometimes the victims of conflict and violence and the child participants are sometimes the ones who turn to violence. For example, one of the child participants said,

“For example, I was in the school one day. I argued with a child because he looked at me. I went to his classroom and I hit him. After then, he swore at my sister. I got very angry and I hit him. My teacher found out and called my mother. This happened the last time.” (Can)

Another child participant stated the problems with some elderly students. Şirin said,

“I like everything about the school but there are sometimes some groups and elderly children I don’t like. They take the ball when we bring. Then, I get angry. I tell them to take it. They don’t take it. And I tell my teacher.”

Besides, quarrels and physical violence between the children in the school were recognized by Efe:

“When we can’t take care of it, then there is a quarrel. We are looking at one; punches are flying in the air. (The interviewer: Is it in the school?) Yes exactly, it is in the

school. There are many quarrels at the park near the school. For example, there is one kid. He takes out a knife.” (Efe)

4.1.4.3. Difficulties with the Courses

Considering the difficulties in the school, some child participants indicate difficulties with their courses, especially in mathematics. Moreover, home works and exams are examples of difficulties in the school from the children’s perspective.

“If there weren’t Mathematics course... I mean I like mathematics course, but it got difficult in the seventh grade. I usually scored eighty in the sixth grade, but now, I score sixty or seventy. I score a low point.” (Çiçek)

Berkay also stated he also has difficulty with Mathematics course, but he also mentioned that because he loves the course teacher, being successful at the course is more important. In his words:

“The Mathematics exam... If the truth were known, I have difficulty in Mathematics. Because I have difficulty in Mathematic and I love Teacher B, I don’t want that Teacher B to consider me unsuccessful. I mean I want to show my love of Mathematics and her.” (Berkay)

4.1.4.4. School as a Socialization Area

Majority of the child participants considered the school to be a socialization area. In their statements, school is a place for the children to communicate with their peers, as well as with adults. The children can form and maintain different types of relationships in the school, contributing to children’s social development. Çiçek said “*The school is good. I like the school... You make new friends in the school. It is a better thing.*”

4.1.4.5. Inadequacy of School's Physical Possibilities

The school, in which the primary data for this research is collected, is in a socio-economically disadvantaged neighborhood. In this respect, the school is also inadequate in terms of physical possibilities, which is reflected in one of the interviewed children's statements:

“For example, it is better if everyone had a locker. That is because our bags are on our backs, our backs may hurt. Sometimes, there are two course books for Turkish. If we put them in the bag, it becomes very heavy. For example, if everyone has a key and a locker, everyone puts (their stuff) in it and takes out of it. And, everyone can go home more comfortably.” (Şirin)

The school's garden is shared by the students of the Secondary School and the Imam Hatip Secondary School, and is divided in two. Because the number of students attending Imam Hatip Secondary School is less, its share of the garden is also small. In this regard, students are separated with the garden's border. One of the interviewed children stated:

“The things I don't like are the school's garden. When we play ball, the ball falls down. And, Imam Hatip Secondary School's students also have difficulties in our garden. Their garden is small, ours is big. Ours is not big though. I mean, something like that. But I love playing football in the school though.” (Berkay)

4.1.5. Normalizing Working and Studying at the Same Time

When the child participants were asked how working changes their school life and/or when they were asked what it is like to study and to work at the same time, they rarely indicated a negative effect or a change in their school life and performance. Moreover, studying and working at the same time is regarded as a good thing in some of the child participants' statements. However, they did not provide specific points indicating in what way it is good.

In this context, there is a lenience among child participants to normalize studying and working at the same time.

4.1.5.1. Working Does Not Affect School Life and Performance

In the child participants' statements, working does not affect school life and performance: Mert said *"It didn't change much in my school life. For example, it doesn't cause school troubles. (...) It doesn't affect anything. It's also better thing. It doesn't affect my school success."* Moreover, Nazlı said *"It doesn't change anything in my school life. Normally, I go to school. I only make beads in my spare time."*

4.1.5.2. Studying and Working At the Same Time Considered Well

Some of the child participants stated that studying and working at the same time is a good thing, but they did not elaborate on the meaning of well. For example, Mustafa said *"It is well..."*

4.1.6. Support Mechanisms

When asked about the support mechanisms in their lives, children mentioned their supportive figures, people, and situations at school, work and in their daily lives. The children, in general, indicated that they consider the people as being supportive in their environment. Moreover, supportive figures can change according the environment surrounding the children. For instance, teachers and friends are mostly regarded as a support mechanism at the school whereas family members or other adults are considered to fill the duty at work. Moreover, some of the children stated that they need their families' and friends' support for meeting their expectations, plans, and dreams come true.

4.1.6.1. Teachers as a Support Mechanism

The children are positive and full of love for their teachers. Strikingly, all the child participants mentioned a Teacher B in a positive sense:

“... because Teacher B is very unusual, it’s the first time I have seen a teacher like her because she is telling about her life... Teacher B has already said that. For example, there was a mathematics teacher before Teacher B. He was teaching mathematics badly. We didn’t understand him. I was really thinking to drop out of school if he would be our mathematics teacher in this year. That is because; his way of teaching was terrible. However, fortunately, Teacher B came. She made us love her very much. She has already said ‘If I can make you love me first, then I will make you like mathematics course too.’ She has already made that happen. The first time I saw her, I said ‘mother’ to her. I popped out like that. After, it actually continued to be like that. We spend time with Teacher B. She tells about her life, her home, and her adopted children. I can tell the name of each one. I can tell her husband’s name too. I can say many other things as well. For example, she told about their adopted children. She has a cat, she tells its adventures. Afterwards, she told us about the hamster in her home and told its difficulties. She gives us moral and material support. She helps us for everything.” (Şirin)

“Afterwards, I regarded her as my mother. She is my mother as well. I regard her as my mother. Afterwards, I like the mathematics course. Spending time with Teacher B, having a heart-to-heart talk with her... When she narrates her memories, it makes me pleased.” (Berkay)

Teachers are regarded as helpful and supportive to children to solve the problems and overcome difficulties at the school. Particularly, the school counselor is usually asked to help when the children have a problem or a difficulty at the school.

“I receive support from Teacher D for example. If there is a problem which we cannot solve, we receive support from Teacher D with my friends. She is the counselor, and she helps us. She is there. Teacher K is also there. We receive support from them.”

(Nazlı)

Moreover, Mert said *“I get support from my class teacher and my school counselor.”*

4.1.6.2. Friends as a Support Mechanism

The children commonly defined their relationship with friends as positive. Results suggested that they maintain communication with their friends within and outside the school. The time spent with the friends is usually referred to as “entertaining” by the children. They play and have fun together. Additionally, the children stated that they take support from their friends about their difficulties, e.g., difficulties with the courses and families as well as about daily concerns:

“... I have a circle of friends here. I worry about whether my friendships will continue or not. My current friends are really excellent. I cannot pay for my friends. I regard them as my brothers and sisters. They are with me and they never leave me alone. They even helped me when I got hurt. I helped them when they got hurt and so. They helped me about the courses and I helped them as well. Things like this.” (Berkay)

Nazlı said *“We play volleyball. We play hide and seek. Afterwards, we talk. I mean, we have a heart-to-heart talk.”* Efe said *“We organize with my friends as starting a gang. We try to solve problems by talking, without fighting.”* And, Şirin said *“There are some of my friends*

and they tell me that I don't understand. I also tell them when they don't understand. It is like shopping. There is a very good connection between us."

4.1.6.3. Support of Family Members and/or Adults at the Work

In this research setting, all of the child participants work with their family members and/or familiar adults. Thus, they commonly stated that they take support from their family members and/or familiar adults while working and they also take support when they face with a difficulty at the work. When the child works outside of home, the fathers and other familiar adults are usually supportive figures; whereas, when the child works at home, mothers and siblings are the supportive figures.

"First of all, I take the model. I spread a cover for beads not to spill. Afterwards, I do. My siblings help me as well; they open beads, then bead. They give it to me and I close it and I piece together. My mother sometimes helps me for closing beads and using pliers. Here it is." (Şirin)

Moreover, Nazlı said *"My sister generally helps me. My mother helps me too."* Mustafa says *"I receive support from my father, my brother and my uncle. I mean everyone who works there."* Lastly, Mert said *"There is my uncle. I mostly receive support from him when there is a difficulty."*

4.1.6.4. "Our Job Is to Study" Project

One of the support factors which the children stated in the interviews is the project in which they participate. "Our Job to Study" is considered to have various positive effects for the children. Children stated they are entertained during the project's courses and in turn the project presents the children with a playground.

“... ‘Our Job is to Study’ is an entertaining thing. I mean, we also play games. We spend very good time. Therefore, I want to participate in the project.” (Nazlı)

“We study. We study and afterwards we go out to the garden when the weather is well. After then, we have already gone outside. We play Survivor. We play matches.”
(Can)

Besides, Efe said *“It seems like that I play with my friends with whom I can’t play in my daily life. I can play with them in the project’s courses and spend time with them.”*

The child participants commonly stated that the project has an academically positive effect and helps the children’s success of the courses increase. Otherwise, some indicated the project to have a positive effect on the children’s feelings and thoughts about going to the school and studying.

Nazlı said *“... I wanted to come to the school more. That is because I have fun.”* And, Berkay said *“My daily life... Studying is such a pride for a person...How did it change? For example, we study more. We studied for our homework beforehand.”*

Şirin said:

“Being in the project... I understand the issues which I didn’t understand previously. For example, if we study the second unit in the classroom, we study the forth unit in the project. I can prepare for the units and understand them. It is very good. I study in advance. Afterwards, we sometimes do some things form the third unit. We understand.”

The project is considered to be promoting the relationship with the friends and teachers. In other words, the project affects the child’s socialization as well: Berkay said *“It does not change anything in fact. The project made me happier. I spent more time with my friends and*

teachers. I think it affects better.” And, Efe said “We have a great time with my course teacher in the project. When required, she plays; when required, it is time to study.”

4.1.6.5. Child’s Need Of Family’s And Friends’ Support

Besides friends, teachers, family members and familiar adults are regarded as supportive figures for most of the interviewed children, the need for family’s and friends’ support are frequently mentioned. Specifically, in some children’s statements, this need is related to the future prospects. Some of the child participants stated they need their families’ and friends’ support to accomplish their future goals, plans or dreams.

Efe said *“I need my family to support me. I think we can achieve these by believing in each other with my friends.”* Can said *“I need my mother and my father. Then, I need my siblings and my friends.”* And, Mustafa said *“I need my family’s support for me. Moreover, I will succeed myself.”*

4.2. Themes of Mothers

4.2.1. Ambivalence of Thoughts and Feelings about the Child’s Working

When the mother participants were asked about their child’s work, it was observed that their thoughts and feelings are ambivalent in nature. The mother participants told various favorable as well as unfavorable features related to the child’s working.

4.2.1.1. Working Not Appropriate For The Child’s Age

Majority of the mother participants stated that, actually, working is not appropriate for their child’s age. Although, they frown on the child working, they do not prevent it either. For example, one of the mother participants, Mrs. Tülay, said *“Now, my daughter is little. I do not consider any work appropriate for her.”*

Another mother participant indicated her sadness about her child working but she could acknowledge it to some extent:

“Well, I feel sorry about the fact that he is just a child. On the other hand, I want him to learn life. How is life? How to earn money? I want him to see how life is.” (Mrs. Emine)

For another mother participant, working is not appropriate for the child’s age as well. In this respect, she mentioned that because of working, her child cannot play adequately although she is a play-age child:

“What does it make harder? Of course, because she is a play-age child, I mean she is limited in some things. Well, for example, while our neighbors go to the park two or three times a week, but we go to the park once every 15 days. Actually, we have work. She asks me ‘Didn’t it finish yet?’ and says ‘I want to go park as well.’ I say it finished but there is another to do immediately... Well, it goes without enjoying and living her childhood.” (Mrs. Ayşe)

4.2.1.2. Spending Time with Friends and Enjoying While Working

While talking about the child’s working experience, some of the mother participants referred to working as a leisure time activity or fun:

“She only works only for an hour or two. She also works together with her friends joyfully. Actually, it is not a strict thing. For example, it is like this room. Five or six girls sit and work together. After one or two hours, they come. (...) Yes, it is her wish. Look, I didn’t force her. Well, I said to my daughter ‘you are studying’ but she spends time with friends and enjoy. She wanted it.” (Mrs. Tülay)

4.2.1.3. Working Not Difficult For The Child

Some of the mother participants did not attribute a difficulty to the child's working. It may be considered a defense which makes the mother relaxed in regard to her child's working by thinking that they do not put the child in a compelling situation:

“Well, I say it makes nothing difficult now. I mean, I am doing and preparing everything when they come home. They are already doing their homework. When there is bead work, she does it on her own. Actually, I say nothing to compel her.”

(Mrs. Melek)

Mrs. Hanife said *“But what does it make difficult? There is nothing which makes difficult for now. That is because Efe is too little and we do not employ him very much.”*

4.2.1.4. Tiredness Because Of Working

Some of the mother participants in this research mentioned that working makes the child tired although working is regarded as fun or not compelling in some mothers' sayings: Mrs. Emine said *“A little tiredness makes difficult. That's it. I cannot find any other reason. He gets tired. Actually, when he comes and sits droopingly, he cannot stand up easily.”* Mrs. Melek said *“She is sometimes unable to sleep. I am saying why you are unable to sleep. I sometimes say ‘don't do it (work)’.”* And, Mrs. Asuman said *“It's tiring, I think. When he works, he gets tired and collapses from exhaustion.”*

4.2.2. Value of Working

The child's working is tied to many different meanings for the mothers. There are, however, three common value types of the child's working for the mother participants: (1) the educative value; (2) the protective value; and (3) the monetary value of working.

4.2.2.1. Educative Value of Working

The mother participants of the study stated a variety of educative value of working. Primarily, the mother participants commonly thought that children can learn the life and its challenges while working and through working. Moreover, the mother participants also thought that the children can learn the value of school and studying:

“I don’t know... He’s learning the difficulty. (On the interviewer’s question ‘What kind of difficulties does he learn in your opinion?’) How should I know? He learns that life is not easy. He learns where he stands. There is a lot to tell. I can’t tell you so much. (...) He can understand difficulties and ease in the future, I think. When he works, I think he understands the difficulties, and he understands that the life is not easy.” (Mrs. Birsen)

One of the mother participants indicated that she wants his child to work for learning the challenges:

“For example, I always tell. He sometimes says ‘I am not going to the school’. I am telling his father to take him to work for one or two days. So, let him stand on his own feet. I mean, let him stand on his own feet and let him appreciate it. When he goes to work, it happens. For example, it happens as such. (...) He knows that there is not a life in which he always sits. He knows he needs to work somewhere. He needs to learn, after all.” (Mrs. Emine)

On the other hand, the mother participants also argued that because their children work, they can understand the value of school and studying more. Some of them also said that they observe that the children have studied their courses more and wanted to go to school since they began to work.

“Since he began to work, I understand that he is clinging to his courses more tightly. (...) He’s keen on his courses more. I mean he’s conscious. He’s now sticking heart and soul. I realize it as such.” (Mrs. Emine)

Mrs. Zeynep said *“He’s studying more properly. He’s giving thought to his school. I mean because he works, he’s giving thought to his school.”* Mrs. Asuman said *“He’s doing better in the school. He says his brother that I will not go to workplace like you go.”*

One of the mother participant stated that the value of studying can be just understood through working:

“I want him to work. I think when a child knows the difficulties of working; he can just understand the value of studying. A child who obtains everything easily doesn’t know the value of working. Therefore, because we couldn’t study, let my son see and know the difficulties. Accordingly, he respects his courses, homework, and teachers. Frankly, I want him to know the value of studying.” (Mrs. Hanife)

For some of the mother participants, the working makes the children conscious and helps them to wake up. For example, one of the mother participants said:

“Before working, my daughter was always outside and she was always sleeping. She seemed like sleepy and tired. But, while working, she becomes more conscious as I stated. This is better. (...) She became a very conscious person.” (Mrs. Tülay)

One of educative value of working according to the mothers is children learning the value of money through working.

“I can differentiate from his expenses. Now, he can pay attention. For example, he knows the value of money, he understands it. For example, not wasting something... I was sometimes making a sandwich for them to eat at school. They threw it away.

They threw away the part which they did not eat. For example, even if there is a very tiny piece of it, he can bring it home. Working benefits many kinds of things. (...) I mean, as I said earlier, the child changed both materially and spiritually. In the meaning of learning, spending money... He knows exactly how to spend money and what to spend money for. He's in the position of behaving like a mature person because he tells me when he sees a discount in the market. I mean, I have been aware of that since he began to work. He was not like that. He could not understand when I said there wasn't any at home. He said 'I want it.' But he's not like that anymore."

(Mrs. Emine)

One of the mother participants also stated that aside from learning the value of money through working, working helps the child to understand his/her parent. That is because, when the child works, he/she can be able to experience to earn money and to understand how his/her parents earn money:

"I mean, I don't know. The value of both the mother and the father... How they make money... For example, she sometimes asks 'Mom, how much money is sweet to you?' I tell her 'there is a single person who works.' I mean, I say when they work; they know the value of money. I think they can understand us better." (Mrs. Melek)

For some of the mother participants, thanks to working, children become self-confident and brave:

"I don't know how to say... She wouldn't be in need of others and she wouldn't be a loser. 'I can do my work on my own.' 'I would stand on my own legs in the future.' Working gives courage to her." (Mrs. Ayşe)

Mrs. Birsen said *"I think the good side (of working) is having self-esteem. I think when he has self-esteem, he can do everything."*

4.2.2.2. Protective Value of Working

As stated earlier, the participants of the study reside in Tarlabası, regarded as a low-quality and dangerous environment. Therefore, the mothers are especially anxious about their children's safety in this environment. They mostly try to keep their children out of the environment. In this regard, working is a functional tool in keeping the children out of the environment, or, in a sense, safe from the dangers in the environment.

One of the mother participants stated that her reason to send the child to the work is the environment:

“But, I see the environment when he is at the work. In truth, he comes in the evening only. I see the environment in the morning and I see the things. Besides, I say him to be good and not to go to waste from our hands. Therefore, I sent him to work. (...) I mean the environment is bad. I mean, I'm not telling that I send him to work for money or for other things. That is because I am afraid of the environment. (...) Well, I do not want him to work, but I said that because it is the environment.” (Mrs. Emine)

Moreover, another mother participant also said that she sends her child to work just because she does not want the child to spend time in the neighborhood. Decreasing the amount of time spent in the neighborhood through working decreases the possibility of facing a danger.

“I decided it (the child's working) by talking with my husband; well, not to go outside very much, not to join the circle of friends. We are not in a right place. The name of Tarlabası is corrupt, but the corrupt one is people in fact. Moreover, people ruin everything as well. The city does not ruin the person. The person ruins the city. Therefore, I talked with his father. Well, he shouldn't spend so much time in the street. Let him come to work with you. Let him hang out and work. We decided as such. He began to work.” (Mrs. Hanife)

The child participants in this study work with their family members or acquaintances, or they work in familiar places. Therefore, when the children are at work, the parents can know where they are and whom they are with. In other words, they can control what's going around the children. And so, they can be less anxious about their children's safety and they can feel more comfortable rather than when the child is somewhere else:

“She is making mussel, but it is in the same street. (...) He (the person who is owner of the place in the child works) is an acquaintance. We do not have an exact blood relation but we are in the same neighborhood. We have been neighbors for years in the same building.” (Mrs. Tülay)

“Yes, he sometimes helps his uncle. I'm not sending him to unfamiliar places or to people outside. (...) As I said, because I'm not sending him to the outside very much and he is with his uncle, it is not that much. Actually, I feel comfortable because he is together with my acquaintance and his uncle is close to him.” (Mrs. Birsen)

4.2.2.3. Monetary Value of Working

For the majority of the mother participants, the child's working has a monetary value. First and foremost, the child's working is the child earning money. Concordantly, the child's working is considered to be breadwinning and contribution to household budget.

“Honestly, what things are we thinking? We're thinking about living conditions. If it weren't like this and we were in a better place, maybe it wouldn't have been like that. We're poor. There is one employed (in the family). I think it (the child's working) is a contribution. I can't think of anything else.” (Mrs. Asuman)

On the other hand, one of the mother participants said that the child can earn his pocket money and therefore she does not want money from her family, which is pleasing for both the

child and the family. In this sense, the child's working can mean that the child is not a burden for the family:

"Now well, for example, when she works and earns money, the money makes her life easy. Besides, she doesn't want much money from us. She and we, also, rejoice. For example, she says 'I get my own money and I go shopping myself.' I mean, I am just saying that it is her work at this age and it makes easier" (Mrs. Melek)

Another mother participant also emphasized that because the child can make her own money, she does not need to take money from the family as if the child is an adult and, making money is her responsibility:

"I am saying that she both goes to the school and makes beads. Now, five or six liras are big bucks for a student at the weekend. Isn't it? I mean it is pocket money. She cannot look to me or somebody. She would not wait for two hours by saying that mom, give me money. Now, she takes her own money whenever it is paid. She puts it in her pocket and takes off." (Mrs. Ayşe)

Besides, one of the mother participants stated that all the money the child makes belongs to the child and it makes the child pleased:

"He can earn his pocket money. He worked previous year as well. He was working in a glass maker and he was taking one hundred and fifty liras. They were very pleased with him. They want him to come when the school is open, but the child gets tired with the courses and school. I am saying that my son, you know. I mean we welcomed his working. I mean it is not an exaction. He wants. When he earns some amount of money as well... Anyway, we do not touch his money. He is pleased." (Mrs. Emine)

4.2.3. Not Knowing Child's Issues

When the mother participants were asked about their child's challenges and needs at school, at work and in the daily life, in many cases, it is evident that the majority of the mothers have difficulty in defining a child's challenges and needs. The mother participants mostly answered the questions about the child's difficulties and needs by saying that "I don't know". In this context, some of the mother participants said their children do not mention about any difficulty so they do not know. In a manner, if the child does not state any difficulty, there is no difficulty according to the mother participants. For example, one of the mother participants, Mrs. Melek said that *"I don't know. She didn't say anything about that issue."*

Another mother participant, Mrs. Asuman, also said: *"Well, what difficulties does he experience? He has great difficulty in Mathematics. He says 'mom, it's very hard.' He sometimes mentions that. I don't see any other difficulty, I don't hear. Actually, he doesn't say."*

Moreover, one of the mother participants, Mrs. Tülay, stated *"Well, there is no difficulty. She didn't complain. (...) She didn't tell me anything about her difficulties."*

Mrs. Hanife also said *"For now, there is nothing with which he has a difficulty. There is nothing he mentions or he says 'mom, I have difficulty for that issue.' Or, I don't remember when you ask me now."*

Beside the child's challenges, some of the mother participants had difficulty in defining in the child's needs. Mrs. Emine said *"I don't know. I have no idea."* And, Mrs. Zeynep *"What does he need? Actually, I don't know. What does he need? They grew up. I don't know what he needs."*

In this respect, the mother participants' sayings lead to think that they are not aware of the child's challenges and needs. It may be because of the involved hardship in telling them or they may be really ignorant or indifferent towards their children.

4.2.4. Lack of Confidence for the Outer World

The majority of the mother participants often described the environment which they live in as bad, dangerous, and scary. In this context, they do not have confidence for the environment and people in it. In particular, they are mostly anxious about raising a child in such a bad environment and they are concerned with their children's security in the neighborhood.

One of the mother participants indicated that the environment frightens her, and it should frighten her children as well:

"I sometimes fear very much. It means that, she probably fears while she is coming here. Believe me that I came here on my own. I saw one or two things and, I mean, I am afraid. I'm saying that I wonder what they are doing until arriving here. I am going with the other little one. When she came, I ask 'does anyone come to you?' or 'are you afraid?' I don't suffice. For example, I must take my little son at 2 o'clock. I can't come to take them. They say you 'don't come, we come by ourselves too. Well, I don't know. Actually, I don't know. I mean our environment isn't good.'" (Mrs. Melek)

Another mother participant told her constant concern about what is happening on the street:

"I am very pleased when he's at school. I want him not to be on the street but to be at school. We are now in such a period... When our children are on the street, we cannot stay without staring out of the window. Our ears are constantly on the window. 'You know what?'; 'did something happen?' or, 'did it sound like a car?' That's why it's safer for us when they are at school." (Mrs. Hanife)

Some other mother participants expressed they do not let their child to be on the street alone because the environment is not good and secure:

“Why am I sending my child outside? You see the environment. Nobody trusts anyone. Therefore, the neighborhoods are in such a bad situation because of drug peddlers. Firstly, I go out and stand over them and they play. Then, they come. I didn't send my girls to the grocery store yet.” (Mrs. Ayşe)

“I do not lead my kids out very much. (...) Because our environment is not good, I can't lead my kids out. We are at home all day. They have a computer. Actually, if I'm with them, I lead them out. Their father sometimes leads them out. But I'm not sending them out alone.” (Mrs. Asuman)

4.2.5. I Didn't Have It, but My Child Should

During the interviews with the mother participants, it was seen that while the mother participants were talking about their children, they stated various expectations, dreams, anxieties, and fears related to their children. It was also observed that, in fact, parents' own living experiences shape their expectations from their children. They commonly expect their children to do what they could not do, such as studying, having a profession, becoming financially independent, being well-informed and intellectual.

“It doesn't matter to me. Well, I want her to have a leg and a place to stand on her own feet. I want her to have a profession. I want her to protect and defend herself. When a person has a profession, he/she is brave. He/she can defend himself/herself. However, an unemployed person... It is very hard not knowing anything.” (Mrs. Tülay)

Moreover, Mrs. Asuman said “*I am saying that we couldn't become anything, we couldn't do anything. But you protect your pen!*” So, we sometimes say this among ourselves.”

4.2.6. Support Mechanisms

The mother participants in the study stated various support mechanisms for their children. Family members, friends, teachers are considered to be supportive figures in their children's lives. In mother participants' perspective, the mother is a fundamentally supportive figure in every aspect of a child's life when the child is in need. Besides the mother, other members of the family, such as the father, brother and/or other relatives who the child usually works with are indicated as supportive figures for the child at work. Moreover, friends and teachers are also indicated to be supportive figures for the child in the school. On the other hand, "Our Job is To Study" Project is stated as supportive mechanism for the children.

4.2.6.1. Family Members As A Support Mechanism For The Child

In the mother participants' sayings, they are primary supportive for their children. The fathers may not always be there to help their children, according to the mother participants:

"Well, who does he take support from? I am his supporter. I am his supporter as a mother. I mean, the father doesn't allocate his time much because he works. And also, his work is self-employment and thus it doesn't have certain working hours. Whenever his work is finished, he comes home. But I am always at home, so I am having a better time with my kids. I ask everything to them. When I talk with my son, I say 'whatever comes out in your life, I stand behind you as long as you tell the truth. I don't cover up your faults. I don't stand behind you. I never forgive something I know it is a lie. But, as long as you tell the truth to me, you are my son, in any case. I stand behind you. I mean, I do whatever I can.' I would say he has self-confidence because of that." (Mrs. Hanife)

"You know, who does she take support from? For example, I mean every child always wants support from his/her mother. We were like this. I mean when we made a

mistake, or we had a difficulty, we were just telling our mother. We didn't dare to tell our father, we were telling our mother. She is also telling me when she makes a mistake. She says 'mom, I did something like that today'. I mean she sometimes says 'don't tell my father.' I think they say everything to their mother." (Mrs. Melek)

Beside the mothers, the other family members are also considered supportive figures for the child. In particular, at work, family members are supportive figures for the child. That is because; the child participants mostly work with their family members such as fathers and/or brothers and relatives such as the uncle.

"He takes support from his father and his brother. I mean there is not very much age gap between them. (...) There is two years between them, but he considers his brother to be a very nice support." (Mrs. Emine)

Mrs. Birsen said *"He asks us when required. Because his uncle is with him, he is asking him, taking his advice, telling him (at work)"*

The mother participants of the study also stated paternal support for the child's education and desire for the child to have a profession. In the mother participants' statements, it is striking that education is indicated as a fundamental aspect for children. Mothers expect their children to have a profession and they are ready to provide full support for their children in all conditions.

"I stand behind her. I say 'you, study.' The government also supports her. For example, my daughter studied in a boarding school. I stand behind her. For the duration... Until she will have a profession..." (Mrs. Tülay)

Moreover, Mrs. Ayşe said *"I mean, reading until she gets a profession. In fact, if she is strong enough, she finishes five schools."*

One of the mother participants said that working cannot be a reason to drop out the school and she gives unflagging support for the child's education:

“I want him to study to the end. I want him to finish high school and university. I want him to study. I support him and I will continue to support. Actually, I never say to work and to drop out of school. Even if he doesn't want it, I will send him to the school. I will do my best.” (Mrs. Emine)

4.2.6.2. Positive Relationship with Friends/Loving Friends

When relationships with friends were asked to the mother participants, they commonly mentioned their children's positive relationship with their friends. They said their children get along with their friends; they have good time together in both at school and outside the school. In this regard, the children's relationship with their friends is socially improving and supporting.

“Her friends... For example, there are my neighbors who don't send their children to this school and don't like this school. I am asking them why? They don't want to tell why but they don't like it. I also said that my daughter is well pleased. Moreover, I thought about taking her from this school. She said that ‘mom, I do not want to leave this school and I have all my friends here.’ I would send her to another school in Taksim. My friends' children were in that school. I thought that too. My daughter doesn't want it. Anyway, I said that I continued here and let her make the decision. I mean she wants to continue at this school. (...) She likes, I mean, she made her friends dude for her. (...) She loves her friends. In fact, she is bosom friend with three, four of them.” (Mrs. Tülay)

“He has a good circle of friends in the school. (...) He has good friends outside as well. They play together. They make plans on the weekends. He asks for the permission to go with his friends. I let him too.” (Mrs. Emine)

4.2.6.3. Positive Relationship with Teachers/Loving Teachers

The mother participants mostly stated their children’s positive relationship with their teachers. In this respect, they mentioned that their children do not have a problem with their teachers and that they love their teachers and vice versa. In other words, positive relationship means not having troubles with teachers in the mother participants’ statements.

“His relationship with his teachers is very well. Actually, we did not have any problem. For example, he’s now in sixth grade. We didn’t have any problems since the first grade. He is always a loved child. I mean, each teacher loves my son more than another teacher.” (Mrs. Asuman)

“He gets on well with everyone. He loves Teacher B among his teachers. He talks about her. For example, he says ‘mom; she is also our second mom.’ Other than that, he doesn’t have a problem with his other teachers. He likes his teachers. He also likes his principal.” (Mrs. Hanife)

Mrs. Tülay also said *“I don’t know her teachers very well. She is saying me that ‘mom, my teachers love me very much. I also love them.’”*

One of the mother participants said the teachers are regarded as a support mechanism for his child:

“I mean all of his teachers are really very good. They are very good. They are very supportive. Actually, if they don’t support, it is not about the teachers. The teachers are very interested to the children.” (Mrs. Emine)

4.2.6.4. “Our Job is to Study” Project

Another supportive factor for the children in the mother participant’s statements is the “Our Job is To Study” Project. The mother participants indicated that their children have a good and productive time during the project. Specifically, the mother participants mentioned the project’s positive contribution over the child’s school life.

One of the mother participants said that the project increased the child’s school commitment:

“He began to like his school more. He started going to the school more. The project didn’t do anything which makes his life hard. He began to like his school more. He began to know the value of reading more. He is also telling his siblings: ‘You come to the project courses. You can also attend the courses.’ They are better. He is giving advises to his siblings.” (Mrs. Hanife)

Another mother participant told about the project contribution and support to the child’s school success. Moreover, the project provides an opportunity for the child to take support about the courses from his course teachers in the project:

“In the meaning of the course, I say, the project is very useful. For example, he is preparing his homework better. When there is something he can’t understand, he can ask his teachers and he can do better. When he is home and does his homework on his own, it may not be exactly true. In the school, he is learning thanks to the project. He can seek the advice of his teachers. The project is useful in this sense.” (Mrs. Emine)

In the mother participants’ statements, it is also seen that some of the mother participants emphasize that they as the mother and the father have similar experience and have similar expectation about their children’s future. For example, one of the mother participants, stated:

“We didn’t study. As her mother and father, we never study. Rather, they didn’t school us. They didn’t school me because I’m a girl. But, they didn’t school my husband as well. Therefore, we cosset our son to study. We are trying to do our best so.” (Mrs. Hanife)



CONCLUSION

This study aims to investigate the subjective meaning of simultaneously working and attending school for the children between the ages of 12 to 14. Experiences of working and studying at the same time are examined by both the children's and their mothers' perspective. Therefore, working and schooling were approached in two complementary viewpoints in this study. The children and their mothers were recruited using convenient sampling method. Eight children enrolled in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades, and their mothers participated in the study via semi-structured interviews. The data derived from these semi-structure interviews are analyzed by using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA: Smith & Osborn, 2003). The data analysis assessed child participants' unique experiences regarding working as well as schooling. Moreover, as the mother participants' perspectives related to their children's experiences both at school and at work were included into this study. The collected data revealed common themes for both the children and their mothers.

1. Discussion of the results related to working

Firstly, despite Turkey's Labor Law (No. 4857) prohibiting the employment of people under the age of fifteen and the existence of national and international regulations, policies, and projects that combat child, the child participants of this study were working in part-time jobs. Moreover, the children are registered in a public secondary school in Tarlabası and they participated in the "Our Job is to Study" project in 2018.

The verbal comments and non-verbal cues provided by children and their mothers have various meanings for this study. It was observed that the mother participants in this study had found especially difficult to talk openly; however, the child participants shared their experiences more directly and frankly. Yet, talking about working and talking about the

difficulties they were experiencing was much more compelling than talking about issues regarding the school for the child participants.

For the mothers, it was seen that their expressions are less detailed. In addition to the difficulty of the material mother participants are talking about, it was thought that the mother participants did not have an adequate insight into their children's experiences. They usually use the phrase that "*I don't know*" when answering the questions. Furthermore, the constraint in their expressions has, in fact, a significant meaning. Although their children's working is illegal, the children's employment is known by their families. In this context, the family technically commits an illegal act according to Turkish laws. Thus, answering the questions about issues especially related to their children's working are argued to make them become more defensive.

An important fact is that most of the child participants emphasized that their decision to work belongs to them and not to their parents, and that no one had forced them to work. This is further augmented by the fact that some of them mentioned their parents' objection to them working, but they opposed their position and continued to work regardless of their parents' opinion on the issue. In this regard, the child participants laid emphasis on their autonomy over taking the decision to work. In other words, the child participants mentioned their agency over their actions. Children's agency is defined as "being active in the constructions and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and the societies in which they live" (James & Prout, 1990, p. 8). Considering the answer given by the child participants in this study, their emphasis on their autonomy and agency regarding work may be tied to their motivation to protect their family instead of determining their own lives. By saying "*I want to work myself*", the child participants take all the responsibility of working although it is not their legal responsibility and is developmentally inappropriate for a child.

Furthermore, they stated that they work against the will of their families. In this regard, there is the child's will and freedom, as well as the child's objection to their family in their sayings.

Furthermore, most of the child participants stated that they usually work together with a family member or an acquaintance, or in a familiar environment. Moreover, these groups were indicated as supportive figures in children's work environment. In this regard, the meaning the child participants gave to the family in the work may be interpreted as a significant support mechanism. Nevertheless, this support is mostly a physical and materialistic one; such as taking help for carrying, lifting, or removing something. Particularly, the child participants' expressions are mostly devoid of emotional difficulties in the workplace. It may be argued that according to the findings of this current research, talking about emotional difficulties might be much more difficult than the physical difficulties.

The child participants either stated there is nothing which poses a difficulty for them either because the work which they conduct is really easy; or, they stated they do not work very much and therefore they do not have difficulty. There is an ignorance of the difficulty of working and/or oversimplifying its difficulties in the child participants' answers. Furthermore, there is an emphasis of positive sides of working and an underestimation of its negative sides. The child participants' ignorance regarding the difficulties tied to working or their oversimplification of such difficulties may be interpreted as a defense helping them deal with problems during working, thus maintaining their resilience. Moreover, this might decrease the emotional burden of working for both children and their families. On the other hand, child's working is very widespread and normal, thus, it is a norm in this community. In this respect, the child participants' ignorance regarding the difficulties tied to working and their oversimplification of difficulties might be related to its commonality and normality.

Child participants' overwhelming focus is the monetary value of working, such as earning money and providing economic support to the family. Earning money as well as earning a living for the family is a significant motivation for the child participants. In this respect, earning money, in fact, provides the child with autonomy and power; it resembles being an adult for the child. When the child earns money, the child is able to meet his/her own needs while also financially supporting his/her family. In child labor literature, poverty and economic difficulties are cited as the most important factors in the employment of children. The child participants of this study had low-income families with multiple children and fathers are the only breadwinners in the entire family. Moreover, the father commonly works without a fixed income, rendering children's contribution to the household income is essential. Most of the child participants state that they give a sum or total of the money which they earned to their family. In another aspect, the motivation of making money may be related to the economic value given to the child, which was regarded as material benefits of child in the literature (Kagitcibasi & Ataca, 2005). In the context of this study, the parents' material benefit is their child's contribution to household economy, critical for its survival.

Moreover, the economic value assumes, in this context, that the child has the responsibility of an adult who is expected to earn money for household economy. As the child begins to earn money, he/she begins to presume an adult role in the family as well. And after, this may lead to remove the hierarchical relationship between the parent and the child, which is required for healthy family relationships that assume clear generational boundaries (Barnhill, 1979). Within this hierarchy, adult roles and responsibilities belong to the parents whose roles are confused when the child starts working.

Regarding the mothers who participated in the research, there is a commonality of ambivalent thoughts and feelings regarding the child's working. On one hand, they stated that working is not appropriate for the child's age and working makes the child tired; on the other hand, they

stated that working is similar to a leisure time activity or even fun and it is not compelling for the child. The ambivalence in the mother participants' expressions are inevitably connected to their individual history: All the mother participants came to Istanbul from rural Turkey with migration, they live in poverty and they did not usually have any educational opportunities, most of them were illiterate. In such living conditions, they did not enjoy their childhood. Having a child's physical body does not necessarily mean to be a child. In this context, they could not be in fact a child actually. In other words, the mother participants do not actually know what being a child is and have difficulty to understand the causal linkages of their children's experiences during childhood. In this respect, their perceptions about their children's experiences resonate from their own childhood experiences.

In addition to the mother participants' ambivalent thoughts and feelings, the child participants also stated ambivalent things regarding working. However, their emphasis is much more over the hardship of working. Although some of the child participants stated that working is in fact not compelling activity, several of them stated that working conditions can be hazardous and physically compelling. Moreover, they also mentioned about working's negative effect in their social life. And most importantly, some of the child participants said that working would be inappropriate for their own children. In this respect, the child participants have similar feeling of ambivalence.

Aside from the child participants' emphasis laid on monetary value of working, the mother participants' emphasis is much more on the educative value of working. The mother participants state that the children learn the life through working. Most mothers define life as a place in which there are various difficulties the child might encounter and things the child needs to comprehend. In this respect, maternal perspective suggests working to be a way to prepare for the challenges of life. In parallel with the mothers' perspective, the child participants mostly mention that working has educative value and it will be helpful and

facilitative for their future. The child participants and the mother participants converged on the idea that working functions for the future.

Based on the findings of this research, the protective value of working is a common element in both the children's and the mothers' statements. As stated earlier, the participants live in Tarlabası, a risky neighborhood. Burglary, violence and drug abuse are common problems that threaten residents; especially they pose a great risk for their children. The mother participants commonly talk about the perilous environment they reside in. In this respect, the child's working in a specific place and together with a family member, acquaintance or a neighbor adds a certain layer of safety for the child. In a sense, the child's working keeps the child away from the risky environment of Tarlabası. Children regard their neighborhood to be risky as well, and they consider their work valuable in the sense that they do not vagabond and they do not resemble unfavorable people in their neighborhoods. In this regard, the child participants agree with their mother and they give a protective meaning to working as well.

The protective value of working stated in this study can be interpreted according to basic needs of human. Maslow (1954) introduced needs of human within five categories called physiological, safety and security, belongingness, esteem, and self-actualization. There is a hierarchical organization between these categories; physiological needs on the bottom of the hierarchy and security, belongingness, esteem and self-actualization needs sequentially emerge (Mathes, 1981). Physiological needs such as food, water, warmth, and rest, and safety needs such as security and safety are basic needs (Gawel, 1997). In this respect, the emphasis on the protective value of working by the mother participants as well as the child participants is mostly related to fulfill their safety needs. Specific to this study, the mother participants' wish to protect their children from the dangers in the environment takes place through the children's work. The child's working is effective way to protect the child and it may normalize the child's working. However, the workplace environment is not necessarily a

secure place for working children, an example to which is children working on the street. While working, the child may face considerable danger in the workplace environment. For example, one of the child participants stated that while he is working, the police sometimes come and ask about the drug dealers in the neighborhood. He also stated that he is really afraid of police questioning. Moreover, some of the child participants also mentioned that they might witness criminal events. In this context, the safety of working and the insecure conditions of the workplace as imagined by the mothers and explained by children, respectively, suggest that it is, in fact, a contradiction in itself.

2. Discussion of the results related to schooling

Considering the findings of this study, it can safely argued that school experiences are included much more embedded in the child participants' expressions than in that of the mothers. Even though it was observed that the child participants had difficulty elaborating their answers, talking about their experiences in the school seemed to be easier than talking about their experiences at the work. For most of the child participants, school is a place to play and socialize as well as to learn. People at school such as peers and teachers are mostly considered as supportive by the child participants and school itself is considered to be a rich place to improve oneself.

Because the child participants in the study usually work after school time and/or at the weekend, the time spent in the school is a period of time when the child can actually behave like a child. For example, some of the child participants indicated that they play in the school at the break times because they do not have any time for playing outside of school hours although the school, in which the interview were conducted, is located in a socio-culturally disadvantaged neighborhood with inadequate physical possibilities. Contrary to the playful nature of the school environment, there was also some course-related issues with which the

children confronted at school. Nevertheless, the school remains a supportive, educative and funny place for the children. Actually, the child's attendance to school is a protective factor for working child but not every working child can attend school.

Considering the child participants' expressions regarding their experiences at school, most of the child participants stress the presence of a single teacher (Mrs. B) who they regard to be containing, soothing and nurturing. For most of the child participants, Teacher B is viewed as a second mother. Some of the mother participants also mentioned like that their children love Teacher B and they are also aware of their children's perception of Teacher B as "*[the] second mother.*" The significance of Mrs. B signals that she has a crucial role while the children have difficulty in the school which might make the children resilient against difficulties in the school. It is also significant that most of them have career goals.

Apart from the child participants, the mother participants provided restricted information on their children's experiences at school. They mostly said that school is a loveable place for their children and their children did not tell anything problematic about school. They also stated that if there is a problem about the school, their children already mentioned; as they did not mention, this means there is no problem. This inference of the mother participants can be evaluated as a low awareness about their children's issues. The lack of awareness about the child's issues may not mean lack of interest and/or neglect. Rather, it may be thought in a different way: On average, the mother participants have four kids each, they are the primary caregivers for their children, and they have domestic responsibilities. Furthermore, the fathers were mostly mentioned as physically and emotionally detached from their children's lives. Therefore, under such living conditions, the mother participants may be the most effective thing according to them. For example, sending the child to work in a familiar environment and knowing that the child is in safe hands are much more important and functional in the mothers' perspective.

Besides, mother participants attach utmost importance to their desire for the child's continuation of their education in their statements. This, in fact, is connected to an important point in mothers' own personal background. Majority of the mother participants are illiterate, and the others had a baseline level of education. In this respect, they stressed that they did not have a chance to study and to have a profession, but their children should have both. On one side, they prioritize education in their expressions; however, in the other side, they did not consider working as a risk for dropping out of the school system. This is a dilemma that meeting school expenses and continuing to the school may not be possible without the child's working.

Looking from the different perspective, the mother participants try to provide educational opportunities for their children that they did not have when they were young. In a sense, the value assigned to education seemed to change between generations positively. For example, some of the mother participants mentioned that their own parents did not allow them go to school because they were girls, and girls' schooling was traditionally and religiously unacceptable. Even though the mother participants were brought up with this mentality, they, as current parents, make them lay great emphasis for their children's continued education and professional development. In this respect, when the child participants grow up, the child's working may be not normalized. In this meaning, the results of this qualitative study can be interpreted as possibility of positive change between generations, the opportunities the children possess may outweigh the burden of working, especially when they become parents themselves.

3. Discussion of the findings in context of ecological systems perspective

As stated earlier, the ecological approach indicates a dynamic relationship between the human and the environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and the child grows up in the systems of

the environment. The child's experiences and relations in the systems are decisive factors for the child's development through life. When child labor is considered in line with the ecological systems perspective, child labor is a problem emerging from within the systems that the child is involved in and is affected by.

It is paramount to underline that child labor is a normalized phenomenon on the macro level. The way child labor is approached in the macro level affects child's involvement with employment to some degree. The results of this study have some meanings in the macro system. Firstly, laws and regulations regarding child labor in Turkey are not protective enough to prevent children from going into the labor market due to grey areas between regulation and enforcement. Secondly, inadequacy of social policies especially required for accessing the rights of disadvantage subgroups of the society pave the way to child labor. Thirdly, socio-economic statuses in Turkey also culminate in the employment of children. Income inequalities, economic crisis and poverty can cause children to start working for household survival.

The children participated in this research live in poor families that migrated from rural parts of Turkey to Istanbul. They live in poverty and they mostly stated that they work with the aim of helping their families financially. At this point, it would be unimaginable that laws and regulations act prohibitory.

As being a part of the macro system, socio-cultural, traditional and religious beliefs also make child labor an ordinary occurrence in Turkey. With regard to this study's participants, they live in the traditionally male-dominated and conservative families. Conventionality in this family structure is of utmost importance. The quality of the work the child does, is usually related to the child's gender. For example, the girl participants mostly work at home and do work such as handicrafts, whereas boys mostly work outside and do works such as

selling and errands. Mostly, the mother participants' expressions contain issues regarding the culture and traditions.

Media is another dimension which affects child labor in the macro level. In this respect, child labor's presentation in the media affects perception of child labor in the society as well as perception of working of children. Child labor is commonly at the top of the agenda when one of the working children loses his/her life tragically. Even though there are also many other things needed to be said about the causes and the consequences of child labor, various risks working children face with, actions and interventions to combat child labor, child labor usually becomes a current issue with death in mainstream media. Considering most of the child participants' emphasis the easy nature of their work, this expression can be interpreted as simplifying and normalizing. In a sense, working is acceptable as is. Thus, the perception of child labor in the media affect working children's sense of self, their sense of the work and their sense of experiences.

In addition to the components of the child's macrosystem, microsystem is also embedded in the the child's working. The child has direct contact with his family members, neighbors, peers, friends, and teachers in his microsystem. In this study, the child participants mostly work with one of their family members or neighbors. Moreover, there are the child participants who work together with their friends. In this respect, the child participants' working experiences occur in their microsystems and with the presence of an interaction with the people in their mesosystem. This may render working a part of the child's daily routine. Furthermore, the issue of working has a protective value as well. The mother participants' emphasis on the dangers of the neighborhood (Tarlabaşı) is crucial to understand the protective value assigned to working. Majority of the mother participants would prefer the child's working rather than the child's having time in the neighborhood. In this regard, the

neighborhood as a part of the microsystem has an influence over the parents' decision related to the child's working.

Eventually, poverty, immigration, cultural beliefs, community, family systems are in different layers of the child's ecosystem and they all diversely affect child labor. Child labor is diversely affected by the systems at the same time.

4. Discussion of the findings in line with developmental perspective

From a developmental perspective, children have special characteristics and needs as an extension of their nature. As stated previously, child labor affects a child's developmental process in various ways. Considering the findings of this study, the mother participants mostly stated that working is actually not appropriate for the child's age. They said that *"He/she is a child yet."* In one aspect, the mothers accept their children's childhood; they accept the child's right to be a child, to play and to develop. In another aspect, the mothers let the child work for various reasons and they violate the right to be a child and to develop. Besides, there is a great emphasis of mothers about the child's having a healthy and happy future. As a matter of fact, being healthy and happy in the future is closely related to a healthy growth process. The growth process is diversely affected by child labor and the quality and quantity of the labor determines the magnitude of this effect.

Additionally, the findings of the study might be approached in line with the psychosocial development theory. In this regard, the child participants of the study are in the stage of identity vs. role confusion (Erikson, 1968). The main issue in this stage is the child forming an identity. Moreover, the child in this stage is expected to have increasing interest in social life and relations. As the child begins to discover his/her social environment and relations, the child begins to have an identity. In this process, socialization and having interactions with peers have greater importance for the child. Considering the findings of this study, both the

child participants and the mother participants underline that working negatively affects the child's social life. Thus, working poses an obstacle for the child's making an investment for their social life. Moreover, working may cause the child not to experience the crisis and solve it necessary for the healthy development expected in this stage.

On the other hand, working gives the child role of being a "worker". As the name suggests, being a "working" child is a confusing. The child is a growing individual; he/she is not an individual who has to work and has responsibilities like an adult. Therefore, in the process of identity development, working makes the crisis at the stage of identity versus role confusion harder to solve.

5. Clinical/policy implications

Child labor is a multidimensional and complicated problem that affects the child in various ways, as well as possessing a societal dimension. So, fighting against child labor requires both individual and societal effort. In other words, holistic approach regarding child labor problem has great importance.

The results of this study demonstrated that there should be clinical as well as policy implications for combating child labor problem in Turkey. Firstly, Turkish Republic as a social state should take on responsibility to develop policies for inequality in income distribution. That is because, child labor originated from economic difficulties is leading cause for the child's involvement in employment (Yayla, 2017). The state support for the citizens who live in poverty can prevent the child from going into the labor force. Secondly, beside the help-based approach, there should also be the right-based approach. Nongovernmental organizations have a significant role in the development of the right-based together with the help-based projects. Thirdly, developing short-term and long-term projects that includes not only working children but also the components of the child's ecosystem is

effective way to struggle with child labor. Addressing child labor on a continuum and developing interventions in the different phases such as before the child begins to work and/or in the process of work may prove to be significant. Moreover, generating actions for conscious raising about child labor have great importance.

When child labor is considered from the perspective of clinical psychology, the child's working is harmful for a healthy psychological development of the child. The working experiences include various psychological risks and hazards for the child. Though, apart from its physical harms, the psychological harm for the working child is much more latent. Therefore, the psychological harm might be negligible. In this regard, psychiatric care personnel and social workers should keep in close touch with working children and with children at high risk. Access to psychological and social services is fundamental and school counselors as one of the most available mental health professionals plays a significant role at this point. The school counselors might implement both individual and group activities that have therapeutic effect. Moreover, not only children but also parents need to be supported psychologically. As parents become aware of the effects of working experiences over the child and the potential risk factors, their capacity of metallization of their children would increase. As a result, the family turns into a protective factor for the child. Moreover, thanks to support group for the mothers and fathers, they would process their parental experiences and they would become more functional and containing while interacting with their children. Lastly, children need to safe and supportive recreational spaces; providing those spaces and alternative activities for their free times might be effective to prevent children from working.

6. Implications for further research

The current research tried to understand child labor phenomenon by listening to working children who have also been in the school system directly. In a sense, this research is aimed

to make working children heard, as subjects of their experiences. Moreover, with the mothers' involvement in the research, it was aimed to understand the child's experiences better.

Further research areas that emerged from the findings of this study are a more thorough analysis of protective value of working for children living in risky neighborhoods. Additionally, the research's sample consists of the child participants who come from the migrant families. Migration is a fact that has a detrimental impact on the living conditions in this sample group. The phenomenon of migration and relationship between migration and child labor are suggested for future research. Moreover, for future researches, the group of working children who leave in the same environment but who do not participate in such a Project can be sampled as well. In this way, working children from the same environment but different experiences can be heard. It may give more detailed information about the issue of child labor. On the other hand, the involvement of other systems and/or people such as extended family members and acquaintances, people in the workplace, people from the school system is suggested for future research. That is because, in specific to this current study, the children work in familiar settings and socio-cultural environment which they live in is fundamental for their experiences. It is also important to understand the dimension of child labor in the macro level.

Last but not least, the school system can be examined related to child working for future research. The role of schooling, pull and push factors in the school system may be issues of interest. The question that in what ways the school can be a protective and prevent the children from going into the workforce is suggested as a research question for future research.

7. Limitations

As limitations of study, the participants' involvement in the study was on a volunteer basis, whereas, some volunteer children and mothers were excluded because the mothers were not fluent enough in Turkish. Even though they are eager to share their experiences for the study, their exclusion from the study would decrease possibility of better understanding of child's experiences. On the other hand, there are constraints in the participants' expressions. They mostly had difficulty to elaborate their answers especially while talking about the issues related to working. In this respect, it was thought that the participants became defensive. Therefore, it might be effective to use an ethnographic approach to learn the participants' experiences by making them less defensive.

Another limitation of this current study is the inability to include the fathers' perspectives although the fathers have a significant role in the child's working. Therefore, listening to the fathers might be crucial to understand the experiences of working children and family dynamic. Moreover, the involvement of the fathers into the study might provide more comprehensive framework about child labor.

Moreover, the participants of this study were sampled from the Project, which might be a factor that restricting general representation qualities of the sample group. It may be thought that the children's participants into the Project which put emphasis on the importance of education may be an indicator of those children and families' giving importance of education.

Lastly, the PI had been in contact with the sample group in the context of "İşimiz Okumak-Our Job is To Study" Project for three years. Even if the PI did not have a direct contact with each of the participants, the sample group is familiar to the PI, which may have influenced the PI's interpretations of the results. In this regard, as the PI, I think that being a part of "İşimiz Okumak-Our Job To Study" Project as well as my experiences in the field have direct

influence on this thesis. I created the infrastructure of this thesis in line with my experiences in the Project. Moreover, as stated earlier, child labor is widespread in my extended family and I heard various stories of adult members of my extended family who were working children in their childhood. Therefore, this thesis is a struggle for understanding my generational traces. While writing this thesis, I have gone down memory line to the times when I didn't come into the world but the times that have an influence who am I today.



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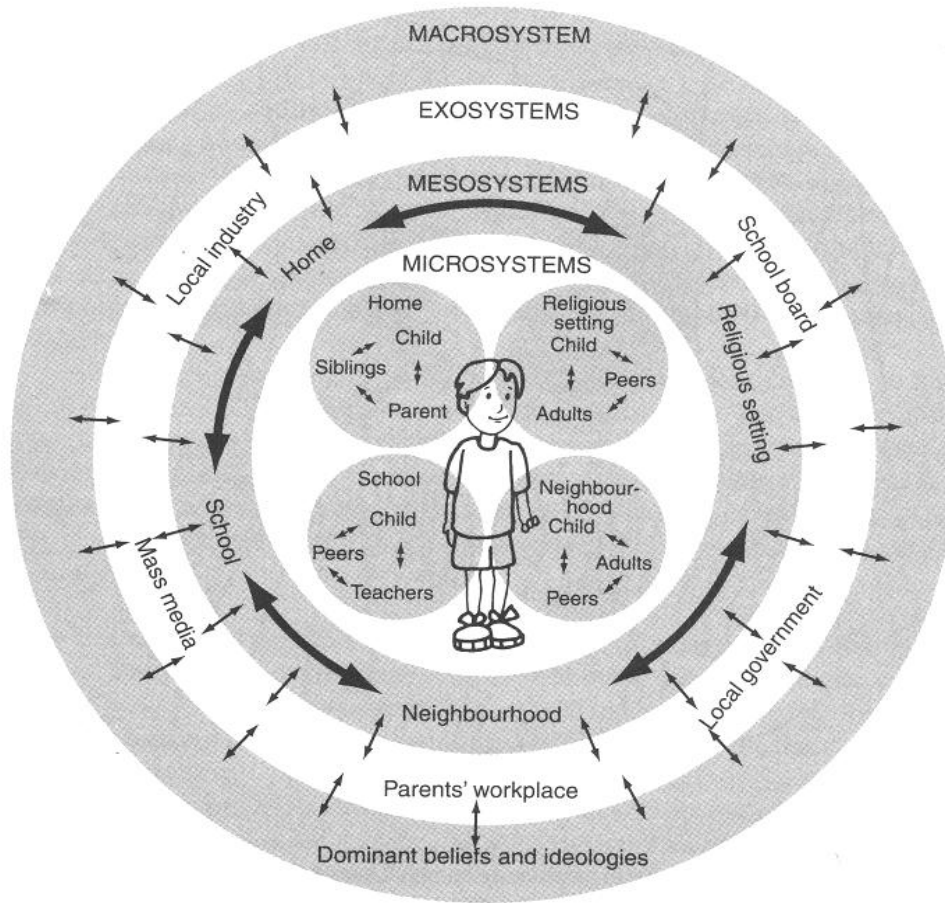
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Appendix 1

Figure A.1 A young child's development from the ecological approach



Appendix 2

Table 1. Information of Child Participants

Child participants	Sex	Age	Grade	Work
Şirin	Female	12	6	Making beads at home (handcraft)
Berkay	Male	12	6	Textile work at home
Can	Male	14	8	Selling bracelets in the bazaar
Nazlı	Female	13	7	Making beads at home (handcraft)
Çiçek	Female	13	7	Mussel production
Mert	Male	12	6	Operating a ferris wheel
Efe	Male	12	6	Helping his father in a rice shop
Mustafa	Male	14	8	Working In a clothing store

Table B.1

Table 2. Information of Mother Participants

Mother Participants	Child	Birth place of mothers	Age	Marital status	Level of education	Occupation
Mrs. Ayşe	Şirin	Tokat	40	Married	Primary school	Housewife and making beads at home (handcraft)
Mrs. Asuman	Berkay	Mardin	41	Married	Illiterate	Housewife
Mrs. Zeynep	Can	Mardin	42	Married	Primary school	Housewife
Mrs. Melek	Nazlı	Mardin	39	Married	Illiterate	Housewife
Mrs. Tülay	Çiçek	Adana	39	Married	Illiterate	Housewife
Mrs. Birsen	Mert	Mardin	37	Married	Primary school	Housewife
Mrs. Hanife	Efe	Mardin	31	Married	Illiterate	Housewife

Mrs. Emine	Mustafa	Mardin	36	Married	Illiterate	Housewife
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Appendix 3: Informed Consent Form

Gönüllü Onam Formu

CALIŞMANIN ADI: Çalışan Çocuklar İçin Okula Gitmek ve Çalışmak Ne Anlama Geliyor: Çalışan Çocukların Motivasyonları, Kaynakları ve Zorlukları

CALIŞMANIN KONUSU VE AMACI :

Bu çalışma ortaöğretim kademesinde eğitimine devam eden aynı zamanda okul dışında para karşılığında çalışan çocuklarla gerçekleştirilecektir. Çalışma kapsamında çalışan çocukların hem okul hem de çalışma deneyimleriyle ilgili bilgi sahibi olmak hedeflenmektedir. Çalışan çocukların öznel deneyimlerinin yanı sıra bu deneyimleriyle bağlantılı olarak motivasyonlarının, kaynaklarının ve yaşadıkları zorlukların neler olduğu bulunmaya çalışılacaktır. Ayrıca, çalışan çocukların çalışma ve okul deneyimleri, bu deneyimler bağlamında motivasyonları, kaynakları ve zorlukları annelerin bakış açısıyla da değerlendirilecektir. Bu bilgilerle çalışan çocukların ihtiyaç duydukları destek mekanizmalarını tespit etmek amaçlanmaktadır.

CALIŞMA İŞLEMLERİ:

Çocuğunuzun ve sizin bu çalışmaya katılmasını kabul etmeniz durumunda çocuğunuzla ve ayrıca sizinle yaklaşık bir saatlik birer görüşme yapılacaktır. Bu görüşmenin ses kaydı alınacaktır.

CALIŞMAYA KATILMAMIN OLASI YARARLARI NELERDİR?

Yapılan çalışmaya katılımın sonrasında çalışan çocukların çalışma ve okul deneyiminin onlar için ne ifade ettiği ile ilgili bilgi sahibi olunacak olup bu deneyimle ilişkili olarak motivasyonları, kaynakları ve zorlukları hakkında da bilgi sahibi olunacaktır. Tüm bu deneyim ve konular annelerin bakış açısıyla da ele alınacaktır. Çalışma neticesinde ortaya çıkacak sonuçların çalışan çocukların ihtiyaçlarına yönelik proje ve programlar geliştirilmesine katkıda bulunacağı düşünülmektedir.

CALIŞMAYA KATILMAMIN OLASI RİSKLERİ NELERDİR?

Yapılan çalışmaya katılımın sonrasında alınan sonuçların getireceği herhangi bir risk bulunmamaktadır.

KİŞİSEL BİLGİLERİM NASIL KULLANILACAK?

Bu formu imzalayarak araştırmaya katılım için onay vermiş olacaksınız. Bununla birlikte sizin ve çocuğunuzun kimlik bilgilerini çalışmanın herhangi bir aşamasında açıkça kullanılmayacaktır. Çocuğunuzun görüşmede verdiği cevaplar ve araştırma süresince işitsel cihaz (ses kaydı cihazı) kullanılarak edinilen her türlü bilgi yalnızca bu araştırma kapsamında kullanılacak, başka hiçbir amaç için kullanılmayacaktır. Araştırma sonunda tüm kayıtlar silinecektir.

SORU VE PROBLEMLER İÇİN BAŞVURULACAK KİŞİLER :

Proje Yöneticisi:

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Yudum AKYIL

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Fakültesi / Psikoloji Bölümü

Araştırmacı:

Büşra ERDOĞAN

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Klinik Psikoloji Yüksek Lisans Öğrencisi

busra.erdogan.b@gmail.com

Çalışmaya Katılma Onayı

Bu bilgilendirilmiş onam belgesini okudum ve anladım. İstedğim zaman bu araştırmadan çekilebileceğimi biliyorum Bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ediyor ve bu onay belgesini kendi hür irademle imzalıyorum.

<i>Katılımcı Velinin Adı Soyadı:</i>		<i>Tarih ve İmza:</i>
<i>Adres ve Telefon:</i>		

<i>Katılımcı Öğrencinin Adı Soyadı:</i>		<i>Tarih ve İmza:</i>
<i>Adres ve Telefon:</i>		

<i>Araştırmacı Adı Soyadı:</i>	Büşra ERDOĞAN	<i>Tarih ve İmza:</i>
<i>Adres ve Telefon:</i>	Eski Silahtarağa Elektrik Santrali Kazım Karabekir Cad. No: 2/13 34060 Eyüp İstanbul 0554 226 97 11	

Appendix 4: Demographic Information Form for mother participants

Demografik Bilgi Formu

1. Doğum Tarihi ve Yeri:

2. Medeni Durumu:

3. Öğrenim Durumu:

() Okur-yazar değil () İlkokul () Ortaokul () Lise () Üniversite

Lütfen en son mezun olduğunuz okulu ve sınıfı yazınız:

4. İşiniz-Mesleğiniz:

Appendix 5: Demographic Information Form for child participants

Demografik Bilgi Formu

KİŞİSEL BİLGİLER

Cinsiyeti:

Doğum Tarihi ve Yeri:

Okulu:

Sınıfı:

AİLE BİLGİLERİ

5. Annenin Doğum Tarihi ve Yeri:

() Sağ () Hayatta değil

6. Annenin Medeni Durumu:

() Anne baba ile evli () Boşanmış () Tekrar evli

7. Annenin Öğrenim Durumu:

() Okur-yazar değil () İlkokul () Ortaokul () Lise () Üniversite

Lütfen en son mezun olduğu okulu ve sınıfı yazınız:

8. Annenin İş-Mesleği:

9. Babanın Doğum Tarihi ve Yeri:

() Sağ () Hayatta değil

10. Babanın Medeni Durumu:

() Anne baba ile evli () Boşanmış () Tekrar evli

11. Babanın Öğrenim Durumu:

() Okur-yazar değil () İlkokul () Ortaokul () Lise () Üniversite

Lütfen en son mezun olduğu okulu ve sınıfı yazınız:

12. Babanın İş-Mesleği:

13. Kaç kardeşsin (sen dahil)?

14. Kaçınıcı çocuksun?

15. Kardeşlerinin:

1.

Doğum tarihi ve yeri

Cinsiyeti

Okulu-Sınıfı/İşi-Mesleği

Eğer okuyorsa aynı zamanda para karşılığında bir işte çalışıyor mu?

() Evet.

Cevabınız evetse hangi iş olduğunu belirtiniz:

() Hayır

2.

Doğum tarihi ve yeri

Cinsiyeti

Okulu-Sınıfı/İşi-Mesleği

Eğer okuyorsa aynı zamanda para karşılığında bir işte çalışıyor mu?

() Evet.

Cevabınız evetse hangi iş olduğunu belirtiniz:

() Hayır

3.

Doğum tarihi ve yeri

Cinsiyeti

Okulu-Sınıfı/İşi-Mesleği

Eğer okuyorsa aynı zamanda para karşılığında bir işte çalışıyor mu?

() Evet.

Cevabınız evetse hangi iş olduğunu belirtiniz:

() Hayır

(Her bir kardeş için ayrıca doldurulacaktır.)

16. Ailen kaç yıldır İstanbul'da yaşıyor?

17. Ailenin gelir düzeyi (ekonomik durumu) nedir?

() Çok düşük () Düşük () Orta () İyi () Çok iyi

18. Ailen kendi evinde mi yoksa kirada mı yaşıyor?

☐ Kendi evinde

☐ Kirada

19. Ailende Geçiminden Sorumlu Kişiler:

20. Ailende Geçiminden Sorumlu Olunan Kişi Sayısı:

İŞ İLE İLGİLİ BİLGİLER

1. Ne iş yapıyorsun?

☐ Konfeksiyon-tekstil ☐ Pazarcılık ☐ Ayakkabı boyacılığı

☐ Hurda ve kağıt toplama ☐ Kuaförde çıraklık ☐ Sokakta su, mendil vb. satma

☐ Evde para kazanmak amacıyla herhangi bir iş yapıyorum. ☐ Oto tamirciliği

☐ Tartı işleri ☐ Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz.)

2. Ne zamandan beri çalışıyorsun?

3. Daha önce başka bir işte çalıştın mı?

☐ Evet (Lütfen hangi işte olduğunu belirtiniz.)

☐ Hayır

Aşağıdaki soruları şuan çalıştığınız işi düşünerek yanıtlayınız.

4. Çalışma sebebin nedir?

☐ Aile bütçesine katkı

☐ Kendi masraflarını karşılama

☐ Diğer (belirtiniz)

Birden fazla seçenek işaretleyebilirsiniz.

5. Hangi günler çalışıyorsun? (Birden fazla seçenek işaretleyebilirsiniz.)

☐ Sadece hafta içi

☐ Pazartesi ☐ Salı ☐ Çarşamba ☐ Perşembe ☐ Cuma

☐ Sadece hafta sonu

() Cumartesi () Pazar
() Hem hafta içi hem hafta sonu
() Pazartesi () Salı () Çarşamba () Perşembe () Cuma () Cumartesi ()
Pazar

6. Genellikle haftada kaç gün çalışıyorsun?

7. Genellikle günde kaç saat çalışıyorsun?

8. Çalışma Saatleri (Gündüz ve gece olarak belirtiniz):

() Gündüz:

() Gece:

() Hem gece hem gündüz:

9. Bir haftada kaç lira para kazanıyorsun?

10. Kazandığın parayı ne için kullanıyorsun?

() Hepsini kendime harçlık yapıyorum.

() Bir kısmını harçlık yapıp bir kısmını aileme veriyorum.

() Hepsini aileme veriyorum.

() Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz.)

11. Şuan ortaokuldasın. Okumaya nereye kadar devam edeceksin?

() Ortaokul bitene kadar

() Lise bitene kadar

() Üniversite bitene kadar

() Bilmiyorum

12. İleride ne olmak istersin/hangi mesleği yapmak istersin?

Ekleme istediklerin:

Katılımın için teşekkürler.



Appendix 6: Interview Questions

Görüşme Soruları (Çocuklar İçin)

Sana hem okulda geçirdiğin zamanlar hem de işte geçirdiğin zamanlarla ilgili sorular sormak istiyorum. Senin işte ve okulda ne yaşadığını, geleceğe dair neler planladığını öğrenmek istiyorum. Bu bilgilerle, sen ve senin gibi hem çalışıp hem de okula giden çocuklara hangi konularda yardımcı olabiliriz sorusuna cevaplar bulmayı amaçlıyorum. Sana soracağım soruların doğru ya da yanlış bir cevabı yok. Ben sadece senin duygu ve düşüncelerini merak ediyorum.

Bana destek olmayı kabul ettiğin için çok teşekkür ederim.

Şimdi, sana ilk olarak çalışmakla ilgili bazı sorular soracağım.

1. Nasıl bir işte çalışıyorsun?
2. Günde, haftada kaç saatini işte geçiriyorsun?
3. Çalıştığın yerde vakit geçirdiğin yetişkinler ve (varsa) yaşlıların kimlerdir? Bu kişilerle ilişkin nasıl?
4. Bana işte geçirdiğin tipik bir gününü detaylı olarak anlatır mısın?
5. Çalışmaya nasıl karar verin?
6. Çalışmayı sen mi istedin? Yoksa başka biri (örneğin aile) mi istedi? Farklı aile üyeleri bu konuda ne düşündü, neler söylediler?
7. Ailen çalışman hakkın ne düşünüyor?
8. Çalışmaya ne zaman başladın?
9. Yaşadığın evde, ailende başka kimler çalışıyor? Ne iş yapıyorlar?
10. İşte seni en çok neler zorluyor?/Çalışmanın senin için en zor kısmı nedir?
11. Çalışırken ne gibi zorluklarla karşılaşırın? Bunlarla başa çıkmak için ne yaparsın? Bir örnek verir misin? ... Bahsettiğin zorlukla başa çıkmak için neler yaptın?
12. Yaşadığın zorluğu çözerken sana neler yardımcı oluyor? Kimden destek alırsın?
13. Çalıştığın sırada herhangi bir şeye ihtiyaç duyduğunu düşünüyor musun, hissediyor musun? Ne olsa çalışmak senin için daha kolay olurdu?
14. Çalışmanın senin için iyi yanları neler? İşle ilgili neleri seviyorsun?
15. Çalıştığın için neleri yapabiliyorsun? Neleri yapamıyorsun?
16. Çalışmak günlük hayatında (okul dışındaki saatler) ne gibi şeyleri değiştirdi?

17. Çalışmak okul hayatında ne gibi şeyleri değiştirdi?
- Şimdi de sana okul hayatınla ilgili bazı sorular soracağım.
18. Bana okul hayatını anlatır mısın?
19. Okulda geçirdiğin tipik bir gününü detaylı olarak anlatır mısın? (Detay almak için: Kaçta okula gelirsın, okulda neler yaparsın?)
20. Okulla ilgili sevdiğin ve sevmediğin şeyler neler?
21. Öğretmenlerinle (sınıf öğretmeni, branş öğretmeni, okul müdürü, müdür yardımcısı), rehber öğretmen (psikolojik danışman) ile ilişkini anlatır mısın? Birlikte neler yaparsınız?
22. Sınıf ve okul arkadaşlarınla ile ilişkin anlatır mısın? Birlikte neler yaparsınız?
23. Okulda ne gibi zorluklarla karşılaşırısın? Bunlarla başa çıkmak için neler yaparsın? Bir örnek verir misin? ... Bahsettiğin zorlukla başa çıkmak için neler yapmıştın?
24. Okulda yaşadığın herhangi bir zorluğu çözerken sana neler yardımcı oluyor? Kimden destek alırsın?
25. Okulda ne farklı olsa sana daha iyi gelir?
26. Sence okul başarın nasıl?
27. Okul başarını nelerin etkilediğini düşünüyorsun?
28. Hem okula devam edip hem çalışıyor olmak senin için nasıl bir şey? Güzel tarafları, zor tarafları neler? Ne olsa daha kolay olurdu?

Şimdi de katıldığın İşimiz Okumak Projesi ile ilgili bazı sorular soracağım.

29. Projeye katılmaya nasıl karar verdin?
30. Projedeki ilk senen mi? Daha önceki yıllarda da projeye katılmış mıydın?
31. Bana kurslarda geçirdiğin tipik bir gününü detaylıca anlatır mısın?
32. Kurs öğretmenlerinle, arkadaşlarınla ilişkini anlatır mısın?
33. İşimiz Okumak Projesi'nde olmak günlük hayatında neleri değiştirdi?
34. İşimiz Okumak Projesi'nde olmak okul hayatında neleri değiştirdi?
- Son olarak, sana gelecek planlarına, hedeflerine ve hayallerine dair sorular sormak istiyorum.
35. İleride ne olmak istersin? / Hangi mesleği yapmak istersin? Neden?
36. Okula ne zaman kadar devam edeceksin?
37. Çalışmaya ne zamana kadar devam edeceksin?
38. Gelecekle ilgili beklentilerin nelerdir? Ailen nasıl olacak olabilir? Okul, iş yeri ve başkaları?

39. Sence gelecekteki beklentilerini gerçekleştirebilmek için nelere ihtiyacın var?

Görüşme Soruları (Anneler İçin)

Bugün size siz ve çocuğunuz ile ilgili bazı sorular soracağım. Çocuğunuz İşimiz Okumak Projesi kapsamında okulda yürütülen ücretsiz kurslara devam etmektedir. Projemize okula devam eden aynı zamanda okul saatleri dışında para karşılığında çalışan çocuklarla bir araya gelinerek akademik, sosyal-kültürel çeşitli aktiviteler yürütülmektedir. Bugün size çocuğunuzun okul ve okul dışındaki hayatıyla ilgili sorular soracağım. Size soracağım soruların doğru ya da yanlış bir cevabı yok. Ben sadece sizin duygu ve düşüncelerinizi merak ediyorum.

Bana destek olmayı kabul ettiğiniz için çok teşekkür ederim.

Şimdi de size çocuğunuzun okul hayatıyla ilgili bazı sorular soracağım.

1. Çocuğunuzun okul hayatı ile ilgili neler söylersiniz?
2. Çocuğunuz okula gitmekle ilgili neler düşünüyor? Çocuğunuz okula gitmeyi seviyor mu? Okulda nasıl zaman geçirdiğini anlatıyor?
3. Çocuğunuzun öğretmenleriyle (sınıf öğretmeni, branş öğretmenleri, okul müdürü, müdür yardımcısı), rehber öğretmeniyle ilişkisini anlatır mısınız?
4. Çocuğunuzun sınıf ve okul arkadaşlarıyla ilişkisini anlatır mısınız?
5. Okul dışında arkadaşlarıyla vakit geçirir mi? Cevabınız evetse neler yapar?
6. Çocuğunuz okulda ne gibi zorluklarla karşılaşır? Bunlarla başa çıkmak için neler yapar? Bir örnek verir misiniz? ... Bahsettiğiniz zorlukla başa çıkmak için neler yapmıştı?
7. Zorluklarla başa çıkarken ona yardımcı olan şeyler nelerdir? Kimden destek alır?
8. Sizce çocuğunuzun okul başarısı nasıl?
9. Çocuğunuzun okul başarısını etkileyen şeyler nelerdir?
10. Çocuğunuzun nereye kadar okumaya devam etmesini istersiniz?

Şimdi, size çocuğunuzun okulu saatleri dışında neler yaptığını sormak istiyorum.

11. Çocuğunuzun çalışmasına nasıl karar verildi? Farklı aile üyeleri neler düşündü?
12. Çocuğunuz çalışmaya nasıl başladı? Bu süreci detaylı olarak anlatır mısınız? (Detay almak için: İlk başladığı zamanı hatırlıyor musunuz? Nasıldı? Neler konuşuldu?)

13. Yaşadığınız evde, ailenizde başka kimler çalışıyor? Ne iş yapıyorlar?
14. Çocuğunuzun çalışmasıyla ilgili neler düşünüyorsunuz?
15. Çalışmak çocuğunuzun günlük hayatında ne gibi şeyleri değiştirdi? Çalışmaya başlamadan önce neler yapıyordu? Şimdi neler yapıyor?
16. Çocuğunuzun çalışmasının iyi yanları neler? Çalışmak çocuğunuzun hayatında neleri kolaylaştırıyor? Çalışması ona nasıl yardımcı oluyor?
17. Çalışmak çocuğunuzun hayatında neleri zorlaştırıyor?
18. Çocuğunuzun geçirdiği tipik (sıradan) bir günü detaylı olarak anlatır mısınız?
19. Çocuğunuz çalışırken ne gibi zorluklarla karşılaşır? Bunlarla başa çıkmak için neler yapar? Bir örnek verir misiniz? ... Bahsettiğiniz zorlukla başa çıkmak için neler yapmıştı?
20. Çocuğunuz çalışırken yaşadığı bir zorluğu çözerken ona neler yardımcı oluyor? Kimden destek alıyor?
21. Çocuğunuz çalışırken sizce nelere ihtiyaç duyuyor? Ne olsa çalışmak onun için daha kolay olurdu?
22. Çalışmaya başladıktan sonra çocuğunuzun hayatında neler değişti?
23. Çalışmak ve aynı zamanda okumak çocuğunuzun okul hayatında ne gibi şeyleri değiştirdi?

Şimdi de size çocuğunuzun katıldığı İşimiz Okumak Projesi ile ilgili bazı sorular soracağım.

24. Çocuğunuzun projeye katılmasına nasıl karar verdiniz? Çocuğunuz ne zamandır bu projede?
25. Çocuğunuz proje kursları ve etkinliklerinde nasıl vakit geçiriyor?
26. Kurs öğretmenleriyle, arkadaşlarıyla ilişkisini anlatır mısınız?
27. Bu projeye gelmeye başladıktan sonra çocuğunuzun hayatında neler değişti? Örneğin olumlu/olumsuz şeyler oldu mu?

28. Bu projeye gelmeye başladıktan sonra çocuğunuzun okul yaşantısında neleri değiştirdi? Örneğin olumlu/olumsuz şeyler oldu mu?

Son olarak, size çocuğunuza dair hedeflerinizi, hayallerinizi ve kaygılarınıza dair bazı sorular sormak istiyorum.

29. Çocuğunuzun geleceğine dair ne gibi planlar yaparsınız?

30. Çocuğunuz için nasıl bir gelecek hayal ediyorsunuz?

31. Çocuğunuzun hangi mesleği yapmasını istersiniz?

32. Çocuğunuzun nereye kadar okumasını istersiniz?

33. Yukarıdaki konularla ilgili eşiniz ne düşünüyor, sizden farklı düşündüğü noktalar var mı?

34. Çocuğunuz gibi hem okula giden hem de çalışan çocukların sizce nelere ihtiyaçları var? Onlar için ne olsa daha iyi olur?

35. Bu ihtiyaçlar sizce nasıl karşılanabilir? Sizce çocuğunuz ve çocuğunuz gibi hem okula giden çocuklara nasıl yardımcı olabiliriz?

**ETİK KURUL DEĞERLENDİRME SONUCU/RESULT OF EVALUATION BY
THE ETHICS COMMITTEE**

(Bu bölüm İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurul tarafından
doldurulacaktır /This section to be completed by the Committee on Ethics in research
on Humans)

Başvuru Sahibi / Applicant: Buşra Erdoğan

Proje Başlığı / Project Title: What it means to work and go to school for working
children: Motivations, resources and challenges of working children

Proje No. / Project Number: 2018-20024-59

1.	Herhangi bir değişikliğe gerek yoktur / There is no need for revision	XX
2.	Ret/ Application Rejected Reddin gerekçesi / Reason for Rejection	

Değerlendirme Tarihi / Date of Evaluation: 22 Mayıs 2018


Kurul Başkanı / Committee Chair

Doç. Dr. İtir Erhart


Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Hale Bolak


Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Koray Akay


Üye / Committee Member

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Üye / Committee Member

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