

GROWING UP IN CHRONIC POVERTY:
A QUALITATIVE LOOK AT ITS IMPACTS ON CHILDREN

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Yeşim Yaşa

Boğaziçi University

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ABSTRACT

Yeşim Yaşa, Growing Up in Chronic Poverty:

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The study aimed to explore the distress and happiness areas and coping strategies of children growing up in chronic poverty through their own voices in order to have a more complete understanding of the effects of poverty on children. Ten qualitative in-depth interviews were realized with 11-to-12-year-old children, whose families involuntarily migrated to Istanbul after 1990s, and were living in Tarlabası, one of the inner city slums of Istanbul. The data was analyzed using Grounded Theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

The results indicated that while several aspects of family relationships, friendships, schools and neighborhoods were sources of troubling areas in the children's lives; other aspects of the same themes were the sources of happiness as well as support in helping to diminish the impact of disadvantage on their well-being. In response to varied adversities in their lives, the children were found to more often use emotion-focused coping strategies. Some of the children in the study also employed problem-focused strategies. The children who more often used problem-focused strategies had more supportive relations in their lives and who did not suffer from severe familial problems.

The emergent themes revealed that there were variations in children's experiences of social and material deprivations, problems and coping ways. This suggested that the way the children experienced the context they were growing up was influenced by several mediating factors mainly such as parent-child

communication, the family's social support network, extended family and communication with peers. Hence, the interaction of mediating factors, personal experiences and coping strategies seems to determine the impact of poverty on children's lives.

ÖZET

Yeşim Yaşa, Kronik Yoksulluk Altında Büyümek: Çocuklar Üzerindeki Etkilerine Niteliksel Bir Bakış

Bu araştırmanın amacı kent yoksulluğu altında büyüyen çocukların hayatlarında karşılaştıkları problemleri, mutluluk alanlarını ve karşılaştıkları sorunlarla baş etme stratejilerini incelemektir. Çocukların kendi seslerine kulak vererek kronik yoksulluğun çocuklar üzerindeki etkilerine daha geniş bir pencereden bakmak hedeflendi.

Bu amaçla 11–12 yaşları arası, ailesi 1990lı yıllardan sonra zorunlu olarak İstanbul'a göç etmiş, Tarlabası'nda yaşayan on Kürt çocukla derinlemesine mülakatlar gerçekleştirildi. Sonuçlar, aile ilişkileri, arkadaşlık ilişkileri, okul ve mahallenin bazı unsurlarının çocuklar için problem yaratırken; aynı temaların farklı unsurlarının da çocukların hayatında mutluluk yarattığını ve karşılaştıkları zorluklarla baş etmelerinde destek sağladığını ortaya koydu.

Çocukların daha çok duygusal odaklı baş etme stratejileri kullandıkları görüldü. Bazı çocukların ise daha çok problem odaklı baş etme stratejilerini daha yoğun olarak kullandıkları bulundu. Daha çok problemi çözme odaklı baş etme stratejilerini kullanan çocukların hayatlarının değişik alanlarında destekleyici ilişkilere daha çok sahip olan ve ev hayatlarında daha az sorun yaşayan çocuklar olduğu gözlemlendi.

Ortaya çıkan temalar çocukların yoksulluğu aynı derecede algılamadığı, yaşadıkları ekonomik ve sosyal yoksunluklarda, problemlerde ve baş etme mekanizmalarında farklılıklar olduğunu işaret etti. Sonuçlar, çocukların içinde

buldukları yoksulluk ortamını deneyimlemelerinin, ebeveyn-çocuk arasındaki ilişki ve iletişim, ailenin sosyal destek ağı, geniş aile ile ilişkiler, ve arkadaşlık ilişkileri ve arkadaşlar arası iletişim gibi bir çok mediyatörden etkilendiğini göstermektedir. Dolayısıyla, bu mediyatörler arasındaki etkileşim, kişisel deneyimlerin ve baş etme stratejilerinin yoksulluğun çocuklar üzerindeki etkileri belirlediği söylenebilir.

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INTRODUCTION

Identification of the Problem

The issue of child poverty, which policy-makers and scientists have been increasingly concerned with since the early 1980s, is a major outcome of today's reality worldwide that represents political, social, economic and consequently familial changes in the society. Until quite recently, the problem of poverty in Turkey has been alleviated through the informal support mechanisms of friends, relatives or neighbors offering support in the form of hard cash or in-kind donations of food and clothing. However, this traditionally strong sense of social responsibility has been weakened by factors such as economic crises, unplanned urbanization and fragmented family structures along with new urban poverty associated with forced migration. In this respect, the number of urban children who are growing up in chronic poverty in Turkey has risen dramatically in recent years.

Most research on child poverty both in developed and developing countries is quantitative in nature and concentrated on determining its extent or future outcomes. Hence, although the child evidently has come into view, publications in both the academic and welfare literature has emphasized their large numbers, the fast growth of child poverty, sought to explain the root causes of this phenomenon, documented the negative consequences of poverty for children's health and development, and suggested possible interventions. They are presented as if the situation of poverty just overtakes them, and as if they do not reflect and act on that situation themselves. As a result, children's personal experiences and own ways of dealing with it remain largely unexplored.

The acknowledgement that not all children show problematic outcomes in the presence of stressful situations lay the foundation for the search for so-called ‘risk’ and ‘protective’ factors, which either increase or decrease the probability of negative outcomes from stressful situations. The notion of risk used in resilience research stems from epidemiological research, identifying expected probabilities of maladjustment (Cicchetti and Garnezy, 1993; Rutter, 1987). Fundamental to the idea of risk is the predictability of life chances from earlier circumstances. Understanding what enables some children to do well in the face of stressful situations, while other children show social-emotional or behavioral problems, provides essential information on the mediators through which stressful situations affect children.

In that sense, what we know far less about is how the experience of poverty and social exclusion impacts on children’s own perceptions of their lives. We also have little understanding of how children interpret their experiences of poverty and exclusion, and how those experiences may be mediated through their differences. In opposition to the stigmatizing tendency of emphasizing their roles as either villains or victims, the main objective of this present study therefore was to shift attention from the adverse outcomes of poverty as the primary focus of concern to the children themselves, and to capture the experience of growing up chronic poverty along with everyday struggles and coping ways through the eyes of children. By understanding children’s thoughts, feelings, and expectations, a more effective program to intervene in the lives of children might be developed. It is possible to assume that popular interventions do not work partly because they fail to understand the voices of the individuals they are proposing to help and instead rely on positivist and developmental theories of how children should think and feel.

To that end, this study first starts to outline current research on child poverty in developed countries, in order to consider its relevance to the present analysis. Then the following parts provided a review of the literature of the existing knowledge on risk and protection among children, and on children's coping strategies processes. After these theoretical considerations, this study sought to give poor children's perspectives on the basis of the results of qualitative research on child poverty in Turkey.

Qualitative in-depth interviews were realized with eleven-to-twelve-year-old children in Istanbul who have been growing up in a changing sociological context associated with forced migration and urban poverty. In addition to the normative stress of exposure to poverty, poverty represents an additional layer of risk in the complex context of immigration, discrimination, and acculturative stresses and of growing up in an urban environment. Inner-city life was characterized by violence and drugs in the local neighborhood, residential insatiability, underperforming schools, poor nutrition, and crowded housing presents real and daily obstacles for children (Spencer et al., 1997). The overlap of influences in the unique context of urban poverty requires children focus on daily survival strategies in the environment of normal developmental challenges.

Current Research on Child Poverty in International Context

Poverty and New Poverty

Poverty figures tended to be measured from the framework of 'absolute line of poverty', which is the first official measure of poverty that was operationalized by

the World Bank as the expenditure necessary to buy a minimum standard of nutrition. This definition has been reworked by ILO and defined as the lack of a specific level of income necessary to purchase a basic basket of goods and services allowing for a minimally decent level of existence (National Research Council, 1995; cited in Rank, 2001). Giving poverty a new definition 'Basic Needs Approach', this approach view poverty as a lack of income, expenditure or consumption, and money-metric (the least amount of income needed for a family to purchase a minimally adequate basket of goods such as food, clothing, and shelter) and has remained intact to this day and has represented the most common measure of poverty in governmental reporting and academic research which allows to compare poverty levels internationally (Şenses, 2003).

Income is vitally important, but a broader definition of poverty goes well beyond the economic to also account for social assets and security. Therefore, in recent years attitudes viewing poverty not just an issue of income and material or physiological deprivation; but as a constellation of issues, including lack of health insurance, inadequate education, and political rights has been pronounced. Poverty has been reframed in a more holistic sense, based at least in part on the increased credibility given to the views of the poor themselves (Hulme & Shephard, 2003; Rank, 2001). On this basis, as Sen (1981, 1999; cited in Hulme & Shephard, 2003) has indicated a broader definition of poverty which implies deprivation in terms of a range of capabilities in addition to income is needed. That is, the notion of what constitutes 'basic needs' has expanded to encompass access to not only food, water, shelter and clothing, but also other assets such as education, health, credit, participation in political process, security and dignity.

Therefore, a new concept, namely 'new poverty' has supplanted the traditional forms of poverty. 'The new urban poor' has come to be used to refer to those disadvantaged people who lack any opportunity for social mobility. In that sense new poverty is the advanced stage of poverty that is severe and persistent where it is extremely hard to change the poor economic conditions one is in due to the consequences of migration, the advances in economy and technology that hindered new employment opportunities and subsequent lack of channels that enable the poor to develop their capabilities to struggle against poverty (Erman, 2003). This new form of poverty is characterized by a set of factors. First of all, the defining feature of new poverty is its extended duration (Hulme, 2003). With globalization and neo-liberal policies in the last twenty years, the possibility of improving their livelihoods and their prospects for getting out of poverty for any significant period of time are severely diminished (Reading, 1997). The new poor, who are to suffer from chronic poverty, experience several forms of significant deprivations at the same time for a period of five years or more, and these combinations of disadvantages keep them in poverty and creates a no-way out situation (Erman, 2003; Rank, 2001).

Second, since in addition to the material deprivation, the recent research looks at poverty from social deprivation point of view, it is suggested that for the new poor poverty functioned as a factor of social exclusion, which has come to mean both material disadvantage and marginalization (Buğra & Keyder, 2003; Hulme, 2003; Hulme, Moore & Shephard, 2001). As de Haan (1999; cited in Hulme, Moore & Shephard, 2001) discusses, the concept of 'new poverty' has been usefully extended to encompass the multi-dimensional and relational aspects of deprivation. Regardless of how much income people make, when their access to power is shut down and when they are rendered invisible in the city due to their lack of status of jobs, they

are excluded from the rest of the society in terms of not only from publicly provided services but also a broad range of social, political and economic institutions, and as a result experience lack of capabilities and entitlements (Özgen, 2001; cited in Erman, 2003). Therefore, they face the risk of discrimination, puts especially children at an unfair disadvantage for future opportunities.

Poverty as a risk factor for child health and development

It is noteworthy that beside the recent attention to child poverty worldwide, the United States is known for an already extensive tradition of child-poverty research. The unique nature of childhood as a specific period of physical, mental, emotional, and social growth and development makes children particularly susceptible to the impacts of poverty. So far, the literature suggests that the impact of family income, particularly for younger children, appears to be stronger for children's cognitive and academic outcomes than for their mental health and behavioral outcomes (Duncan and Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Luthar, 1999). However, the consensus is that income poverty is harmful for the developing child across all domains of development. This section reviewed how poverty can become a risk for children.

The first bulk of research in the literature has generally documented the adverse consequences of poverty for children. However, following these studies it has been displayed that poverty, by itself, is a poor indicator of early adversity. Rather it is a powerful correlate of multiple risk factors that act jointly to prevent development. A cumulative risk model asserts that multiple risk factors across several levels of influence contribute significant explanatory power to child

outcomes (Rutter, 1979; Sameroff, 2000; Seifer and Sameroff, 1987; cited in Yates, Egeland and Sroufe, 2003).

Relevant to the present study is that together with the attention shift to underlying processes of poor children's outcomes, researchers have become aware that the impact of poverty on children varies, and the second bulk of the literature have started to move beyond descriptive studies of poverty and child functioning and have focused on the impact of childhood poverty from the perspective of a "pathway" of "mediator", a mechanism through which poverty or income can influence a child outcome, mitigating or heightening the impact of poverty on children (Luthar, 1999; Mistry, Biesanz, Taylor, Burchinal and Cox, 2004). From this perspective, poverty is a distal risk factor whose effects are mediated by proximal risk factors such as parenting behaviors, family structure, neighborhood and the broader social networks within which the child and his or her family are embedded (Yates, Egeland and Sroufe, 2003).

These factors are also important in the sense that they may have an influence on the way poverty is experienced and coped with by children and they may play a part in any differences in their experiences and coping strategies. Therefore, in this section the cognitive, school achievement, emotional and behavioral consequences of growing up poor will be evaluated through the five potential mediating risk factors: (1) nutrition and health, (2) home environment, (3) parental interactions with children, (4) parental mental health, and (5) neighborhood conditions.

Nutrition and health

Although health is itself an outcome, it can also be viewed as a pathway by which poverty influences other child outcomes, such as cognitive ability and school

achievement. It has been shown that when compared with nonpoor children, poor children experience increased rates of low birth weight and elevated blood lead levels due to old housing, especially in inner-city areas (Hatun, 2002; Brooks-Gunn and Duncan, 1997). These conditions have, in turn, been associated with reduced IQ and other measures of cognitive functioning in young children (greatly increasing a child's risk for learning disabilities and mental retardation) and, in the case of low birth weight, with increased rates of grade retention, and school dropout in older children and youths (Hatun, 2002; Weinreb et al., 2002). Goldstein (1990) pointed that the poverty-related health factors contributed to the differential in IQ scores between poor and nonpoor children (cited in Brooks-Gunn and Duncan, 1997).

Additionally, Valenzuela (1997) offers evidence that chronic undernutrition can deplete the energy resources of both parent and child, making the child more lethargic and less able to elicit attention from the parent and the parent less sensitive and supportive of the child. The result is not only compromised growth but altered interpersonal dynamics between parent and child, which can then have consequences for other negative psychosocial outcomes such as insecure attachment, negative affect, and limited mastery motivation.

Home environment

Another mechanism through which poverty affects development is the quality of a child's home environment. With regard to cognitive outcomes, the physical condition of the home and especially opportunities for cognitively stimulating materials and resources such as toys and reading materials are generally reported to account for a substantial portion of the effects of family income on cognitive

outcomes in young children (Bradley et al., 1994; Duncan, Brooks-Gunn and Klebanov, 1994; Duncan and Brooks-Gunn, 2000; McLoyd, 1998; NICHD, 1997).

Several other studies have found that differences in the home environment of higher and lower-income children, as measured by the Caldwell and Bradley's (1984) Home Observation for Measurement of the Environment Scale (HOME), account for up to half of the effect of income on the cognitive development of children, and between one-quarter and one-third of the effect of income on the achievement scores of elementary school children (Klebanov, Brooks-Gunn, McCarton and McCormick, 1998; Smith, Brooks-Gunn and Klebanov, 1997). Similarly, Korenman, Miller and Sjaastad (1995) found that the amount of cognitive stimulation in children's home environment account for one third to one half of the disadvantages in verbal, reading, and math skills among persistently poor children.

Research also indicates that absence of cognitively stimulating materials and experiences, which not only limits their cognitive growth but reduces their chances of benefiting from school. For example, children from poor families have less access to a wide variety of different recreational and learning materials from infancy through adolescence. They are less likely to go on trips, visit a library or museum, attend a theatrical performance, or be given lessons directed at enhancing their skills (Bradley and Corwyn, 2002). However, at the same time, learning activities inside the home are more likely to mediate the link between income and child achievement than are activities outside the home (Klebanov et al., 1998).

Although the connection between poverty, stimulating experiences and children's cognitive functioning is well established, the connection between poverty, access to stimulating experiences and behavior problems has been less intensively investigated. A study by Bradley and Corwyn (2001) found that access to stimulating

materials and experiences mediated the relation between poverty and children's behavior problems. This may result from the fact that learning materials and experiences also afford for social exchanges and thereby, engage social arousal mechanisms in a generally productive way. With the absence of such opportunities, children may become bored and frustrated, leading them to engage in behavior that arouses negative responses from parents and peers. These behaviors may contribute to the kind of coercive styles of parenting that have been hypothesized to increase later behavioral maladjustment (Duncan and Brooks-Gunn, 2000).

Parent-child interactions

A number of studies have attempted to go beyond documentation of activities and materials in the home to capture the effects of parent-child interactions on child outcomes. In that sense socialization theories posit two models, the investment theory and the good-parent theory, about the way parents' income affects children's life chances (Mayer, 1997). The former holds that income has a direct effect on outcomes; the second maintains that it has an indirect effect.

The investment theory emphasizes that the relationship between parents' and children's economic success is the result of endowments that parents pass on to their children combined with what parents invest in their children (Becker 1991; Becker and Tomes 1986; cited in Mayer, 1997). Parents invest both time and money in their children's "human capital" not only by investing in their education but also by purchasing health services, food, housing, and other goods, and other services that improve children's future well-being (Jenkins and Schluter, 2002). That is, income also provides a range of nonmaterial resources including quality schools, safe and supportive neighborhoods and community resources. How much parents invest in

their children is determined by their own values and norms, their ability to finance investments which is influenced by their income and their access to capital, and by the availability of alternative sources of investment, such as government programs (Huston, 1991). The investment theory holds that children raised in affluent families succeed more often than those who were raised in poor families because rich parents both pass on superior endowments and can invest more in their children (Mayer, 1997). Thus if parents' income increases, children's outcomes will improve, at least if other major influences stay more or less the same.

In contrast to the investment theory, the good-parent theory implies that poverty hurts children, not because poor parents have less money to invest in their children but because poverty decreases the quality of parents' nonmonetary investments, such as their interactions with their children, which in turn hurts children's chances for success. Thus, this model proposes that the main pathway implicated in the socioemotional health of children living in poverty is via the parent-child relationship (McLoyd and Wilson, 1991). There are at least two versions of the good-parent theory: the parental stress version and the role-model version.

Suggesting a pathway through which income has an impact on children's outcomes is through parenting practices, the parental stress version holds that poverty is stressful and that stress diminishes parents' ability to be supportive, consistent, and involved with their children (Elder 1974; Elder, Liker, and Cross 1984; Elder, Van Nguyen, and Caspi 1985; cited in Conger et al. 1992; McLoyd 1998; Huston et al. 1994). Empirically-supported conceptual models of this mechanism seem to follow a similar chain of events: parents living in poverty are more likely to go through stress due to financial insecurity, demonstrate mental health problems such as depression and anxiety, and experience heightened marital

conflict. All of these factors, in turn, adversely affect the quality of parenting and subsequently, the parent-child relationship. This, in turn, hurts the social and emotional development of children, which limits their educational and social opportunities (Luthar, 1999). For example, research results suggest that owing to chronic stress of poverty, parental responsiveness, warmth and supervision is reduced and parents are more likely to discipline children in a punitive and inconsistent manner such as shouting, yelling and slapping, and to ignore children's dependency needs behaviors (Conger and Elder, 1994; McLoyd, 1997, 1998 cited in NICHD SECCYD, 2005; Conger et al., 1994, Hanson, McLanahan and Thomson, 1997). This is especially true when poor parents themselves feel they receive little social support, either financially or emotionally (Aber et al, 1997). Indeed, when economic hardship is accompanied by social isolation, parents can become more neglectful and/or abusive (Garrett, Ng'andu and Ferron, 1994). Miller and Davies (1997; cited in Evans, 2004) indicated that the longer the duration of poverty, the stronger the link between poverty and harsher, less responsive parenting.

Subsequently, there is mounting evidence that conflict with parents is also important mediators of the influence of economic hardship on children's emotional and social development (Conger, Ge, Elder, Lorenz and Simons, 1994; Conger, Ge, Elder, Lorenz, Simons and Whitbeck, 1992; Conger, Conger and Elder, 1997). For example, among adolescents, family economic pressure may lead to conflict with parents, resulting in lower school grades, reduced emotional health, and impaired social relationships (Duncan and Brooks-Gunn, 2000). Other work also suggests that it may be economic uncertainty due to unemployment, underemployment, and unstable work conditions, rather than poverty or low income per se, that is a source

for conflict between parents and teens leading to emotional and school problems (Elder, 1974; cited in Duncan and Brooks-Gunn, 2000; McLoyd, 1990).

Similarly, the hypothesis is also consistent with recent research suggesting that economic stress has negative consequences for children's self-esteem. For example, Whitbeck et al. (1991; cited in Axinn, Duncan and Thornton, 1997) found that family economic hardship, as reported by parents, affected self-esteem indirectly by decreasing parental support and involvement. They found, however, that reported economic hardship had only weak direct effects on children's self-esteem, which appears consistent with the work of other researchers, who have found parental behavior toward children to be an important determinant of children's self-esteem (i.e. Raschke, 1987; Demo and Acock, 1988; cited in Axinn, Duncan and Thornton, 1997).

High levels of family conflict, anxiety and concerns over the family financial situation decrease marital satisfaction and general life happiness. This negatively influences quality of parenting behavior; therefore, an indirect negative impact is exerted on child development. For example, McLeod and Shanahan (1993) found that the direct effects of current poverty on internalizing symptoms or externalizing symptoms are not significant, while the indirect effects (through harsh and unresponsive parenting behaviors) are significant and positive.

Lower income has been found to increase levels of parental conflict over money, with detrimental consequences for sons and daughters (Conger, Conger and Elder, 1997). Boys appear to be particularly susceptible to a reduced sense of self-esteem and personal control when parents have disagreements about money. As Cummings, Davies and Simpson (1994) have noted, boys are probably less shielded from such conflicts than girls are and are more likely to become overtly angry and

hostile themselves, increasing the risk that they will become personally caught up in parental conflicts. In addition, boys may be especially threatened by family economic problems that could limit their opportunities for educational and occupational success and thus their ability to assume the traditional male role of family breadwinner (Conger, Conger and Elder, 1997). For instance, those children are reported to be under the risk of dropping out of schools due to the necessity to work in order to supplement the family income as they reach their early teens (Lalor, 1999). This situation deteriorates the relationship among parents and children, which in turn may result in more externalizing behaviors including antisocial behavior, aggression, disobedience, fighting, difficulty getting along with others, impulsivity and acting out (McLeod and Shanahan, 1996).

On the whole, longitudinal studies provide substantial empirical support for the path linking poverty to lower competence and maladaptive behavior via harsh or neglectful parenting and conflictual parent-child relationships (Bradley and Crowyn, 2002). Research also shows that it is the absence of positive parenting, not just the presence of negative parenting, which links poverty to poor child well-being (Bradley and Crowyn, 2002).

Highlighted by a growing body of research the role-model hypothesis (McLoyd and Wilson, 1991), the role-model version of the good-parent theory, on the other hand, holds that because of their position at the bottom of the social hierarchy, low-income parents develop values, norms, and behaviors that cause them to be bad role models for their children. Specifically, with regard to academic achievement, parents with greater labor market earnings, for instance, are thought to define success at higher levels than parents in chronic poverty, stimulating children's motivation for achievement, which in turn promotes greater school success (Hill and

Duncan, 1987; cited in McLoyd, 1998).

Economically disadvantaged parents may also influence the socioemotional functioning of their children through a more passive mode (Mayer, 1997). That is, parents communicate the meaning of events and circumstances to their children by their affect and behavior and, in turn, instruct children about how to respond to particular situations. Indeed, parents' reaction to being without a job or experiencing persistent poverty may serve as a model for the response of their children in the sense that their children experience depression and anxiety about finances and the future. Therefore, as Zander (2006) suggested how parents handled the situation influences the children's handling of the situation as well, parental coping strategies may well take on a role-model function for children.

Furthermore, this model is likely to describe families experiencing long-term poverty who have adapted to their economic conditions. According to the role-model hypothesis, neither increasing parents' income nor providing parents with the means to invest in their children's human capital is likely to improve children's life chances, at least in the short run, but it could help in the long run by changing parents' values and behavior (McLoyd and Wilson, 1991).

Parental Mental Health

Surrounded by the pressures of poverty, inadequate housing, environmental instability and dangerous neighborhoods, economically disadvantaged parents are likely to be less healthy, both emotionally and physically, than their economically advantaged counterparts (McLoyd and Wilson, 1991). Several researchers have reported a relation between poverty and various forms of psychological distress in adults such as depression, anxiety, and somatic complaints (Conger and Elder, 1994;

McLoyd and Wilson, 1991; Bradley et al., 1994; Mistry et al., 2004; NICHD SECCYD, 2005).

Those studies have established that parental mental health accounts for some of the effect of economic circumstances on child health and behavior (Conger, Conger and Elder, 1997). To explore, parental irritability and depressive symptoms are associated with more conflictual interactions with their children. Compared to nondepressed mothers, depressed mothers are more withdrawn, inconsistent, intrusive and hostile in interactions with their children and are less engaged and responsive to their children's cues and demands, leading to less satisfactory emotional, social, and cognitive development of their children (McLoyd and Wilson, 1991). For instance, growing body of empirical evidence indicates that the impact of maternal depression and parenting behavior is stronger for measures of child socioemotional and behavioral adjustment than for cognitive competence (Yeung, Linver and Brooks-Gunn, 2002; Hanson, McLanahan and Thompson, 1997; Mayer, 1997; McLoyd, 1998; Duncan, Brooks-Gunn and Klebanov, 1994). That is, parental depression has the potential to influence not only the reciprocal interactions between parent and child but also a young child's emerging capacity to self-regulate his or her own behaviors and actions, both with family members as well as with others. Since a supportive and stable home environment is important for children's mental health and development, receipt of long-term harsh treatment results in an insecure emotional attachment of children to their parents and subsequent behavioral problems (Conger et al., 1994; Sampson and Laub, 1994), low levels of self-confidence and social competence, and a greater tendency towards inconsistent conduct and behavior (Elder, Van Nguyen and Caspi, 1995).

It is crucial to note that the link between income and elevated rates of maternal depression pointing to the disruptive impact of maternal depression on parenting and children's adjustment is well documented, maternal depression were found to have some negative effects on children regardless of income (Mistry et al., 2004; Cummings, Davies and Campbell, 2000; cited in Mistry et al., 2004), highlighting the critical role that continuity and stability in early parent-child relations play in young children's social development (Ainsworth and Bowlby, 1991). However, whereas processes such as these may occur among depressed women in general, the effects of maternal depression on parenting can be particularly pronounced among impoverished families. To give an example, disadvantaged mothers experiencing high personal distress tend to reflect low supportiveness and high aversiveness in their parenting behaviors regardless of their children's behavior problems (Dumas and Wekerle, 1995; cited in Luthar, 1999).

Neighborhood Conditions

The research for explanatory processes of poverty's impacts on children has focused almost exclusively on psychosocial characteristics within the family. However, children grow up in a number of contexts or ecologies such as family, kin, peers, schools, and neighborhood that consist of both physical and psychosocial characteristics that can impinge upon healthy social development (Eamon, 2001). Thus, the limitation of psychological research on poverty was the absence of an perspective, recognizing that the answer to why poverty is harmful probably does not lie with any one underlying agent or process (Evans and English, 2002).

In that sense the most influential theory of this broader context in the child developmental literature is the ecological system model closely associated with the

work of Brofenbrenner (1979, 1989; cited in Brooks-Gunn, Duncan and Maritato, 1997). According to Brofenbrenner (1977) understanding human development requires an ecological approach that views the child in a home environment placed in a community context, where the family strives to meet their needs and obtain long-term resources (cited in Rauh, Parker and Garfinkel, 2003). Ecological theory suggests that influences on a child's development are ongoing and that the multiple contexts in which he or she resides are important. Children whose families are poor thought to live in different ecological systems than children whose families are not poor. Subsequently, during the last decade there has been tremendous interest in the effects that high rates of neighborhood poverty have on the viability of the community, which in turn influences the viability of the family (Luthar, 1999). In that sense the neighborhoods in which poor families reside were proposed as another possible pathway through which family income affects child outcomes (Brooks-Gunn, Duncan and Aber, 1997).

A growing literature provides empirical evidence that geographic concentration of poverty results in environments that place children at risk for health and developmental problems, particularly salient in large urban areas, where concentrated neighborhood poverty is most severe (Duncan and Brooks-Gunn, 2000). First of all, poor parents are constrained in their choice of neighborhoods and schools. Poor children are more likely to attend schools in these neighborhoods that are inadequate. Consequently, low quality school facilities are associated with poor learning outcomes (Brooks-Gunn, 1995; cited in Brooks-Gunn, Duncan and Maritato, 1997).

Schorr (1991) argues that access to good neighborhoods, which are safe, and have high-quality schools and good role models are even more limited for poor,

minority parents because of discrimination. For example, low income may lead to residence in extremely poor neighborhoods characterized by social disorganization (poverty, ethnic heterogeneity, crime, violence, low home ownership, concentration of recent immigrants, many unemployed adults, neighbors not monitoring the behavior of adolescents) and few resources for child development (playgrounds, child care, health care facilities, parks, after-school programs). That is, children living in poor, high-crime neighborhoods report experiencing more stressors than those living in more advantaged neighborhoods (Evans and English, 2002).

Second, major research areas have indicated the relationships between neighborhood poverty and elevated rates of crime (Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls, 1997), neighborhood poverty and declining social capital (Putnam, 2000; cited in Rank, 2001), and neighborhood poverty and the increasing risk of environmental hazards (Bullard, 1990; cited in Rank, 2001). All of these have been shown to have a detrimental effect on the health and functioning of low-income families residing in impoverished neighborhoods. Children living in inner-city areas may be exposed to alarmingly high rates of violence, which put them high risk for externalizing problems and other emotional disturbances (Luthar, 1999) Furthermore, the social disorganization of violent communities, their psychological and physical isolation from mainstream society, and the dearth of available opportunities for children to achieve goals in socially approved ways, conjointly further erode young people's bonds to conventional society and foster, instead bonding with antisocial peers (Hawkins and Weis, 1985; cited in Luthar, 1999).

Third, residential crowding and noise have both associated with socioemotional distress and elevated psycho-physiological stress among children. High noise levels reliably interfere with reading acquisition (Evans, 2001). Living

close to streets with high traffic volume also increase the risk for childhood injuries (Huston, 1991). In addition, it is important also to investigate the more immediate living conditions of children in poverty. Most live in crowded homes compared to their nonpoor counterparts. Several studies suggested that crowding, typically defined as having 4 or more children in the home, may be a risk factor (Bradley et al., 1994; Evans, 2004). They live in houses with substandard housing quality, which causes respiratory morbidity and childhood injuries and may elevate psychological distress in children (Luthar, 1999). Poor children's self-esteem and sense of hope also may be eroded by harmful housing conditions by circumstances that publicly mark their membership in a stigmatized group for living in neighborhoods branded as bad, and by ostracism from nonpoor individuals in schools and other settings evoked by these public markers of stigma (McLoyd, 1998).

Finally, in addition to such environmental hazards, children living in poverty are more likely to be exposed to high levels of "social toxicity," defined by Garbarino as "the social context [that] has become poisonous to development...violence, poverty, disruptions of relationships, nastiness, despair, depression, paranoia and alienation" (Garbarino, 1995; cited in Sesma, 2003). Diminished social support, smaller social networks, and lower neighborhood social capital are all associated with adverse child outcomes (Evans and English, 2002; Black and Krishnakumar, 1998).

A synthesis of recent analyses on the effects of neighborhood poverty, therefore, suggests the following: (a) negative effects seem to be stronger for school-age children than for preschool children; (b) cognitive and academic outcomes seem to be more strongly related to neighborhood influences than to socio-emotional indicators. To be sure, these are still preliminary findings on the mediating role of

neighborhood conditions. Curiously enough, one of the more robust findings to come out of the neighborhood work is the protective role of living in higher SES neighborhoods for poor children (Rauh, Parker, Garfinkel, Perry and Andrews, 2003).

Coping Processes among Impoverished Children

This section outlines current literature on coping processes among children in order to evaluate whether it might provide a useful framework for studying the fact that not all children in poverty show problematic outcomes. First, research on risk and protective factors associated with resilience will be reviewed. Then coping strategies among children will be reviewed from a perspective that coping has itself can be considered as a protective factor, with its absence regarded as a risk factor.

Children's Resilience

So far, the reviewed literature suggested that children living in persistent poverty associated with disadvantaged or deprived circumstances are at increased risk of adverse developmental outcomes ranging from educational underachievement and behavioral problems to adjustment problems in later life, such as low occupational status and poor health (Duncan and Brooks-Gunn, 1997; Huston, McLoyd and Coll, 1994; Chase-Lansdale and Brooks-Gunn, 1995).

Yet the outcomes of those early risk experiences are by no means entirely predictable. There is considerable diversity in the way in which individuals respond to adversity or hardship. Not all children experiencing socio-economic adversity fail

to achieve. Indeed, a significant proportion of the impoverished youth manage to achieve adaptive developmental outcomes and go on to lead rewarding and well-adjusted lives (Garmezy, 1981; cited in Luthar, 2003; Garmezy, 1991; Sameroff, Gutman and Peck, 2003; Werner and Smith, 1982, 1992, 2001; Yates, Egeland and Sroufe, 2003; Masten, Best and Garmezy, 1990).

Interest has grown in what has been named as “children’s resilience”, that is, “as shown by the young people who do well, in spite of having experienced a form of stress which in the population as a whole is known to carry a substantial risk of an adverse outcome” (p.2, Rutter 1988; cited in Lindström et al., 2000). In that sense resilience is a two-dimensional construct defined by the constellations of exposure to adversity and the manifestation of successful adaptation in the face of that risk (Luthar and Cicchetti, 2000). An increasing body of research has been devoted to the critical question what accounts for why some people stay healthy and do well in the face of risk and adversity while others do not. (Griffith et al., 2000; Rutter, 1987, 1988; Garmezy, 1987, 1988; cited in Luthar, 2003).

Origins of Resilience Literature

During the late 1970’s and early 1980’s, the origin of resilience as an empirical and theoretical construct was derived from the studies of schizophrenic patients and their children through the seminal work of Garmezy and colleagues (Garmezy, 1971, 1974; Garmezy, Masten and Tellegen, 1984; Garmezy and Streitman, 1974; cited in Luthar, 2003). These identified subgroups of individuals who showed relatively adaptive patterns, who managed to achieve competence at school, work and in social relations included marriage, despite their high-risk status (Masten, Garmezy and Best, 1990).

There were three longitudinal studies, however, that guided research work in the area of childhood and youth resilience: Werner (1977, 1982, 1992) on the island of Kauai, Hawaii; Garmezy, Masten, and Tellegen (1984) at Project Competence at the University of Minnesota; and Rutter (1979) on the Isle of Wight, England and in the city of London, England. These investigations demonstrated the importance of long-range longitudinal research for investigating the experiences contributing to the emergence of resilience in adverse circumstances, laying the foundation for the study of the origins and course of individual patterns of adaptation in the face of socio-economic adversity.

Conceptualizing 'Resilience'

Resilience was initially conceptualized as the result of personality traits that seemed to make some children continue to progress along a positive developmental course even when confronted with considerable adversity. Therefore, for several years, resilience has been used relatively informally for a simple descriptive purpose and was viewed as innate, as explicitly reflected in the terms 'invulnerable' or 'invincible', 'superkids' and 'survivors', used to describe at-risk children who adjusted well via attributing them a special status or exceptional characteristics (Anthony, 1974; Garmezy and Nuechterlein, 1972; Hauser, Vieyra, Jacobson and Wertlieb, 1985; Milgram and Palti, 1993; cited in Luthar, 2003; Masten, Best and Garmezy, 1990). Personality traits such as hardiness, stress-resistance, ego resilience and ego strength (Block and Block, 1980; Kobassa, Maddi and Kahn, 1982) have been used synonymously to characterize individuals who due to this attribute are able to withstand stress without permanent damage.

Yet, although individuals may manifest resilience in their behavior and life patterns, to view resilience as fixed personality characteristic is problematic in the

sense that no one is either resilient or vulnerable all of the time (Breslin, 2005). Likewise, at different points in time, a particular individual may respond very differently to the same or similar stressors. Werner and Smith (1992) concluded there is 'a shifting balance between the stressful life events that heighten children's vulnerability and the protective factors that enhance their resilience. This balance not only changes with stages of the life cycle but also varies with the sex of the individual and the cultural context in which he or she matures' (p.5).

Therefore, to conceptualize resilience as a personality trait has carried the danger of blaming the victim, of rendering individuals personally responsible for their problems, instead of investigating the underlying processes that allow some individuals to succeed in life despite the experience of adversity, or investigating the barriers to their development (Waller, 2001). More recently, researchers moved from conceptualizing resilience as a fixed attribute toward a recognition of an interaction between nature and nurture in the emergence of resilience, and tended to understand resilience within the context of general developmental processes, to reflect better the continuum on which adjustment outcomes fall and the multitude of factors that influence development (Luthar, Cicchetti and Becker, 2000). In this context, resilience has been described as a dynamic construct that includes a broad class of phenomena involving successful adaptation in the context of significant threats to development (Luthar and Cicchetti, 2000; Luthar, 2003). The skills and competencies that characterize resilience under one set of environmental conditions may become obsolete in the face of new developmental challenges or new contingencies in the environment (Fraser, Richman and Galinsky, 1999). Consequently, terms such as resiliency and resilient has been used with caution as

they carry a misleading connotation of a discrete personality attribute and miss the ecosystemic context of resilience (Luthar et al., 2000).

This also challenged the prevailing deterministic assumption that traumatic experiences, especially in childhood, are inevitably damaging either through the effects of genetics, or by the predetermining role of early experiences (Clarke and Clarke, 2003; Sroufe and Rutter, 1984; cited in Schoon, 2006). Indeed, due to the results of his research on children living and growing up in poverty, Rutter (1987) noted that no combination of risk factors, regardless of severity, gave rise to disorder in more than half the children exposed.

Therefore, as Sameroff and others have found that a key concern in resilience is not the type of vulnerability factor, but rather the number of cumulative factors and their interactions (Sameroff, Seifer, Zax and Barocas, 1987; cited in Szalacha et al., 2003).

Positive Outcomes in the face of Adversity

There is an ongoing debate about what constitutes adaptive functioning and definitions of successful adaptation differ in relation to historical, cultural and developmental contexts (Luthar, 1999; Luthar, Cicchetti, and Becker, 2000; Masten and Coatsworth, 1998). The criteria by which positive adaptation is determined in studies of resilience have varied considerably. A focus on positive outcomes may not only consider the maintenance or return to adequate functioning after the experience of adversity or trauma, but may also seek to understand how individuals achieve optimal functioning, involving enhanced psychosocial resources and the development of new coping skills (Rutter, 1987). In that sense researchers usually

defined the positive developmental outcomes in their study populations in terms of multiple criteria.

It has been argued that positive adaptation describes that which is substantially better than what would be expected, given exposure to the risk circumstances being studied (Luthar, 2003). The definition of positive adaptation should also reflect the seriousness of the risks under consideration. For example, for children facing serious trauma it is entirely appropriate to define adjustment simply in terms of the absence of psychiatric diagnoses or adequate functioning, rather than superiority in everyday adaptation (Masten, 2003).

It has been stressed that the assessment of whether a person is ‘doing ok’ generally does not require outstanding achievements, but rather refers to behavior within or above the expected average for a normative cohort (Masten and Coatsworth, 1998; Masten and Powell, 2003). In the majority of the cases, resilience arises from ordinary adaptive processes rather than rare or extraordinary ones (Masten, 2001).

It is relevant to consider that because people are malleable, resilience must be distinguished from simple survival. Although recent studies suggest that success in one domain may spill over into another domain (Masten et al., 1999), the fact that a high-risk child is functioning well does not imply invulnerability or lack of problems experienced in other domains as resilience is not an all-or-nothing phenomenon. For example, it is possible that a child exposed to economic hardships shows good academic performance, but at the same time has behavioral problems. In the Kauai Longitudinal Study, children were not immune to painful memories and other social or health problems (Werner and Smith, 1992). Similarly, in a longitudinal study of about 150 students in the ninth grade of an inner-city public school, Luthar,

Doernberger and Zigler (1993) found that well-adjusted youths also manifested depressive symptoms comparable to highly stressed but low-performing youths. The possibility that well-adjusted individuals may not escape adversity unscathed has also been examined in a study of competent inner city adolescents by Luthar (1991). She found that most of the competent youth, struggling daily with the burdens of poverty and often racism, had signs of internal distress. Luthar (1993) suggested that specific domains of adjustment should be identified and differentiated, and notions of overall resilience should be avoided.

Factors Associated With Resilience

In trying not only to comprehend how but also why children's processes may differ, efforts have been made to identify the factors that might influence these processes. This led to the search for so-called 'protective factors' as opposed to 'risk' factors (Rutter, 1988; cited in Bynner, 2001; Garmezy, 1991; Masten, 1994; Masten, Best and Garmezy, 1990). Positive adjustment occurring without conditions of adversity often has different correlates and thus reflects different constructs (Luthar, 1999; Luthar and Cicchetti, 2000). In that sense resilience differs from other terms such as general positive adjustment or competence, insofar as it takes into consideration the circumstances and processes under which positive adjustment takes place. Furthermore, several studies have found varying antecedents of positive adjustment in general versus resilience in the face of adversity (Rutter, 1990). In that sense resilience are the processes children use to negotiate the relationship between risk factors and protective factors, as Rutter (1987) contended.

Protective factors or buffering factors that modify the impact of adverse life circumstances in the development of children and that help to strengthen resilience by Rutter (1979, 1983, 1985, 1986) and Werner and Smith (1992). Rutter (1985)'s

well-accepted definition of protective factors refers to “influences that modify, ameliorate or alter a person’s response to some environmental hazard that predisposes to a maladaptive outcome.” (cited in Smith and Carlson, 1997). Protective factors not only modify risk (Rutter, 1987), but also compensate for risk by directly reducing a disorder or dysfunction, and mediate risk in chains of risk and protective factors (Werner and Smith, 1992) so that his or her adaptation was more successful than would be the case if the protective factors were not present (Masten, 1994). It may be the case that children who show no negative outcomes in the presence of a particular stressful situation are well shielded against it by means of effective protection mechanisms instead of well-adjusted to it. Resilience is thus conceived as an end product of the buffering processes that do not eliminate risks and adverse conditions in life but allow the individual to deal with them effectively (Rutter, 1987).

Results of the studies have been remarkably consistent in pointing to qualities of child and environment that are associated in many studies with better psychosocial functioning during or following adverse experiences. These protective factors were divided into three domains: individual attributes of the child; the climate and resources within the family; and support systems within the wider environment (Masten, Best and Garnezy, 1990; Rutter, 1987; Werner and Smith, 1992; Masten and Coatsworth, 1998; Waller, 2001). Each of these domains has also been confirmed to contribute to the capacity of a child to cope with multiple life stressors and to avoid or diminish the resulting influence of pathology. Hence, the question that is attempted to answer is “What is it about some children, their families or their larger environments that allows them to maintain a positive developmental trajectory

when many of their peers in similar circumstances are not able to do so?" (p.568, Roosa, 2000).

1. Individual attributes

The individual protective factors provide children tools such as good intellectual functioning; creativity; emotional stability; appealing, sociable and easygoing disposition; self-efficacy; self-confidence; high self-esteem; talents and spiritual beliefs to sort out what is happening to them (Luthar,1999; Masten, Best and Garmezy, 1990; Garmezy, 1991). By providing hope and understanding, these factors play a part in building cognitive, social, and relational protective processes for children as they try to self-direct their world and life course.

To explore, among young children those predictors include an easy temperament (e.g. biological rhythmicity and adaptability to change), which facilitates responsive caregiving (Werner and Smith, 1982, 1992). Among older children, characteristics linked with positive adaptations increasingly reflect complex competencies, such as an internal locus of control, empathy, and positive expectations for the future (Luthar, 1993; Werner and Smith, 1982). Self-efficacy, of which self-esteem is a component, is also another indicator of resilience. It is a belief that one is competent to perform certain tasks (Bandura, 1977). Werner (1985) describes it as having confidence that one has control over one's fate that things will work out and odds can be surmounted. Werner and Smith (1992) reported the presence of a combination of personal characteristics that buffered high-risk children from the damaging effects of adversity. They revealed that these children had multiple interests and hobbies, reading and reasoning skills and goal setting. To put it more specifically, as infants, the resilient children had attractive temperaments that elicited positive attention from the family members as well as strangers. These

children were active, affectionate, cuddly, good-natured, and easy to deal with. They exhibited fewer eating and sleeping habits that distressed parents. As toddlers, they were more advanced in communication, locomotion and self-help skills. In elementary school, teachers reported that these children interacted well with their classmates. They had better reasoning and reading skills. They had many interests and engaged in activities and hobbies that were not strictly gender-typed, which promoted competence and self-esteem. By the time they graduated from high school, these youths had developed a positive self-concept and an internal locus of control (feelings of being in control of one's lives). They were more nurturing, responsible, and achievement-oriented than their high risk peers.

Normal cognitive development, which has emerged as a key factor in many forms in the literature including average or better IQ scores, good attention skills, and "street smarts" is another factor that may operate as a moderator of risk for prosocial/antisocial behavior and may predict resilience among high risk-children. To explore, prior investigations have shown that intellectual functioning, as typically measured by intelligence tests, not only predicts academic achievement but also may serve as a protective factor against the development of antisocial behavior problems (Garmezy, Masten and Tellegen, 1984; cited in Flores, Cicchetti and Rogosch, 2005; Luthar, 1991; Masten and Coatsworth, 1998). Likewise children demonstrating early academic resilience despite the experience of socio-economic hardship generally also performed better in most other school tests, demonstrated fewer persistent behavior problems, had more hobbies and social contacts than their more vulnerable peers, and showed a strong belief in their own ability (Massey, Cameron, Ouellette and Fine, 1998). In very adverse rearing environments, good intellectual skills may be associated with normal brain functioning and cognitive development despite the

experience of adversity (Curtis and Cicchetti, 2003). There could be a multitude of reasons. High intellectual ability requires effective information-processing skills that a high-risk child may use when coping with environmental hardships, including better problem-solving skills; they may attract the interest of teachers; they may have better self-regulation skills that help them function at school and avoid behavior problems, and improve school functioning as well (Connell, Spencer, and Aber, 1994; Masten and Coatsworth, 1998). Or inversely, children with lower than average intellectual skills may find it difficult to negotiate threatening situations, disengage from school because of feelings of failure, or fail to learn as much from their experiences.

Finally, numerous research studies have indicated the potential benefits of social skills. In particular, much of the research on intraindividual resilience factors includes some focus on social competency. For example, in their landmark longitudinal study, Werner and Smith (1992) cited the importance of having good communication and problem-solving skills, as did Hawkins, Catalano, and Miller (1992).

2. Family factors

Family protective factors included close relationship to caring parent figure; authoritative parenting –warmth, structure, high expectations-; socioeconomic advantages; and connections to extended supportive family networks (Garmezy, 1991).

Studies have pointed to the importance of a stable and supportive family environment in fostering resilience, characterized by parents who read to their child, who took an active interest and involvement in their child’s education and career planning and who took their children out for joint activities (Breslin, 2005; Butler,

1997). Family factors associated with resilience in the context of socio-economic hardship include parent-child interactions, parenting styles and parental involvement in the child's life (Schoon, 2006).

For instance, Baldwin, Baldwin and Cole (1990) point to the importance of parental supervision and vigilance, while Conrad and Hammen (1993) emphasize the value of maternal social support to children. Hetherington's (1989) study of 144 middle-class families noted the importance of structured parenting. A study by Richters and Martinez (1993) of 72 low-income children living in a violent neighborhood pointed to the salience of a stable and safe home environment, while a study by Wyman, Cowen, Work and Parker (1991) of 313 children highlighted the importance of parenting with consistent discipline and an optimistic view of the children's future.

An additional study by Wyman et al. (1992) of 626 parents of children in grades 4-6 reveals the importance of nurturing relationships with primary caregivers and stable, consistent family environments. Werner and Smith's (1992) summary of both cross-sectional and longitudinal studies also emphasizes the importance of family environment factors such as a self-confident mother who values her child, supportive alternate caregivers and a supportive spouse. Reviewing their data, the authors reported that children had good relationships with the parents who were supportive of their offspring, set rules and regulations in the home, and showed parental respect for their children's individuality, while maintaining the stability and cohesion in the family.

These findings reflect the basic reality that caregivers and attachment relationships that develop between caregivers and children are fundamental to human adaptation and development (Masten and Coatsworth, 1998).

3. Support system within the wider social context

Although individual, family and community/environmental influences are all thought to contribute to resilience (Garmezy, 1985; cited in Bosworth and Earthman, 2002; Rak and Patterson, 1996), the bulk of resilience research has examined either individual or family-level factors. Although individual factors are certainly relevant, informal support systems within the community can play a vital role in helping disadvantaged children and their parents to cope with ongoing stressors of life in poverty (Schoon, 2006). Most consistent protective factors within this domain included bonds to prosocial adults outside the family; connections to prosocial organizations; and attending effective schools (Rutter, 1987; Luthar, 1999).

Notably, the role of opportunities for prosocial bonding has been identified as a protective factor in a wide range of adversities including poverty, living in high crime neighborhoods, war, parental substance abuse and mental illness, child abuse, divorce, early parental loss, and having a generally discordant home and family life (Luthar, 1991; Wolkow and Ferguson, 2001; Werner, 1993; Seccombe, 2002).

Werner's research and all other emerging studies of resilience remarked on the crucial influence of significant relationships with kin, such as grandparents, older siblings, aunts, uncles; intimate partners; and mentors, such as school counselors, young group leaders, coaches or teachers, who supported their efforts, believed in their potential and encouraged them to make the most of their lives, promoting children's competence and self-esteem (Werner and Smith, 1982, 1992). The findings suggest that regardless of the nature or extent of the hardship to which a person is exposed, the presence of a strong relationship with a competent, caring, and warm prosocial adult inevitably serves a protective function (Werner, 1995; cited in Waller, 2001; Werner and Smith, 1992). Flores, Cicchetti and Rogosch (2005) found

that the ability to form a positive relationship with an adult figure outside of the immediate family predicted resilience in maltreated Latino children. In addition, one of the important findings of Werner's (1993) investigation of protective factors associated with the development of resilience in her sample of the high-risk children was that the ability to establish and seek out emotional support systems that extended beyond the immediate family network promoted resilience in adulthood.

There is furthermore evidence that children's relationships to other children, or friendships among children can act as a protective factor, promoting children's competence and self-esteem (Bolger et al., 1995; cited in Schoon, 2006; Werner and Smith, 1992).

A wide range of evidence supports the importance of providing children and youth with opportunities for meaningful participation. In their review of the resilience literature, Rak and Patterson (1996) noted that having opportunities to be helpful to others had lasting protective effects. In that sense a caring and supportive school environment have been found to serve as a critical support system for children seeking to escape the disabling consequences of poor environments. Having positive experience in school, including achieving educational success is associated with resilience among children from disadvantaged family backgrounds in terms of increasing protectiveness (Garmezy, 1991; Stein, 2005). For example, Rutter (1980) reported that students who had opportunities to participate in planning school activities demonstrated better attendance, improved achievement and better overall behavior than did peers not having such opportunities (cited in Bosworth and Earthman, 2002).

In their review of risk and protective factors for youth, Hawkins, Catalano and Miller (1992) correlated involvement in positive alternative activities with

achievement gains and less frequent involvement in both delinquent behavior and substance use. In their study of resilience among Hispanic youth, Gonzalez (1997; cited in Bosworth and Earthman, 2002) found that having a sense of belonging to school was predictive of good school performance. Adolescents who felt connected to their schools were less likely to report feelings of emotional distress or suicidal ideation (Bearman, Jones and Udry, 1997). Thus, schools themselves may also provide turning points (Rutter, Giller and Hagell, 1998; cited in Stein, 2005), open the doors for participation in a range of leisure or extra-curricular activities that may lead to new friends and opportunities, including the learning of competencies and the development of emotional maturity and thus promote children's resilience (Newman and Blackburn, 2002; cited in Stein, 2005). Numerous authors from a variety of fields have suggested that schools can be quite influential in either promoting or hindering resilience in children and youth (Rutter, 1980; Sagor, 1996; Embry, 1997; cited in Bosworth and Earthman, 2002). For example, Werner (1989) notes that students' perceptions of teachers as caring individuals contributed to resilience and positive outcomes. Dill and Haberman (1995) suggested that for disadvantaged children schools might provide "one last chance" to model and encourage positive social relationships.

Setting and communicating high expectations also have been shown to have beneficial effects. Sagor (1996; cited in Bosworth and Earthman, 2002) suggested that promoting feelings of competency in students contributed to resilience. Kasen, Johnson and Cohen (1990) observed that a strong focus on academics was protective for youth in that they demonstrated fewer symptoms of psychopathology.

All in all, these findings enabled the literature to look beyond the parent-child dyad to consider broader influences in the kin network, from sibling bonds to couple

relationships and extended family ties. This approach fundamentally alters the deficit-based lens from viewing troubled parents and families as damaged and beyond repair, to seeing them as challenged by life's adversities, with potential for fostering healing and growth in all members (Luthar, 1999). It is apparent that if children have an opportunity to feel needed, take part in and become an integral component of the community, and form positive connections with peers and adults, they are more likely to develop a sense of self-worth, receive positive external validation as people and experience being competent members of the larger community.

Coping Strategies

As discussed above, early theories of resilience emphasized the child characteristics associated with positive outcomes in the face of adversity (Rutter, 1987; Werner and Smith, 1982). The research later expanded to include external protective factors that may endorse resilience, such as effective schools and relationships with supportive and caring adults (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000). Current theories view resilience more as a multidimensional construct, which includes specific skills (e.g. active problem-solving) in addition to constitutional variables like temperament and personality, allow individuals to cope well with adversity (Campbell-Sills, Cohan and Stein, 2006).

In this context, resilience and coping are related constructs, but resilience refers to adaptive outcomes in the face of adversity, whereas coping refers to the set of cognitive and behavioral strategies used by an individual to manage the demands of stressful situations (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2004; Markstrom, Marshall, Tryon, 2000).

Therefore, this section would give an outlook on coping literature in the sense that coping styles would contribute to resilience in addition to broad personality traits well documented in the risk and resilience literature. For it has become evident that coping may operate in a positive as well as a negative manner (Rutter, 1988).

Conceptualization of Coping Strategies

When individuals experience negative and/or stressful life events, the coping styles or strategies that they use determines psychological well-being of the person (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). Research on children's coping is nevertheless relatively recent, and no conceptual framework has been used consistently. Although research has shown that coping is associated with physical, behavioral, and psychological adjustment in youth and adults (Folkman and Lazarus, 1986), relatively less is known about developmental differences in coping and how children differentially cope with different domains of stressor. Besides, almost none is known about the differences in coping of children from different socioeconomic backgrounds. Mainly, the literature reflects children from middle socioeconomic background.

In the adult theories of coping, coping was initially viewed as a defense mechanism (Haan, 1963, 1977; cited in Rutter, 1988). However, in later literature, the most widely used definition of coping is that offered by Lazarus and Folkman (1984): "cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage specific external or internal demands that are appraised as taxing and or exceeding the resources of person" (p.141). Just as resilience literature, therefore, the definition of coping has come to be a dynamic and unfolding process rather than a fixed trait or attribute.

According to Lazarus's view of coping, the coping process involves four steps (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). The first step, primary appraisal, involves determining the meaning of an event or situation and its implications for one's well-being, that is, determining if the event is stressful, harmful and threatening and if so, whether it is controllable (Griffith, Dubow and Ippolito, 2000). In the second step, secondary appraisal, the individual evaluates his/her coping resources and tries to find ways to deal with the stressful situation. That is, this step entails selecting a coping strategy, after taking stock of one's coping resources, the stressor, and the likelihood that the coping strategy will be effective. The third step includes actually carrying out the coping strategy, and the final step consists of evaluating one's coping efforts with regard to their effectiveness in eliminating or reducing the stressor or managing one's response to the stressful event (Smith and Carlson, 1997).

Although there is a need for increased consensus in conceptualization and operationalization of coping strategies with regard to measurement and dimensions of coping, most empirical studies differentiate between problem-focused and emotion-focused coping (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). The choice of strategies is influenced first by the extent to which stressors are seen as controllable (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). Problem-focused (also called primary or active) strategies, such as information-seeking or attempts to alter the actual source of stress, are frequently used in situations that are perceived accurately as malleable, changeable or controllable (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984; Band and Wiesz, 1988). Emotion-focused (also called secondary or passive) strategies, in contrast, focus on adapting to the stressor without altering it and are employed more frequently in situations that are perceived as unchangeable and uncontrollable (Folkman, 1984; Compas, Malcarne

and Fondacaro, 1988; cited in Smith and Carlson, 1997). Such strategies include changing one's attitude and regulating emotion.

An alternative to problem-focused coping and emotion-focused coping differentiation is the approach versus avoidance coping distinction (Roth and Cohen, 1986). Moos (1984) has noted that these conceptualizations differ in the sense that the former emphasizes the focus of the coping efforts (on the situation or one's emotions) while the latter emphasizes whether the individuals react by seeking to alter or distance themselves from the stressor (cited in Griffith, Dubow and Ippolito, 2000). There is, however, considerable overlap between the two frameworks. Like problem-focused coping, approach coping involves direct strategies to alter the stressful situation. The opposite is seen in emotion-focused coping and avoidance, which refer to more indirect efforts to adjust to the stressor by distancing oneself either by palliating one's feelings or otherwise avoiding the stressor and solving the problem (Eschenbeck, Kohlmann and Lohaus, 2007).

The lack of agreement on types of coping as well as the absence of a standard measurement tool has slowed down the understanding of child and adolescent coping. There is an overview that adult theories of coping cannot simply be applied to children, and children may not have stable coping styles (Compas, 1987; Cummings and Cummings, 1988; cited in Smith and Carlson, 1997). The variability found in how children and adolescents cope with ordinary and unusual stressful events and how they cope over time depends on the influence of a variety of individual and contextual characteristics (Compas, Malcarne and Fondacaro, 1988; Colten and Gore, 1991; cited in Smith and Carlson, 1997). First of all, though the choice of strategies is influenced first by the extent to which stressors are seen as controllable, stressors to which children are exposed are often different and less

controllable than adult stressors. Secondly, children's immaturity is said to confine their ability to appraise both the challenges associated with stressful situations and their capacity to adapt (Peterson, 1989; Ryan-Wenger, 1992; cited in Smith and Carlson, 1997). To put it more specifically, Skinner and Edge (1998) indicated that while coping ability develops, shifts in cognitive organization across development also affect coping strategies with experience in the sense that emerging anticipatory skills promote differentiation in appraisals of the situation, awareness of potential outcomes, and generation of alternative responses to confront or avoid the stressor (cited in Griffith, Dubow and Ippolito, 2000).

Research concerning coping in children and adolescents then revealed mixed results. For example, in the adolescent literature, Stern and Zevon (1990) found that younger adolescents (ages 13-17) used more emotion-focused coping than older adolescents (ages 18-20). Similarly, Blanchard-Fields and Irion (1988) found that adolescents aged between 14 and 17 years were more likely to employ avoidant coping strategies than two groups of adults aged between 20 and 25, and between 30 and 46 (cited in Griffith, Dubow and Ippolito, 2000).

In contrast, in the children literature, on one hand Altshuler and Ruble (1989) found that older children between the ages 9 and 12 reported using more cognitive distraction (or avoidance) than their younger counterparts who are between the ages of 5 and 8. On the other hand, Herman-Stahl, Stemmler, and Petersen (1995) found no developmental differences in coping strategies across their sixth to eleventh grade participants (cited in Griffith, Dubow and Ippolito, 2000). Yet, in another study first and second graders were found to use emotion-focused strategies about as often as problem-focused coping (Band and Wiesz, 1988).

Despite these mixed results, research generally has shown that older adolescents exhibit larger repertoires of coping responses and use direct or approach coping more often than younger adolescents (Griffith, Dubow and Ippolito, 2000). Older adolescents' enhanced cognitive development, autonomy, and a wider range of social interactions probably cumulate to account for increases in planning and action-oriented methods of coping and greater flexibility in coping (Hoffman, Levy-Schiff, Sohlberg, and Zarizki, 1992; cited in Griffith, Dubow and Ippolito, 2000).

In spite of the fact that adult theories of coping cannot be exactly applicable to children's coping, the literature suggested that effective coping for children involves a combination of emotion- and problem-focused coping strategies, used flexibly depending on the circumstances (Compas, 1987; cited in Smith and Carlson, 1997), given that children's coping is inherently context-dependent. As a result, in the literature on coping among children and adolescents studies often include coping strategies from both frameworks simultaneously (Compas et al., 2001). The theoretically and empirically more central dimensions to children's coping strategies came to most often include: problem solving (including approach and problem-focused strategies), support seeking (including instrumental as well as emotional support from others), avoidance (including efforts to disengage from the stressor), distraction (including a wide variety of alternative pleasurable activities), and emotion regulation (Compas et al., 2001; Skinner et al., 2003). For example, using confirmatory factor analysis in fourth- through sixth-grade children, Ayers, Sandler, West, and Roosa (1996) identified four factors that provided a good fit: active strategies (e.g., problem solving), distraction (distracting actions, physical release of emotions), avoidance (cognitive avoidance, avoidant action), and support-seeking (cited in Eschenbeck, Kohlmann and Lohaus, 2007). In line with these researches,

Ryan (1989) and Band and Weisz (1988) have found that children's coping is quite multifaceted (cited in Smith and Carlson, 1997). For example, in Ryan's (1989) study, the most frequently named strategies were social support, avoidance, emotional behaviors, distraction, and cognitive activities. Band and Weisz (1988) studied primary and secondary control strategies used by elementary school-aged children. Their findings also implied that coping strategies vary by age, situation, and perceived level of control over the stressor. In addition to primary control strategies, and secondary control strategies, Weisz and colleagues (Band and Weisz, 1988; Rothbaum, Weisz and Snyder, 1982; cited in Xu et al., 2006) added relinquished control strategies (i.e. doing nothing) to categorization of children's coping strategies.

The way an individual chooses to respond to a stressful situation is also determined by internalized cultural values and beliefs that can serve as resource, especially beliefs about one's personal control, efficacy and self-worth (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). To adopt a problem-focused coping strategy, for instance, one must believe that one's efforts will be effective. As indicated previously, according to Band and Weisz (1988), children's choice of coping strategy also depends on how much control they have over a particular situation, just as for adults. Children's sense of control over events in their current environment and their corresponding coping strategy, on the other hand, vary as a function of how wider culture approaches or views control (Xu et al., 2006). To put it more specifically, there is some evidence suggesting that in general Asian populations, feel less control of their lives than Western populations (Nisbett, 2003; cited in Xu et al., 2006), and Asians are more likely to adjust to situations rather than attempting to control them as compared to Westerners (Morling, Kitayama and Miyamoto, 2002; cited in Xu et al., 2006). Thus,

the characteristic value systems in Asian and Western cultures may encourage a preference for some coping strategies over others.

There is also plentiful research that demonstrated how Asian and Western cultures have different norms for self-expression and views about the self, others and the interdependence of the self and others, which are likely to influence their coping strategies. For example, Markus and Kitayama (1991) found that Asian groups tended to emphasize the relatedness and interdependence among individuals or the “we”, whereas their Western counterparts tended to focus on the individuated self or the “I” (cited in Xu et al., 2006). The Eastern interdependent view of self is generally expressed in a collectivistic orientation that is characterized by being attentive to other’s needs, attempting to read others’ minds, and maintaining relationships harmonious. In contrast, the Western independent view of the self is generally expressed in an individualistic orientation, where attending to the self, individuality, self-assertion, and explicitly saying what is on one’s mind is encouraged. Therefore, Weisz et al (1984a, 1984b) found that North Americans were more likely to use primary rather than secondary coping strategies, whereas the reverse was true for many East Asian populations (cited in Xu et al., 2006). In cultural and collectivistic communities where individuals are taught from an early age to maintain harmonious interactions with other members of their group, secondary coping strategies may be the norm, and children may model what they have learnt from their parents’ interactions with the society. On the other hand, in individualistic settings where human attributes such as self-fulfillment, self-reliance, and independent thinking are highly valued, primary coping strategies may be the most common way to respond to especially interpersonal stress.

Considering these lines of research all together in coping literature, a general pattern begins to emerge on how individual's coping strategies vary as a function of their local sociocultural setting. Morling and Fiske (1999) also argue that viewing secondary coping strategies as efforts to change the self also reflects an independent construal of the self. In primary and secondary control coping, the focus is individuals' stable desires, and the goal is to bring the environment in closer line with their preferences. When such attempts are impossible, individuals employ compensatory secondary coping strategies to restore their self-esteem and sense of individual agency (cited in Xu et al., 2006).

The way an individual chooses to respond to a stressful situation is also determined both by the resources one can mobilize and by constraints that affect the use of these resources (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). First, physical and mental health are also important coping resources that influence one's choice of coping strategies. Second, knowledge and intelligence, and especially problem-solving skills, are also coping resources. Third, good social skills and contacts facilitate one's access to social support. Finally, economic resources can make a variety of secondary coping strategies easily accessible, such as entertainment or other distractions (Compas, Malcarne and Fondacaro, 1988; cited in Smith and Carlson, 1997).

Gender Differences in Coping Strategies

Research concerning gender differences that may influence coping in children and adolescents also revealed mixed results (Compas et al., 2001). In the adult literature, gender differences in coping strategies are well-documented (Eschenbeck, Kohlmann and Lohaus, 2007). However, developmental aspects (e.g., cognitive, affective, social), lack of experience as well as aspects of environment (e.g.,

dependence on adults), and gender socialization may contribute to differences in coping processes between children and adolescents compared to adults (Compas et al., 2001). As opposed to adolescents, less is evident on gender differences in childhood. Some studies (Altshuler & Ruble, 1989; Band & Weisz, 1988) found no differences in coping styles between girls and boys. However, other studies showed that girls used more social-support seeking and problem-solving coping than boys (Causey & Dubow, 1992; Eschenbeck & Kohlmann, 2002; Griffith, Dubow and Ippolito, 2000), whereas boys used more distancing and externalizing coping (Causey & Dubow, 1992) (cited in Eschenbeck, Kohlmann and Lohaus, 2007).

To summarize, even though research has reported gender notable differences in the use of coping strategies among children, the findings are mixed. It is difficult to compare different studies on stress and coping because of a variety of different definitions and measurements of coping, different stressors, different age groups, as well as different age ranges. Thereby, concerning coping strategies, the most consistent results were found for gender differences were: Females report more stressful events and are more affected by these events than males and use more seeking social support and problem solving, while males tended to use avoidant coping more (Griffith, Dubow and Ippolito, 2000).

The Role of the Stressor Type

Although some studies have found moderate correlations in coping strategies across situations (Band & Weisz, 1988; Eschenbeck, Kohlmann and Lohaus, 2007), it is reasonable to assume that coping behavior is determined in relation to the demands of the stressful situation (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). Coping questionnaires for children and adolescents often include normative social stressors (e.g., conflict with a friend) and normative academic stressors (e.g., difficult exam or

to much homework; Causey & Dubow, 1992; Hampel & Petermann, 2005; cited in Eschenbeck, Kohlmann and Lohaus, 2007; Compas et al., 2001). Moos (1990) found that, among adolescents, school stressors elicited more approach coping and family stressors more avoidance coping (cited in Griffith, Dubow and Ippolito, 2000).

Compas et al. (1988) also found that younger adolescents generated more problem-focused solutions in response to an academic stressor than to an interpersonal (family or peer) stressor (Griffith, Dubow and Ippolito, 2000).

Regarding gender differences in coping strategies in relation to the stressful situation, for example, Griffith, Dubow and Ippolito (2000) showed that female adolescents reported higher levels of both approach and avoidance coping strategies for the three stressor domains (family, school, and peers) compared to male adolescents, with the exception of avoidance coping for school stressors. Likewise, a study in late childhood by Causey and Dubow (1992; cited in Eschenbeck, Kohlmann and Lohaus, 2007) indicated situation-dependent gender differences: Girls used more social-support seeking, problem solving, and internalizing emotion regulation than boys, especially when coping with a peer argument compared to coping with a poor grade.

All in all, coping resources are similar to protective factors identified in research on risk and resilience, and coping has itself been characterized as a protective factor, with its absence considered as a risk factor (Compas, Malcarne and Fondacaro, 1988; cited in Smith and Carlson, 1997).

Literature on children's perceptions of their poverty

As suggested before, the impact of poverty and associated disadvantage on the quality of children's lives as children is under-researched, and children's perspectives on their own experiences of poverty have been largely ignored. Yet there is a growing interest in children's participation and self-expression about poverty and social exclusion. For instance, there are international studies, such as the ESCR's Research Programme on Children 5-16, and work carried out for the Trust for the Study of Adolescence (Roker, 1998; cited in Attree, 2004), and the Child Poverty Action Group (Ridge, 2002) which emphasized children's perspective on growing up in disadvantage. Attree (2004) conducted a systematic review of these qualitative research studies (Backett-Milburn, Cunningham and Davis, 2003; Daly and Leonard, 2002; Davis and Ridge, 1997; Middleton, Ashworth and Walker, 1994; Morrow, 1994; Percy, 2003; Ridge, 2002; Roker, 1998 and Willow, 2002) that draw on children's accounts and published in English from 1987 onwards, with disadvantaged children (aged <18) living in developed, industrialized countries.

Several common themes emerged in all of the synthesized studies. First of all, family relationships were found to be a significant resource in the lives of disadvantaged children. Children of all ages described practical aspects of parental care as central to their lives, turning to their mothers especially to fulfill their everyday needs (Roker, 1998; Daly and Leonard, 2002; Percy, 2003; cited in Attree, 2004). Along with the practical support, emotional aspects of parental care seemed to play a vital role in the lives of disadvantaged children. To explore, young people described close and confiding relationships with parents as sources of support, emotional security and hope (Morrow, 2001; Willow, 2002; Backett-Milburn et al.,

2003; cited in Attree, 2004). Morrow (2001) also found that for children from ethnic minorities, particularly those belonging to Islamic faith, family life was basically important (cited in Attree, 2004).

Along with family relationships, the topic of friendship was central to young people's accounts of living in poverty. In Backett-Milburn et al.'s (2003) study, the experience of poverty, for example, was described in terms of social relationships slightly more than in terms of access to material resources. For older children, the influence of friends and peer groups has been found to increase as the influence of family diminishes (Glendinning et al., 1994; West, 1997; Sacker et al., 2002; Percy, 2003; cited in Attree, 2004). Having friends upon whom they could depend was essentially important for children (Morrow, 2001; cited in Attree, 2004; Ridge, 2002).

Friends are also crucial in terms of offering protection against bullying, especially for boys (Ridge, 2002). The problem of bullying was repeatedly emerged in children's accounts (Middleton et al., 1994; Daly and Leonard, 2002; Willow, 2002; cited in Attree, 2004). Bullying was often associated with a poor appearance. For instance, Ridge (2002) recognizes stigma and bullying as a significant issue for the children as is being able to wear 'the right clothes' in order to be socially included. Children frequently spoke of the problem of 'keeping up appearances', which is wearing the right kind of brand-name clothes and keeping up with the rapidly changing fashion trends (Attree, 2004). In that sense, children's discourse reveal school life to be experienced as a source of anxiety, burdened with problems of bullying, material disadvantage and exclusion from shared social activities through financial hardship (Ridge 2002).

Moreover, regarding children's social relationships and their capacity to 'fit in' with their peers, it appears that participation in the same activities with their friends is one of the most important areas where children feel vulnerable from poverty (Ridge, 2002). The latter especially revealed itself in relation to holidays. Many of the children interviewed had not had a holiday for some time, and in some cases the children had never spent a holiday away with their families. The impact on these children was not only in terms of lacking a holiday itself, but also in terms of social comparison with their peers, who were able to go away during school holidays. This situation seems to create feelings of difference and of being left behind (Ridge 2002).

Furthermore, pocket money has been found to be a vital resource, as it enables children to maintain social interaction with friends. Children without pocket money highlight that lack of money is a severe drawback in their social lives. For these children, paid work appears to be experienced as a necessary objective, playing an essential role in providing a tool of autonomy and security. The children's accounts in Ridge' (2002) interviews indicates how the money earned is meant to "participate with other children, to share in social events and to save and purchase important signifiers of childhood social status, such as clothes" (p.57).

Neighborhood concept depicts itself in two issues: unavailability of organized leisure activities and safety. First of all, for the majority of children in these synthesized studies, the concept of neighborhood was associated with unavailability of leisure activity places, implying a strong psychosocial dimension to the experience of neighborhood (Attree, 2004). Indeed, lacking access to organized leisure activities, children from poorer backgrounds are more likely to play in public areas or simply hang around the streets (Sweeting and West; cited in Attree, 2004). Formal

social sites are often restricted by cost. As a result, young people have no option other than coming together in the open.

Second, neighborhood safety, particularly in poor urban districts, concerned children. A number of young people in Morrow's (2001) study, for example, felt unsafe in local parks and on the streets, explaining that gangs hanging around shops at night and drunks in the streets were threatening. Fears for personal safety were particularly evident for girls (cited in Attree, 2004). Similarly, young people living in Dublin pointed out aspects of estate life, such as 'joy riders' or 'junkies' whom they found aggressive and dangerous (Daly and Leonard, 2002; cited in Attree, 2004).

Children belonging to ethnic minorities also described racial harassment, such as verbal abuse and attacks on their homes, which affected their perceptions of neighborhood safety (Morrow, 2001; cited in Attree, 2004).

On the whole, these qualitative researches offer crucial insight into poor children's everyday experiences and issues of friendship, school inclusion and shared peer group participation. However, children's own strategies to deal with their issues have been less elaborated. The present study adds to the focus on the everyday experiences of children in poverty, but supplements it with an analysis of poor children's coping strategies placing poor children's agency in the context of their restricted social, material and structural environment.

Current Research on Child Poverty from a National Perspective

Poverty figures in Turkey

According to the results of the poverty studies by SIS (TÜİK) in 2003 and 2004, income disparity between the richest and poorest families in Turkey has drastically increased.

When poverty is defined by food and non-food standards, 25.60% of people were reported to live in poverty. Comparing the 2003 and 2004 statistics, the poverty rate increased to 39.97% from 37.1% in rural areas, whereas it decreased to 16.57% from 22.3% in urban area. According to the latest income distribution survey carried out by TÜİK in 2004, while the top 20 percent of the households receives 46.2% of the total disposable income, the bottom 20 percent only receives 6%.

The results of the 2004 Poverty Study also indicates an important relationship between the size of the household and poverty experienced in the household. As the size of the household increases, the risk for poverty increases. The results of the survey also indicated a relationship between level of education and risk for poverty.

New Poverty in Turkey

It is possible to see the reflections of new poverty with the changes in the policies after the eighties in Turkey, especially in İstanbul, as in rest of the world. During the last decade, poverty in İstanbul has become more urban, spatially concentrated, and clustered with other indicators of disadvantage. The residents of neighbors of concentrated poverty, who experience these multiple forms of social and economic disadvantage, are disproportionately members of minority groups.

That is, this new urban poverty is best observed associated with the migration issue. Until 1985, more than half of the population in Turkey was living in rural areas (SIS, 1999) and the social structure of rural areas was characterized as poor peasants living in isolated, self-sufficient villages with their extended families and relatives (Kıray and Abadan-Unat, 1985; cited in Çankaya, 2005). After 1985, urban centers became densely populated not because of high birth rates in cities, but because of massive migration from these rural areas and other small cities. In 1990, 59% of people in Turkey were already living in urban areas (SIS, 1993). This rate has risen to 64.9% in 2000 (SIS, 2000). The urbanization rate is especially striking for İstanbul, which captures 15% of the whole population in Turkey. The rate of population growth in cities far exceeds job creation, leading to more unemployment and worsening poverty. Thus, there are many non-qualified and unemployed workers in urban centers.

The last wave of migration, which took place during 1989-1999, is different from the ones before as most of it was a sudden and compulsory mass migration. Since the low-level war in East and Southeastern regions was threatening the lives of people and creating subsequent negative economic and social life conditions, families migrated involuntarily towards the cities of the region, but finding no work led those families move to further industrialized metropolitan cities in the southern and western regions of Turkey (Dağ, Önen & Öztürk, 2004). According to the Turkish Economic and Social Survey Foundation's (TESEV) 'Reverse Migration to the village after compulsory internal migration' Report (2004), internal migration has gone into a different phase between 1994-1996 when government policy was towards preventing the low-level war and villages were emptied.

When the incidence of new poverty in Turkey is considered, those families from the East and South East region who have been forced to leave their villages have come up with an unprecedented poverty level that functioned as a factor of social exclusion (Yılmaz, 2005). Compared to earlier migrant groups, these recent migrants after 1990s could not enjoy the opportunities that the previous ones had and faced a situation in which all chances were exhausted in the city for a number of reasons, which probably contributed to their experience of chronic poverty. First, since compulsory migration took place simultaneously with neo-liberal policies in Turkey, no arrangement or preparation was done about the migration and these people did not receive any kind of support from any institution or foundation and tried to survive on their own. They came to the city unprepared without having established their social networks and support systems, which would help those people migrating from rural areas to integrate in the urban setting after living in poverty for a limited period, and could therefore prevented exclusion and poverty from becoming chronic (Buğra and Keyder, 2003). Previous migrants of the city could generally have access to a network of family members or co-locals. These networks helped them to find land and construct *gecekondu*, and with time they could enlarge these houses in a way to acquire some additional income from rent. Furthermore, in addition to finding accommodation within the area of informal settlement, the informal work opportunities, setting up one's own business or finding jobs in the formal sector also depended on the support mechanisms provided by the same networks (Keyder, 2005). It was possible to improve poor conditions and to have social mobility through several integrating mechanisms. In their study, Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001) refer to this situation as 'poverty in turn' characteristic of the squatter settlement which implies temporariness and the possibility of getting rid of it

in the sense that there is a continuous turnover within the population who suffer from poverty.

It seems that after the 1980s, however, mechanisms such as informal housing and family or co-local supports have lost their integrating and protective roles under the destructive effects of the neo-liberal oriented structural adjustment programs and thus are not able to prevent poverty and exclusion. In turn, the poor households were dispersed among different neighborhoods, so the spatial fragmentation minimized the chance of these households to organize and engage in mutual help activities. As a result, this old form of poverty has been replaced by a new form of poverty that is no longer a transitory problem passing from former to more recent immigrants (Erman, 2003; Buğra and Keyder, 2003).

Second, the previous migrants have been keeping close ties with their relatives in the hometown such that they have been receiving monetary and in-kind transfers of especially food stuff made of the products of their fields, which would have contributed to their economic survival in the city without making much more additional food expenditure (Erman, 2003). However, either the ties of the recent comers with their hometowns are significantly weaker than that of previous migrants or the villages of migrants were mostly destroyed during the war in the southeastern regions and the economy of the towns were completely ruined. As a result, their relations with their villages terminate upon migration; therefore they have no chance to continue receiving various food supplies.

Third, Keyder (2005), Buğra and Keyder (2003) and Erman (2003) suggested the rapid increase in the urban population, the policies with regard to move large scale industrial areas out of İstanbul and the inability of the city to integrate the newcomers into the social and economic life has resulted in an increase in the

unemployment rate. The developments in the Turkish economy have significantly reduced the employment opportunities of the poor. To explore, as newer technology is being implemented in industry, more skilled workers have a greater chance of being employed therefore; those without sufficient proficiency to meet the new demands are either left unemployed or employment opportunities for the unskilled male workforce become more available in the informal sector, which lacks the facilities provided by the social security system, rather than the formal sector (Keyder, 2005). As formal employment is considered as a means of economic and social integration, the loss of industrial employment opportunities has caused serious problems in the process of integrating the new immigrants. The move of labor towards informal rather than formal has also lead to the participation of children and women in the workforce as cheap labor with no access to any social security system.

Consequently, different from the previous migrants who were defined as ‘gecekondulu’, the new poor were named ‘varoşlu’, implying people from neighborhoods badly repudiated as a space of prostitution, drug dealing, mafia, tinerci, street children, theft and crime (Yılmaz, 2005; Erder, 1995: cited in Erman, 2003). All of these factors made poverty more dense and chronic for those families, who compulsorily migrated. Thus, in sum, the picture of urban poverty that Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001) named as ‘poverty in turn’ has rapidly disappeared in the face of forced migration, deindustrialization, lack of skills and unemployment, and recent economic crises. This reflects the new type of poverty in urban Turkey, which implies a more and no-way-out situation (Erman, 2003; Keyder, 2005). These people are among the most vulnerable population to the risks of the urban poverty and social exclusion. Especially children are at greatest risk. As suggested by various researchers (i.e. Altuntaş, 2003; Polat, 1998, 2002; Atauz, 1998; Acar, 2000), an

outcome of this social situation is that the families very often need their children to work.

Figures of child poverty and child labor

Children are especially vulnerable to the adversities of the urban poverty. According to the 2000 census data Turkey has about 20 million children under the age of 15. 2003 Poverty Study (TUIK, 2005) indicated that, when those children under the age of 15 are considered, 37% of the children are reported to live with food and non-food poverty in this age group. 30% of the children living in urban areas and 43% of the children living in rural areas are experiencing serious poverty, suggesting that close to 7.5 million children under the age of 15 live in poverty.

Having identified and examined the main factors related to poverty in Turkey, it is now crucial to turn to the manifestations of poverty. First of all, one of the biggest problems facing children living in poverty is that their families very often need them to work. As livelihoods have become more insecure, there is evidence from a variety of researches that children's contributions to their households are increasingly important. To put it more specifically, the first child labor surveys, carried out in 1994 and 1999 by SIS across Turkey indicated the high prevalence of child labor. In brief, according to the 1994 Child Labor Survey, 2.2% of 6-7 year olds, 3.3% of 8-9 year olds, and 6.4% of 10-11 year olds were working. In other words, 32.4% of the children in the age group 6-14 were engaged in either economic activity or domestic labor (SIS, 1994; cited in Atauz, 1998). According to the SIS data of 1999, out of 16.088.000 children between 6 and 17 years old, 10.2% of children were working, of which 62% were boys and 38% girls, in order to

contribute to their families' income (SIS, 1999). Official estimates show that 33.8% of them worked in urban areas, while 66.2% worked in rural areas.

In continuation of 1994 and 1999 Child Labor Surveys, the recent nationwide child labor study in 2006 indicated a decrease in the amount of children involved in labor force. Out of 16.264.000 children between 6 and 17 years old, 958.000 children were working (TÜİK, 2006). In terms of the children in the age group of 6-14, out of 12.478.000 children, 320.000 engaged in labor force, of which 66% were boys and 34% were girls. While 53% of the children involved in paid job, 43.8% of them worked as a non-paid family worker. Within the 6-17 age group, among those who involved in economic activity, 42%, 28%, 22% and 9% of these children engaged in agriculture, industry, merchandise and service respectively (TÜİK, 2006). Official estimates showed that 47.7% of them worked in urban areas, while 52.4% worked in rural areas, which implies an increase in the number of urban children who involved in economic activity since 1994.

Thus, although there is various rates of working children are reported in 1994, 1999 and 2006 Child Labor Surveys, it is apparent that child labor keeps on to be widespread in Turkey.

Among the children engaged in economic activities, the most frequently cited reasons for work both in 1994 and 1999 were “to contribute to household income” and “to help out in household economic activities”. The third most frequently cited reason for work was “it is my family's wish”. In urban areas, the most frequently provided reason for work (with a 41.7% share in 1994 and 51.8% in 1999) was “to contribute to household income”. Furthermore, according to the same surveys, the incidence of child labor seems to decline with an increase in household income. According to the figures of child labor that come from the SIS 1999 Child Labor

Survey, when the households were ordered in 10 percent groups according to their incomes, the rate of working children in the lowest income group was 17%, while the same rate dropped to 2% in the highest 10%-income group. An inverse relationship between the rate of children in labor and the place of the household's in the quintile of the income distribution was found. One quarter of the children in labor force lived in families in the bottom 10%-income group. In addition, the literature specifically on children working on the streets also demonstrates that children who turn to the streets share one common factor-namely, 'working the streets' to make a living, suggesting inadequate family income as one of the main reasons for child labor (Altuntaş, 2003). Therefore, a strong correlation between household poverty in relation to income and child labor can be suggested.

Secondly, another problem facing children living in poverty depicted itself in education, which is also associated with the families' need for their children's work when they should be attending school. One of the most crucial findings of the 1994 Child Labor Survey is that while only 4% of children attending school were also working, 39% of the children not attending school were working. These percentages took school attendance and non-attendance as the denominators. School attendance among working children was only 41%; in other words, of working children ages 6 to 14, 59% were not attending school. The most recent figures of 2006 Child Labor Survey indicated that among children with the age of 6 to 17, while only 2,2 of children attending school were also working, 26.3 of the children not attending school were working.

Another issue associated with poverty and education attainment of children is that a third of the national expenditure on education in Turkey comes from household budgets. However, one in four children under 15 years of age live in families with

extremely limited income, which was judged to be less than 269 new Turkish lira per month in 2003 (Household Budget Survey, 2002; cited in Müderrisoğlu and Ekim). Annual school expenses can be as much as 1,937 new Turkish lira per student (Teacher's Union, 2004; cited in Müderrisoğlu and Ekim). Since 71% of the families live on less than 500 new Turkish lira per month, it would appear that household income is not enough to cover the cost of education for many children in Turkey. Children from low-income households are then at risk of not being able to enroll in school because of the hidden cost of education such as clothing, tutoring, and meals even though primary education is free. These children are also more likely to drop out school to support their families through work. A low level of education would then increase the child's poverty rate. It also means that his or her poverty rate as an adult will very probably be high.

Present Study

There is considerable agreement in the western research literature that children in poverty are at increased risk for the development of psychological, behavioral, social and academic problems (see Brooks-Gunn and Duncan, 1997). As has been stated, on the other hand, the literature on children's coping acknowledges that not all children show problematic outcomes in the presence of stressful situations and has examined what enables some children to do well whereas others show problematic outcomes when faced with a particular stressful situation (Garmezy, 1991). This perspective is relevant to the study of child poverty in developing countries such as Turkey as well, for further understanding on the variability in children's outcomes as put forward in the western literature on the mechanisms through which growing up in poverty affect children's development.

Despite the solid empirical base establishing risk to children, remarkably little research in Turkey has answered, or even explored, many key questions concerning the phenomena and the mechanisms, much less issues concerning coping. To put it more specifically, there are no known published studies that have examined coping strategies and adaptation of children growing up in chronic poverty in Turkey as either predictors, mediators, or moderators of the relation between poverty and children's coping behavior. Therefore, in addition to the illuminating risk factors, research on children growing up in chronic poverty can address fundamental questions about protective factors and coping. Increased understanding of the processes that enable these children to adapt successfully, and of the limitations on successful coping in such adverse environments, can guide prevention and intervention efforts to promote children's positive adjustment.

Therefore, the current work aimed to promote children's visibility and examine the lives of urban children who were growing up in chronic poverty, through the light of their subjective experiences of poverty and associated everyday struggles and coping with these struggles.

Both from the literature on risk and protection among children living in poverty and on coping, following relevant factors have been found to be linked to resilience: Dispositional attributes of the individual, factors within the family context, and external support systems in the neighborhood and community (Rutter, 1987).

It is expected that children's use of active and support coping strategies would function as protective factors in relations between children's experiences of growing up in poverty and their coping. Because of scarce findings, no hypotheses for coping strategies in relation to adjustment outcomes have been formulated. However, because support agents have been associated with positive outcomes in diverse risk groups, we expected availability of support agents to function as protective factors in the context of poverty and related difficulties. Indeed, there are some studies which looked at the support agents specifically of children working on the streets. For example, the results of SHCEK-SIS-UNICEF research (1999), which was carried out with 500 children living and/or working in six cities (İstanbul, İzmir, Adana, İçel, Diyarbakır, and Urfa), indicated that 40% of these children turned to a non-familial adult including the employees of the Child Center and neighbors when they were in trouble. For children working on the streets, an adult outside of the family functioned as a support in the midst of adversity. Since this study showed that children do view non-familial adults as a support, it can be expected that caring

teachers who provide a sense of support, acceptance and warmth to children can become support agents.

As developmental theories suggest diverse ways in which family factors might be predictive of protection, early childhood opportunities to receive some good parenting, a trusting relationship and shared value with at least one of the parents or with affectionate alternate caregivers can be expected as other protective factors in the lives of this risk group. Particularly, responsiveness and acceptance from parents may be associated with social / behavioral adjustment. That is, such behaviors should have the opposite effect of negative and rejecting behavior in the sense that responsiveness and acceptance may enhance the parent-child relationship and increase the effectiveness of socialization attempts, which also may contribute to a child's higher self-esteem.

Among the other potentially important factors expected to be affecting the coping of these children was engaging in responsible chores at school that offered the children a sense of purpose, the ability to plan ahead, and a positive self-concept.

Finally, educational achievement and/or solely attending to school was expected to be another factor to protect against adversity via enhancing children's self-esteem and giving them a sense of purpose, belongingness and hope for future.

METHOD

The purpose of this part is to describe grounded theory methodology and how it was applied to this research for understanding the experience of children growing up in chronic poverty.

Research Questions

The main objective of the present study is to shift attention from the adverse outcomes of poverty as the primary focus of concern to the children themselves, and their own strategies for coping with adversity. Along with this main objective, this study is designed to understand the lives of children growing up in chronic poverty in the light of their subjective experiences of poverty, social exclusion, vulnerability and adaptation in adversity, and to explore coping strategies of these children and to see how they perceive the usefulness of these strategies. From the literature on children's resilience and coping, the following questions are relevant to the present study:

The study was guided by the following questions:

1. What stressful experiences are children growing up in chronic poverty confronted with?
2. When children are confronted with such experiences, do they themselves appraise these experiences as upsetting and distressing?
3. When the experiences are appraised as upsetting and distressing, what kind of coping strategies do children employ?

The Research Setting

The participants were recruited from children living in the neighborhood of Tarlabası. Tarlabası is one of most representative inner city slum areas of İstanbul where the new urban poor families reside living in deprived conditions (Yılmaz, 2000). Indeed, Tarlabası is associated with the migration pattern in Turkey since the 1950s: migrants from the Black Sea region and from the Marmara region (these latter are mostly Romani people) who arrived mostly before 1960s; from central and eastern Anatolia (mainly from Sivas, Erzincan, Konya and Kayseri) between 1960-1980, and the newcomers from the Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia after 1980s who were mainly of Kurdish ethnicity. The Kurdish migrants after 1990s suffered from social exclusion associated with economic hardship due to the involuntary migration following the armed conflicts between the PKK and the Turkish army (Yılmaz, 2005).

Participants were recruited through convenience and snowball sampling methods. First, collaborative relationships with some community partners in Tarlabası Community Center were formed and the colleagues in the community center were asked to contact children registered in the center who would be willing to share experiences of poverty, resilience and coping. As a result, the colleagues contacted with the researcher expressing several children's interest in participating. Afterwards, these children were screened, and if they met sample inclusion criteria, an individual interview was arranged.

Field work and snowball sampling was a second method used for sample recruitment. The researcher made a field work in the streets of Tarlabası, and through the help of a market owner a family whose boy met sample inclusion criteria was

reached. Then the child who completed an individual interview was invited to nominate another friend who lived in the same district and experienced chronic poverty and who might like to answer the questions they did. Other children then were recruited using the snowball sampling method.

Participants

The Sample

From the above field work, snowball and convenience sampling methods, ten children participated in the in-depth individual interviews, and ten of these participants' stories were used in analysis, with 5 girls and 5 boys. Children who were surrounded by risk factors such as living in chronic poverty, coming from large families, residing in high neighborhood with high levels of crime and gang activity were chosen as the sample of this study. The sample of the study met these criteria: (a) being a member of a Kurdish family who have arrived in İstanbul after 1990 and are currently living in Tarlabası, (b) between 11 and 13 years of age, (c) living with their families, (d) going to school, and (e) being willing to volunteer for an interview.

This sample was chosen because these children of Kurdish origin are more likely than other origins in Turkey to experience persistent poverty and to live in isolated poor urban neighborhoods where institutional supports for families and children are relatively scarce and threats to positive growth and development are thought to be abundant. Therefore it had been possible to look at how these children living in chronic poverty perceive themselves and what coping strategies they employ despite the adversities.

In order to be confident that the discourse of material explored in the interviews was indeed specific to these children's circumstances, four middle-class children who were expected to grow up in average conditions were also interviewed. These four children were also recruited through snowball sampling.

Data Gathering

Interview Procedure

Upon agreeing to participate, the children were described the purpose of the study in greater detail and written consents were obtained. All participants were told that they could withdraw at any time without consequences (see Appendix A). Interviews were conducted in private in Tarlabası Community Center, and in the houses of the children. All interviews were audiotaped with permission from the participants. Interviews were transcribed verbatim and the transcripts, along with the researcher's impressions and notes on the context in which the interview took place, were entered into the analyses. The consent forms were kept separate from the data, and participants' names were removed from the interview transcripts to ensure confidentiality.

Measures

This research employed qualitative analysis, which affords several advantages for the study of how experience of poverty and social exclusion impact children's own perceptions.

The qualitative data was collected through face-to-face in-depth interviews of 1 to 1 and ½ hours length and were guided by three main questions: (1) What would you like to tell me about yourself as a person? , (2) What bothers / upsets you the most and makes your life harder? , (3) What makes you happy / feel good the

most, and eases your life? In order to answer these three questions, each participant was given a large sheet that included the silhouette of a child's body with two "voice bubbles" on each side of the child's head to be filled out (see Appendix B). In response to the first question the participants were asked to fill inside the body of the child any characteristics that they believed to define them as a person. Following this spontaneous exercise, in order to probe further for other characteristic features that might have been missed, the children were asked to choose from among a number of post-its with physical and characteristics descriptions those they thought best described and fit them (see Appendix C). For the second and third questions, the participants were asked to fill inside the "voice bubbles".

In the beginning of the interview, the children were allowed to bring up topics of interest to them. The interview gradually incorporated more follow-up questions as factors relevant to risk and resilience emerged and as rapport developed between the researcher and children. The questions that were asked with regard to the revealed topics were, (a) How does it affect you? (b) What would you like to tell me about how you handle these? and, (c) Do any one of these that you have written about yourself in the picture help you in coping with these? How?

Demographic data regarding age, the city of birth, parents, number of siblings, school grade, academic status, and labor status were also collected through a form filled out in the beginning of each interview (see Appendix D).

Data Analysis

Grounded Theory

Grounded theory method (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; cited in Strauss and Corbin, 1998) was the qualitative analytic method used to code, analyze and interpret the fourteen individual interviews for this study.

Grounded theory, while considered a part of qualitative methodology, is distinct in several ways. While grounded theory attempts to understand and describe the phenomenon through the participant's voice, it is more interested in comparing and contrasting participants' experiences as well as integrating these experiences with existing theories than in describing the phenomenon on its own merit. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), grounded theory is a methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data gathered systematically and analyzed systematically. The goal in grounded theory method is to understand the experience of a particular group and pinpoint the elements of their experience. By understanding the unique elements and the relationships between the elements, a theory is generated that enables the researcher to understand the deeper, more complex meaning of an experience within a certain population in a certain setting (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; cited in Strauss and Corbin, 1998). The assumption is that individuals have unique experiences that can provide ideas for either furthering theory or creating new theory.

Grounded theory contains three general, and sometimes overlapping, phases: open, axial and selective coding. In the first phase, open coding, sentences and paragraphs are broken down into ideas or incidents and labeled, compared and categorized to represent the particular phenomenon (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). A list of codes and their definitions are developed and revised as each transcript is coded to better represent the data. Thus, while doing this, the data cases and categories are constantly compared to catch conceptual similarities and differences. Similar phenomena were grouped together and given the same conceptual level. Another important means to explore emerging concepts is memo-writing. This is a free writing exercise the analyzer should continuously carry out to help her to elaborate

on assumptions and hidden meanings under the emerging codes (Charmaz, 2003, Henwood and Pidgeon, 2003).

In the second phase, the purpose of axial coding is to coherently organize codes developed during open coding in terms of the dynamic interrelationships that reflect the core nature of the data. Relationships between codes and subcategories are identified and repeatedly verified by the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggested that to enhance the explanatory power of the concepts, subcategories should be developed that answer questions such as Who?, What?, When?, Where?, How?, and With what consequences? In order to get these answers, each axial category is developed in terms of the causal conditions that give rise to it, the context within which it is embedded, the action/interactive strategies that are used to respond to it, and the consequences of such strategies. This ongoing coding and making comparisons in this phase continues until no new related insights are reached, known as theoretical saturation (Charmaz, 2003, Henwood and Pidgeon, 2003).

The third phase, selective coding, involves the process of integrating and refining categories, and understanding across the main categories previously developed in axial coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). All categories are unified around the central phenomenon of interest, which in this case is resilience and coping in this study.

In order to determine the interrater reliability of codes, two researchers carried out the analyses of the interviews. Disagreements in coding were debated until consensus was reached and/or by adding another code or revising an existing one.

RESULTS

In this study, children growing up in chronic poverty shared both current and retrospective information about their lives as they transitioned out of childhood and moved into adolescence. All data were self-reports; no other sources of information such as parent interviews, teacher reports or school records were used to validate children's experiences. Children's own accounts of their experiences were taken as their subjective truth since the study aimed to hear the perceptions of children themselves.

This section presents the results from the analysis of the 14 participant interviews (10 interviews with low SES children from Tarlabası and 4 comparison interviews with middle SES children) based on the method outlined in the methodology section. The section begins with a brief summary of participant demographics and individual descriptions which provide more detailed information on each participant's experience before a discussion of the interview findings. As was put in the methods section, the children were asked to fill inside the body of the child with any characteristics that they believed to define them as a person and to choose from among a number of post-its with physical and characteristics descriptions those they thought best described and fit them. At the end of the each description, children's answers to these questions were provided.

Pseudonyms for the names and hometowns of the participants are used to ensure confidentiality of data. This is followed by the fundamental structure of children's experiences is conveyed through a description of common themes.

The Participants with Low Socioeconomic (SES) Status

Sinem

Born in Şırnak, Sinem is a 12-year-old girl in primary school fifth grade. Her family migrated from Şırnak to İstanbul when she was a toddler. She indicated that she cannot remember anything with regard to the migration but that her parents migrated due to economic problems. Only her grandparents and her mother's brother still live in a village of Şırnak.

Sinem currently lives with her mother, father and her four siblings. Her siblings are a 10-year-old brother who is mentally retarded, and three sisters who are 6-, 3-, and 1-year-old. She is the only child in the family who currently attends school.

Sinem's mother is a housewife. Her father does not have a regular job: He used to work 5-7 days a month with his own brother. At the time of the interview, he was employed at a construction site as a worker. However, Sinem predicted that fired by his boss, he would be unemployed again in a couple of days. The family does not have any social security. They get food support during the month of Ramadan. Otherwise, there is no support from the government or a community organization despite the mother's attempts for getting a scholarship from the school and her numerous applications to several organizations for financial aid. Therefore, Sinem has a very negative attitude towards the support provided by community-based organizations. She believes that rather than the ones who are really in need, the ones who already own houses or cars receive this kind of aid. She feels excluded.

The main theme emerging in Sinem's story is the experience of hardship and exclusion in her social relations. She is marginalized and bullied both within her friendship circles and her extended family. Her friends frequently make fun of her or

stop communicating with her, which makes her feel lonely. In a similar vein, she feels marginalized by her father's family, especially by her grandmother and uncles. They exclude Sinem's mother, and denigrate and bully her. This atmosphere in the family creates feelings of further exclusion and loneliness on Sinem's side.

Another crucial issue in Sinem's story is her ambivalent feelings towards her mother. Her uncles and aunts unite against her mother and influence her father's views on the mother negatively. The extended family members have frequently physically and psychologically abused Sinem's mother. As a result of the fights that break between the two, Sinem's mother abandoned her family several times, leaving all the responsibility at home on her shoulders. Taking over the house chores and having to take care of her siblings makes her feel even lonelier. She is not only the "big sister" at home but also the "second mother/ substitute mother" for her siblings. On one hand, she blames her mother for leaving her alone. On the other hand, since her mother is the only role model in her life she identifies with her and she generally holds her father's family responsible for all the trouble at home.

Another significant issue about Sinem is her extremely and painstakingly realistic outlook to life and her future. Although she dreams about having a job in the future, she is also aware that this may not be possible because of all the problems at home. She struggles academically and experiences problems with her teachers at school similar to the social problems she experiences with her friends. However, she can get no support from them.

Her self-description and the features she chose were consistent with each other and with her whole narrative. In her words Sinem is a girl who is shy, does not like fighting, does not like swearing, is very sentimental, easily cries, is too lonely, is

not played with, is always alone, and has only two friends. The adjectives she chose were shy, sentimental, and lonely.

Demet

11-year-old Demet attends the fifth grade in primary school. Her family is from Kars, but they eloped to Burdur to get married and Demet was born there. They then migrated to İstanbul when she was 1 year old.

She lives with her mother and her four siblings in a two-room apartment. Like Sinem, she is the eldest child in her family. She has a 10-year-old brother, a 7-year-old sister, a 5.5-year-old brother and a 3-year-old sister. Her two siblings also attend primary school.

Demet's mother is a housewife. Her father has been working abroad for about a year as a construction worker; he comes home occasionally. Previously, he had also worked in another city of Turkey away from home. The family does not have any social security, not even a green card. Her mother applied for a green card but since the apartment is registered as her property, the government refused to grant the card. They have no support from the government or community organizations despite the mother's applications for community-based aids several times.

Demet had started to sell tissue paper on the street when she was seven. She worked regularly for about 2 years, but for the last few years, she has been working only when the family needs money. She says that now she works only if her father does not send enough pocket money or if there are school expenses such as Internet research for homework, weekend courses or trips. The police caught her selling tissue paper several times and she had to spend the night at the Rotary Child Center¹

¹ Beyoğlu 75th Year Child and Youth Center, known as Rotary Child Center, is a public institution affiliated under General Director of Social Services and Child Protection Agency (SHÇEK). Working in the field of "Children Forced to Work on Streets", "Child Labor", and "Child Abuse", it is

once. Her family levied a fine for having their child work on the street. During one of the police arrests the policeman pulled her hair so harsh that she continuously shed hair for a while. As a result, her mother sued the police for maltreatment and the police was suspended for a while. Throughout the interview, even if Demet did not express her emotions with regard to the bad treatment by the police, anger, indignation and relaxing effect of the sense of justice was apparent in the tone of her voice while she was talking about the court case.

Demet's mother and siblings were at home during the time of the interview. The mother left the room with the siblings for us to have a cozy atmosphere for the interview. Theirs is a two-room apartment. Compared to the apartments of other children, the living room was quite tidy and the mother had tried to decorate and embellish the room with various indoor plants, pictures and ornaments. I learned during the interview that the mother had bought the furniture from junk dealers gradually in time.

Demet was very willing to talk during the interview and established rapport with me. She is a very self-confident child with a positive self-perception. She describes very positive relationships with her teachers, her friends in the neighborhood and her core family. She has good social and interpersonal skills. However, she seems to be looking for visibility, appreciation and applause at the same time. She dreams of a future job where others will applaud and appreciate her.

responsible for Beyoğlu District of Istanbul. Child Centers like Rotary Child Center have been opened in cities where children working in the streets became widespread and visible. These centers have been opened in addition to existing child centers where children without parents are institutionally cared for. Child and Youth Centers help children working on streets by providing their lunches, and assisting with homework, social activities such as play, picnics and journeys, relationship with parents and school teachers, and economic assistance; they do not take street children under permanent institutional care. If an extreme form of child abuse is being detected and court decision is taken, then these children are transferred to child centers or dormitories, depending on their age, for permanent institutional care.

The dominant theme throughout the interview was the story of working on the street, and the incidents encountered within the working-policeman-arrests triangle. Nevertheless, although she frequently referred to stories with negative content, she tended to be quite apathetic and indifferent. Even when she mentioned the negative aspects of work (such as being labeled as a thief, most of her earnings being seized by older children), it seems that she perceives work as positive in the sense that she can make new friendships, her customers donate clothes and she has positive relations with the store-owners around. Furthermore, Demet's work gave her the opportunity to cover her expenses at school and in private and contribute to her family. Another crucial aspect of working in Demet's life is that working at her discretion makes her more self-confidence and enhances her sense of faith in solving her problems on her own. Even if she tended to demonstrate a mature and adult-like attitude, her confusion and childishness was apparent in her solution to the arrests of the police: "if the police caught the bad guys on the street, they would allow us to work on the street", rather than expecting financial aid as a solution.

The most important issue in Demet's discourse is the father working away from home. On one hand she is angry for her father left them, and on the other hand she says she understands that he had to go due to the financial difficulties and unemployment problem. While she idealizes her father, she sees her uneducated mother as inadequate and does not describe her relationship with her mother as one where she can ask for her support.

In the absence of the father Demet is the big sister- and even the man of the house who brings home money, meets her own expenses, protects her siblings and acts as their sister and father at the same time, and prevents them from having to work.

Demet has very optimistic plans and dreams for the future. Education is extremely important for her and a major area of concern in her life is the possibility of having to quit her studies due to financial challenges. At this point the father emerges as a figure that she trusts the most. He encourages her to continue with her education, warns her about the hardships she will encounter in case she fails to study, and promises to support her in her education. This gives her great confidence.

Her self-description and her whole narrative were consistent with each other. She tended to describe herself in relational terms as much as individualistic terms. In her words, Demet is a girl who is sensitive, likes to be happy, too sentimental, does not like gossiping, likes arts and dance, academically successful, and wants to be a doctor in the future. She also described herself in relational terms. That is, she gets on well with her friends, does not spend much time outside, sometimes quarrels with her siblings and mothers without breaking their hearts.

The features she chose were consistent with her overall narrative: Quiet, hectic, smart, curious, unlucky, beautiful, thin, “has many friends”, lovable, obedient, and “get on well with my father”.

Deniz

Born in Istanbul, the 12-year-old Deniz attends fifth grade in primary school. Her family is originally from Bitlis. They migrated to İstanbul about fifteen years ago and some other close relatives moved to Bursa.

She lives with her mother and father and siblings in a two-room apartment. She has five siblings: a 16-year-old brother, 15-year-old sister, a 14-year-old sister, a 13-year-old brother, and a 4-year-old sister. All her siblings go to school.

Her mother is a housewife. Her father is self-employed and works as a junk dealer. Her two brothers work as bootblacks in the street. She reported that they

started to work upon her mother's wish because of the family's economic struggle. The family could not make a living depending only on the father's irregular income. They receive meals and bread from the community kitchen, and a monthly ration (dry provisions) from the civic government. Deniz indicated that her mother was a very talented and thrifty woman searching and applying for different aids, and managing the household income.

Throughout the interview, Deniz realistically talked about the financial issues they had to go through with. However, she did not seem to perceive them as a struggle or problem. Rather, while she was talking about their financial situation and their future, it was more like an adult talking rather than a child.

Deniz and her family live in a spacious, two-room apartment. It is more spacious compared to the other apartments I visited and it is full of knick nacks. The windows and the floor seem to be new.

She built a good relationship with me in general. She seems to be socially skillful and to build good relations with others. She is attractive and talkative. She seems very fond of and attached to her family. During the interview her 14-year-old sister and her father's sister's daughter were also at home. She seemed to have a warm relationship with her sister. When I visited them to arrange the interview, Deniz was not there but her father and sisters were at home, and they also seemed to have a very close relationship. The father is not a distant, frightening person. On the contrary, although he does not interfere with the disciplinary issues of the children so much, he is someone the children were very close to rather than staying away from.

There were several key themes apparent in Deniz's experience:

Family relationships were important in Deniz's life. She described the overall relationship with her mother, father and siblings as fairly positive. All members of

her family seem to be sources of practical and emotional supports whenever she needs it.

She especially spent a significant amount of the interview talking about her relationship with her father. The fact that her father approaches her as a friend makes her feel positively about him. She sees him as a strong figure that she can talk to and ask for help rather than an authority figure to be afraid of and stay away from. Contrary to the stories of the other children, Deniz has a reliable and “available” father who spends more time at home with his family. In comparison to the father, the mother is the one that sets the rules and maintains the discipline at home, but she is also perceived to be supportive by Deniz. The mother functions as the “father” when it comes to the management of the household, and this is one of the main reasons why Deniz respects her so much.

Her self-description was consistent with each other and with her whole narrative. In her words, she is a girl who is good, gives back if someone offends her, inventor, tidy, cannot stand inventing bad things, comfortable within the household, thin and short.

The adjectives she chose were: curious, smart, unlucky, talented, dreamer, proud, hardworking, sometimes happy sometimes unhappy, edgy, helpful, and brave. These features she chose mainly included individualistic features, which also revealed the paradoxical feelings Deniz might have had but she did not explicitly express throughout her interview such as occasional happiness, edginess and unluckiness. Interestingly, despite her general emphasis on the value of relation, she chose features of relational self less. Those included reliable, well-mannered and “get on well with my family”.

Aysun

Born in Van, Aysun is a 12-year-old girl attending sixth grade in primary school. Originally from Van, her family migrated to İstanbul in 2001.

Aysun lives with her mother, father and siblings in a two-room apartment on rent. Her uncles, aunts and grandmother also live in the same building. She has seven siblings: 17-year-old, 15-year-old, 10-year-old and 7-year-old brothers, and 13-year-old, 4-year-old, and 3-year-old sisters. Five of the children in the household attend school.

Aysun's mother is a housewife. Her father does hold a regular job due to a heart-related problem approximately for the last two years. He works as a street peddler on an irregular basis, selling fruits. In order to cope with the economic problems, the 15-year-old brother works at a hairdresser after school. In addition, her father's brother, who is a taxi driver, occasionally helps them. However, he quit work and that help is gone now.

The family is on the green card scheme. They have no other support from the government or a community organization despite the mother's several applications for community-based aid. Therefore, like several other participants, Aysun also has a very negative attitude towards the supports provided by the government or community-based organizations. She believes that the aid is not given to the real needy and poor families. She thinks that her mother is wasting time looking for aid because they will not get any aid or regular support. She seems to feel excluded.

The apartment she lives in is a small flat composed of two rooms and a kitchen in quite unfavorable physical conditions. Compiled from junk dealers, the furniture is very old and dirty. The other room is comprised of a carpet and some floor pillows. When I visited them for arranging the interview, Aysun's mother

seemed worried that her daughter would be interviewed by a stranger although Aysun herself seemed very willing to talk with me. Soon after, the mother opened up to me complaining about her older son not coming home some nights and that the other soon took his brother as a model and played truant at school, and the other families in the neighborhood criticized them heavily for that reason.

Previously, Aysun had been attending the courses at the Rotary Child Center. However, after she started the Koran course in a private establishment, the Koran hodjas told mothers and children negative things about that center and tried to prevent them from going there. That is when she stopped going to the Rotary Child Center.

Despite her willingness to talk, Aysun seemed stagnant and not very expressive during the interview. She mostly looked up in the air rather than having eye contact with me. The mother, father, little brothers, older brother and aunt were also at home during the interview; however the mother assigned us a room to help ensure our privacy.

The main themes emerging during the interview were the difficulties the grandmother caused for Aysun and her family as well as the problems of her older brother. Domestic violence, neglect, and insult have deeply affected Aysun, without any explicit signs of anger. She spoke with a low voice when she talked about her grandmother and brother, suggesting she did not want to be heard. She wanted to talk about her brother's situation frequently during the interview. It is obvious that sharing her own issues at home is quite a problem.

It is understood that Aysun is marginalized and exposed to physical and psychological violence in the extended family. The nuclear family also seems to be marginalized by the extended family. At home she is the one who shoulders the

housework and the responsibility of her siblings and cousins. These responsibilities prevent her from focusing on her homework and research for school. But she is hesitant to talk about these problems with her teacher at school. She is worried that her friends will blame her and think she is incapable.

Aysun also seemed to suffer from unhealthy and unsupportive friendships. Indeed, she displayed a pot plant in the living room as the only one, which she shared her problems and feelings with. In contrast to many friends with whom she describes to have negative relationships, she mentioned two friends that make her feel good and happy.

As opposed to unavailability of supportive family relationship and friendship, there is non-family support available in the neighborhood, including a shopgirl in a grocery and some neighbors. These people seem to be the main source of support for her.

One of Aysun's greatest concerns is her brother's substance abuse problem. She had a lot of mixed feelings regarding her brother. In fact, it seems that the 17-year-old brother is one of the deepest concerns for the whole family. When I first met Aysun's mother, the first thing she talked about was her son and his drug addiction problem. Similarly, throughout the interview, Aysun repeatedly switched the direction of the talk towards her 17-year-old brother. Her brother left primary school at the third grade. He started to consort with bad friends and got engaged in purse-snatching under peer pressure. He gradually became a drug addict when he was about 14-15 years old. Even though he was hospitalized several times, he restarted abusing drugs each time. He also created scenes at home: He usually turned to the mother for money, and was outraged if she did not have it. Aysun thought that he set

a bad example for her other brothers and one of her biggest fears was that they would take him as a model.

Despite the isolation in the family and the problems about her brother Aysun is quite successful at school. Although she takes on the responsibility for taking care of the other children at home and housework she cares about her education a lot and makes sure to continue school without interruption. She can get help from her friends with regard to homework if necessary. She has dreams and a positive perception of the future. She wants to become a lawyer one day. In fact, she is a member to the children's rights club at school and participates in their activities. It is a meaningful preference considering the fact that she cannot use her right to be a child at home.

Her self-description mirrored her whole narrative pretty well. In her words, she is a girl who enjoys school, playing, enjoys reading, likes pink clothes, does the household chores, looks after her siblings, and is loved by the neighborhood.

The adjectives she chose were: dreamer, smart, hot tempered, well-mannered, lovable, obedient, "get on well with my family", thin and short.

Semra

Now in primary school fifth grade, the 12-year-old Semra was born in Van. Her parents migrated from Van to İstanbul just after Semra was born, leaving her with her grandmother in Kurtalan, a village of Van. Semra was brought up by her grandmother; in fact, she thought her grandmother was her mother until her real mother came and introduced herself when Semra was 8. She went to İstanbul with her and attended the first and second grades there. She returned to Van upon her own request at the third grade, and upon finishing the third grade, she came back to İstanbul again upon her mother's request to help her to look after the children.

Now she lives with her mother, father, siblings and aunt in a one-room apartment. She has five siblings: 11-year old, 5-year old and 1-year-old brothers; 9-year-old and 8-year-old sisters. Four children in the household attend school. The children seem to be neglected and unsupervised. Semra mentioned several accidents as well as serious illnesses experienced by her siblings.

Semra's mother is a housewife. Her father does not have a regular job. He is a day laborer and he occasionally sells fruit on the street. Semra does not know exactly whether the family has any social security/ green card or not. The apartment they live is rented. The mother is the one in the household who looks for aid. They receive cash aid and monthly ration (dry provisions) from Deniz Feneri Foundation.

While I was waiting to interview Semra, I had a chance to chat with the mother. She talked about their financial problems, the hard-to-find aid, her husband frequenting the coffeehouse when he is out of job for months, the accidents and illnesses the children lived through, and her likelihood of having breast cancer. She said that she had to put a lot of burden on Semra's shoulders because of all these problems, and that Semra was loaded with responsibilities like a second mother at home. She held herself responsible for Semra's low grades at school yet she thought there was no other way out.

The apartment the family lives in is one-roomed. There were only one armchair and some pillows. The physical conditions were quite negative and unhealthy. We held the interview at the balcony to be able to talk in private. Throughout the whole interview Semra spoke with a very low voice, and without having any eye contact with me. It was almost impossible to hear her at times, especially when she was talking about the fact that she had to act as the second mother at home. In general,

she seemed very quiet, introverted and unhappy. She has a very negative self-image. Psychological violence and neglect seems to contribute to her low self-esteem.

Her role as the “second mother” in the family, the academic failure this brings about and being unable to live her childhood were the main themes that came up during the interview. She had difficulty negotiating her need as a child with her role as the “second mother“. Her mother hinders her from achieving at school and she also tells her that she will make her work as a textile worker in case she fails this year. This makes Semra feel ambivalent about her mother. On one hand, she is angry with her mother for having given birth to so many children and hindering her studies, but on the other hand she tells that her mother supports her and she can talk to her mother whenever she needed to. The father is almost absent in her narration. There is only one episode about the father and it is about how he excludes her near her other siblings.

Another theme related to her family was the lack of support points in her life. She associated “support and help” in İstanbul only with a close friend. Otherwise, in her family, the grandmother who raised her until the age of 8 is the only one she can associate with support. In fact her future plans and dreams included going to the village, going to school there close to her aunts, and living with her grandmother. She is not optimistic about the future. She has a hurtingly realistic outlook regarding the impossibility of success under such circumstances.

Her self-description had solely focused on the negative sides, which was very in line with Semra’s general pessimistic and negative attitude throughout her whole interview. She seemed to have a very negative self-perception. In her words, Semra is a girl who is good but has never been happy in her life time, whose friends

frequently get cross with her, who does not have adequate friendships, who loves but is not loved.

The adjectives she chose were also parallel to her spontaneous self-description, and to her overall narrative: These included sad, well-mannered, quiet, unlucky, “has no friends”, “cannot get on well with my family”, “does not have good relations with my siblings”, unlovable, ““I frequently ail”, and ugly.

Murat

Born in Şanlıurfa, the 11-year-old Murat attends third grade in primary school. The whole family migrated to Istanbul from Şanlıurfa in 1999, when Murat was 3 years old. The parents are both 48-years-old and illiterate. Murat cannot remember about the migration period since he was too little back then but he is more or less informed through the conversations among the adults in the family. He knows that they had to migrate because of financial difficulties, unfavorable climate and the lack of opportunities in the village. They still have some relatives living in the village. They keep in touch with the relatives and maintain contact with the village as well. They try to go there every summer. Murat has a very positive perception of the village and the time they spend there. However, when comparing life in Istanbul to that in the village, he articulates problems such as the lack of any doctors in the village and people dying since they cannot get any treatment. That is why he wants to continue living in Istanbul.

Murat lives with his mother, father and siblings. He has 8 siblings: 9-year-old brother, two sisters attending 6th and 8th grades respectively, a brother attending high school second grade, a brother in his sophomore year at university, an 18-20-year-old sister who works, a married brother with two children and a sister with child

who settled in Van after getting married. 6 children in the family including Murat go to school.

His mother is a housewife. His father does not have a regular job with a regular income. He works at construction sites on a daily basis whenever he can find a job. The family has no social security. There are three more family members who bring money home: The sister and brother work at a ready wear clothing store. One brother works with his uncle at a hairdresser on a part-time basis. The house is their own property. They receive food ration from their hometown from time to time. In general, Murat does not voice a negative perception of their financial status but he mentioned that the family often needs financial support and that especially their father had to borrow money from relatives when the mother had to have a surgical operation due to cancer.

Murat was quite talkative during the interview. Nevertheless he tended to focus only on the positive aspects of their family relations, financial situation and his self. He tried not to emphasize the negative aspects when he talked about the challenging moments in his life as well as the things that made him unhappy. The main concern about himself emerged throughout the interview was being left under the influence of the bad habits of his friends. In addition, although he only underlined the positives about his family, he mentioned his fears with regard to his sister's well-being, worrying about his sister was happy or not after getting married and settling in Van.

His mother is the one he feels the closest to in the family. She is the one he runs to for help when things get problematic at school or with his friends. There is no spontaneous mention of the father throughout the interview. It is as if the father is not

at home or in Murat's life at all. He just says that the siblings get along well with the father since the father gives them money when they ask for it.

His expectations and dreams about the future point to a determined self. He wants to study at the university and get a good job. In spite of the father's general absence in Murat's life, the father seems to depict himself in Murat's future dreams. He wants to be a civil engineer. This may be an influence of the father who works at the construction sites and shares his experiences at home.

At the same time, Murat appraises the possibility of not being able to go to the university and even then he wants to have a good job. He also dreams about taking care of his family in the future. He dreams of a future where there will be man-like robots who serve better than humans, who treat people better, who will do whatever is necessary without the influence of their negative emotions. Considering his general focus on the positive and his effort to keep a distance from his worries, his dream also presents his need to release the "bad" inside him and think only about the positive instead.

One of the most significant themes in Murat's interview is his mother's cancer. It does not come up spontaneously though. This is revealed when we talk about whether the family receives any financial support or not, and he then talks about the financial support coming from the relatives. The feeling of avoiding the negatives is dominant again. His generally adult language, his effort to make people happy, and his mother's illness make it all clearer why he is so obedient in his relationships. His relational and obedient attitude helps him cope with the fear of losing his mother.

It turned out that in his self-description there was much emphasis on relational self. He extremely described himself in terms of having good relations with

his family, friends, teachers and neighbors. In his words, he is a boy who loves his family, friends and playing; who has good relations with his teacher, friends, neighbors and family members.

The adjectives he chose were dreamer, smart, talented, cheerful, “get on well with my mother”, and “have many friends”. He also chose well-mannered, helpful, obedient, and reliable, which was consistent Murat’s anxiety about losing his relationships and thus his efforts to make people happy.

Aydın

Also born in Şanlıurfa, Aydın is another 11-year-old attending third grade. His family migrated from Şanlıurfa to Istanbul in 1999, when Aydın was 3. Right now his grandmother, grandfather and one uncle still live in their village in Şanlıurfa. He cannot recall the migration process except for some snapshots of the journey, however, he heard the adults talking about conflicts between PKK and the army in the village as the reason underlying their decision to move to Istanbul.

Aydın lives with his mother, his father and his 6 siblings. He has 3 brothers (24-, 21-, and 14-years-old), and 3 sisters (19, 15 and 12). Four of the children including Aydın attend school.

His mother is a housewife and his father has been working at a coffee house for the last 4 months. He used to be a self-employed before that but Aydın cannot explain in detail what kind of work he did. His sister who works at a readywear store and his brother who works at a restaurant are the ones who bring money home. In general he does not have a negative perception about their financial status.

A principal theme emerging in Aydın’s story is his high level of anxiety about losing the relationships in his life. He experiences conflicts in that regard: On one

hand he acts too obedient worried about losing his relationships, and on the other he imagines himself doing “bad stuff”. He seems to have a conflict of emotions between being a good child and a bad child.

What makes Aydın happy is having smooth relationships in every aspect of his life. He wants to be liked and appreciated by everyone. He is anxious about losing the relationships in his life. This anxiety determines his behaviors in times of conflict in his relationships. It sounds like in his relationship with his friends; it is always his friends who ask for things. In addition to sharing interests, his friendships are mostly based on threat and coercion. He has assumed the responsibility of doing all the homework of one of his friends, for example. He is worried that his friend may not talk to him again unless he does this for him. He also talks about one friendship relationship that is based on reciprocity and sharing of secrets. Money is another important theme that is related to interest-seeking. He describes his closest brother in the family from the perspective of involved interests; as someone “who gives me money”. And he lends money to his friends to be able to continue his relationship with them..

Though he feels a profound fear about losing his relationships, he has positive and mutual relationships too. For one thing, he has a very positive perception of his mother. He perceives his mother as someone who relieves and supports him. However, he does not spontaneously speak of his father throughout the interview. The father seems almost non-existent.

Aydın is academically successful. He has the positive appraisal of his teacher at school. Nevertheless, his perception of education is also built on obedience and maintaining relationships. His family supports his academic pursuit. They do not

want him to work. However they threaten to withdraw him from school in case he fails.

He dreams about becoming a footballer in the future and has ambivalent feelings for his parents due to this issue. His parents do not want him to become a footballer and they try to hinder any emerging opportunities. That is why he feels some moral conflict vis-a-vis his parents. Although he obeys them and keeps quiet, he also bursts with anger inside and wants to confront them. Wanting to become a footballer has both a relational and personal meaning. In the relational sense, it will help him gain financial power to support his family in hard times and at the personal level it will make him feel good about himself as a boy who is useful and liked by the older boys.

Another issue is his conflicting feelings about the neighborhood. Though he shares some negative incidents, he narrates them from a neutral stance. He states that theirs is the best and cleanest neighborhood, but then he admits that he is scared of the thieves and the drug sellers around. He feels defenseless about what is going on in the neighborhood.

It turned out from his self-description that Aydın had high anxiety about losing his relationships in every domain of his life in line with his overall narrative. In his words, Aydın is a boy who respects his family, respects his mother, does not swear to his friends, does not hurt friends, gets on well with his friends, respects friends and adults, and obeys whatever his teachers say.

The adjectives he chose were: dreamer, smart, beautiful, strong, happy, reliable, helpful, well-mannered, “get on well with my siblings”, “get on well with my family”, and obedient.

Samet

12-year-old Samet attends sixth grade. His family is from Şanlıurfa. He was born in Şanlıurfa himself. At the age of 6, he had to undergo hernia surgery and they came to Istanbul since the operation was not possible in Şanlıurfa. At this time her mother was already in Istanbul for labor of her second child. After the surgery, the family decided to settle in Istanbul. After his grandfather's demise, the rest of the family migrated to Istanbul. He has been to their village only once after they moved to Istanbul. He wants to go there since he has a very positive perception of the village. Throughout the interview he talked about the nice memories in the village and his grandmother's house there. When he compares life in Istanbul to that in the village, he likes the latter much more with regard to their house, the friendships and the relations with neighbors.

Samet lives with his mother, father and siblings. He has three siblings: A 10-year-old sister and two brothers, 8- and 5-years-old respectively. Three of the children including Samet go to school. His mother is illiterate. She is a housewife. His father is an elementary school graduate who works at construction sites. He has been working at a construction site in Cyprus for the last one year. He cannot come to home very often. There is no other family member who works. The father sends them money, but they also get financial support from their uncle. Samet thinks his family is financially well off and asserts that they do not need anything. Except for times he could not afford to participate in some school trips, he does not have a negative perception about their financial status.

He has established a positive relationship with me as of the first time we got together for the interview. He had eye contact with me throughout the interview and talked fluently with a loud voice.

Samet mentioned good relations with the family. There are male adults in the family that he can turn to for support when his father is away. His longing for the father is apparent. As opposed to most of the other interviews, his father emerged spontaneously in the interview. He can turn to his father when he needs support and advice. Samet generally mentioned positive things about his family. Even if he touches upon the quarrels among the adults in the family, he does not exactly know the underlying reasons for it. He seems to have isolated himself from such incidents as if he is not the one to have witnessed all these.

Samet has positive friendship relations. It becomes evident in his story how big a role his friends play in his life. When he defined himself in the beginning of the interview, he first talked about his favorite friends and mentioned their names one by one. He has friends from the neighborhood and the school with whom he has a mutually supportive relationship.

Two main issues emerge in Samet's story: The first is the death of his grandfather in a traffic accident. His family hid this from Samet and the feelings of ambiguity he experienced during the time seem to have left a deep trace in his life. He frequently shared with me his memories with his grandfather during the interview. He is proud of him since he was a war veteran; in fact, he idealizes him. At the beginning of the interview he had also mentioned how much he likes his 8-year-old brother who bears the same name with his grandfather. Consequently, his love and longing for the grandfather is revealed in his relationship with his younger brother.

Another dominant issue is the selling of drugs, the fights and the frequent raids of the police in the neighborhood all of which he witnesses in person. He is aware of all the wrongdoings in the neighborhood and shares his discomfort about it,

but he does not reflect his feelings too much during his talk. It feels as if he is talking about events someone else has seen or witnessed.

He has a realistic self-evaluation in the academic sense. He is not very successful at school and he admits he has to work harder. School is a fine and safe place where he can get support from teachers and build positive friendships. His parents encourage him to continue school. He wants to be either a policeman or a footballer in the future. He wants to attend university and have a career but he has conflicting feelings about it. Although he really wants to graduate from the university one day and believes he will do so, he also thinks only a miracle could make his dream come true.

In his spontaneous self-description, there were only relational expressions. In his words, Samet is a boy who loves his friends very much, is jealous of a girlfriend, and does not like to be cheated on. He also mentioned the names of many friends in his self-description.

The adjectives he chose were cheerful, talented, helpful, beautiful, healthy, smart, curious, obedient, lovable, and “get on well with my mother”.

Metin

12-year-old Metin attends sixth grade. He and his family are from Şanlıurfa. They migrated to Istanbul when Metin was 4. The whole family now lives in a 3-floor apartment that belongs to their grandmother. Metin lives with his mother, father and siblings in one room at the top floor where his uncle lives in the other room with his family at the same floor. The grandmother, aunts, one uncle and one aunt occupy the other floors in the building.

He has two siblings: A 4,5-year-old brother and a 10-year-old sister who also goes to school. The mother is a housewife. She is illiterate. The father never went to school but can read and write a little. He usually works at construction sites, but he has been working at a mannequin manufacturer for the last 2 months. Metin has been working as the errand boy at a hairdresser for the last one year since his pocket money is not enough for his expenses at school. It was him who wanted to work, but now his mother wants him to work on his off days as well. It means a lot to Metin that he works and earns his own money. He can buy the things he wants and feels somewhat better about himself in his relationship with his uncle at home. At the same time, it is important to work to be able to meet the expenses at school. Working seems to be the only area in his life that makes him feel useful and helps him achieve things that make him proud in the end. He deems himself a normal student in the academic sense. He has a realistic perception about his weaknesses.

He seemed to be very shy when he came over for the interview. His speech was somewhat fluent but he spoke with a very low voice and avoided eye contact as he talked with me. When discussing the problems in the household, his voice got even lower and lacked any intonation, stress or emotion. He had a lot of difficulty reading what he wrote inside the voice bubbles.

The main theme in his story was the physical and psychological violence by his uncles at home. This is parallel to his response about what makes him unhappy in his life, that is “people who persistently keep fighting”. He has an uncle that lives far away whom he perceives as a supportive figure. Metin can turn to him when he is fed up with all the violence by his uncles at home. His supportive uncle talks to the other uncles and tells them to stop beating Metin, however that is not enough to stop them when he is not physically there. Nevertheless it is important that Metin perceives him

as a source of support because his parents cannot regularly provide such support regarding the problems at home. Furthermore he is worried about sharing the violent incidents with his father because he is afraid that a fight may break out between his father and uncles. An additional observation is that he talked about his parents at a very superficial level throughout the interview.

In parallel with these, his social relations are generally in the form of fights and beating. He describes good friendship relations as one where the parties protect each other from violence. The only positive social relationship in his life is a couple of good friends.

His need for appreciation by others emerges as another significant issue for Metin who has almost no resources of social or emotional support. His only future dream and expectation is becoming a footballer. When asked to elaborate on it, it becomes clear that this dream is linked to his need of being liked and appreciated by everyone.

When Metin was asked to describe himself as a person, his accounts were in line with his overall narrative. In his words, Metin is nervous, edgy, fighter, belligerent, and protector of his sibling. He seemed to be well aware of quarrelsome side of his self even though he constantly indicated that he hated fights throughout the interview.

The adjectives he chose were also consistent with his spontaneous self-description: edgy, hot tempered, and stubborn. He also chose “have many friends”, “get on well with my father”, and “get on well with my mother”.

Bariş

Born in Istanbul, 11-year-old Bariş attends fourth grade. His family moved to Istanbul from Van before Bariş was born.

He lives in a dilapidated two-room apartment on rent with his mother, father and siblings. The house is in very poor physical conditions: The walls are swollen due to humidity, the windows let in air and the ceiling leaks. The room where we held the interview is a living room that they turn into a bedroom at night. It is decorated with just one sofa and a broken cupboard in which the children put their school books. The floor is covered with linoleum except for a carpeted small segment.

Bariş has 7 siblings. 7-month-, 7-year-, 10-year-, 15-year- and 18-year-old sisters, and 13-year- and 17-year-old brothers. Five siblings including Barış attend school. The 18-year-old sister studied until the seventh grade and the 17-year-old brother studies until the second grade at school.

The mother is a housewife and is illiterate. The father is an elementary school graduate who has had irregular jobs here and there. He was selling fish a while ago and now he cleans up offices to make money. The oldest brother works at a readywear store and the oldest sister does the cleaning of a bank to bring home some money. The family is on the green card scheme. The mother has applied to official institutions a couple of times for financial aid but there was no outcome. Barış has lost faith in institutional aid having seen that even some better-off families in the neighborhood have been receiving it. It is clear that he feels that as a family they are marginalized and excluded. Thanks to his mother's efforts, they now have a yellow card that helps them get aid for free clothes every couple of months.

Bariş had a very realistic assessment of his family's financial status. He was clear that their situation got better after his father took a regular cleaning job and his brother and sister started to work. One of the brothers was working next to an ironsmith in summer but had a traffic accident after which Barış started to work

without consulting or notifying his family. He had a very realistic and adult-like attitude talking about the whole process. Similarly, he chose to work at a clothing store last summer as well. He repeated a couple of times that he would like to work every summer in the future too.

Bariş was very enthusiastic about the interview when I visited their home for the first time and he also helped me recruit some of his friends for the study. He was quite cooperative and talkative during the interview. He was able to express himself fluently; however he avoided expressing anything negative or chose to give a factual account of events. He did not seem to be in touch with his own feelings. For example, although he had a very clear perception and realistic expressions regarding their financial status, the negative perceptions and what made him unhappy in his current life could only be deducted from the subtexts of the interview between the lines.

The most important theme that emerged in Bariş's interview was his positive and supportive relations with his family. It is especially important that he can get academic support from his sisters and brothers. The mother has a very supportive role in his life, whereas the father emerges as a less responsible and less reliable figure. It seems as if he has some unspoken anger or blaming of the father inside. He gives his income in summer to his mother thinking that the father would spend it for his personal wishes rather than for the family; he seems to have excluded his father from this life aside from the financial matters. Trust and support are synonymous with the mother.

Despite his positive and mutually supportive relationship with his family and his social attitude throughout the interview, another theme that emerged was the lack of social relations in other realms of his life. Although he mentioned a couple of

friends, his relationship with his siblings was clearer and more dominant in his life. He underlined the point that the chaos and fights breaking up in the neighborhood was among things that made him unhappy, and in parallel with that he prefers to spend time at his siblings at home rather than going out.

He perceives himself to be successful in the academic sense and mentions that his grades are fine in general. However he also has conflicting feelings there. He asserts that had he not worked in summer he would have extra time to study for his classes. As far as his future plans go, he only wants to be a footballer. He has no other dreams beyond that one. Considering his explanation that footballers earn a lot of money, this dream is in line with his desire to help his family financially.

While describing himself as a person, firstly Barış mentioned several material possessions such as a bicycle he feels deprived of and wants to own. Then, he described himself via characteristic features. In his words, Barış is a good and responsible boy, who does not quarrel with his sisters and friends, and shares everything he has with his friends, suggesting his emphasis on the relational self.

The adjectives he chose were smart, brave, quiet, hardworking, dreamer, lucky and healthy. He also chose obedient, “get on well with my family”, “get on well with my siblings”, “get on well with my father”, and “get on well with my mother”, which was consistent with his positive and mutually supportive relationship with his family and with the dominance of familial relationships over friendships in his life.

The Participants with Middle Socioeconomic (SES) Status

Gülden

Born in Istanbul, the 11-year-old Gülden attends fifth grade in primary school. She lives with her parents, and 8-year-old brother, who attends third grade. Her mother is a housewife. Her father is self-employed and runs a café.

Throughout the interview, Gülden was very talkative and built a good relationship with me in general. She seems to be socially skillful and to build good relations with others. At the same time, behaving well, not offending any one and being loved by every body seemed to be important to her.

She seems very fond of and attached to her family. She defined her relations with parents as supportive and caring. Yet, she also mentioned disputes with her little brother several times throughout the interview. She was much closer to her father as compared to her mother. She seemed to have ambivalent feelings towards her mother in the sense that the mother was authoritarian and was moody most of the time. The father, on the other hand, was not a distant, frightening person. She could share her problems with him and turn to him when she had difficulties with her brother. However, though she described her mother as moody, she seemed not to express her feelings about her mother's unexpected behaviors towards her. In contrast, Gülden tended not to perceive this as a struggle or problem.

In addition to her nuclear family, Gülden had healthy and supportive relations with extended family members and friends. She described her relations with friends as depending on reciprocal help, guidance and care.

She has dreams and a positive perception of the future. She wants to study one of the most prestigious universities of Turkey and become an architect.

The adjectives she chose had less emphasis on relational self. She chose tall, charming, smart, brave, proud, stubborn, cheerful, hardworking, “have many friends”, “get on well with my family”, compliant, and reliable.

İrem

Born in Istanbul, the 12-year-old İrem attends sixth grade. She lives with her parents, and 15-year-old sister, who attends eighth grade. Her mother is a housewife. Her father is self-employed and engaged in electricity repairing.

Throughout the interview, İrem was very talkative and built a good relationship with me in general.

Her family seemed to be sources of practical and emotional supports whenever she needs it. Her relation with her father involved spending time together and engaging in leisure activities. She also had good relationships with extended family members. For instance, she mentioned spending time together with her aunt every weekend. These days the main concern of the family was the 15-year-old sister’s high school entrance examination.

She was very active and outgoing in and outside the school. She voluntarily pioneered the publication of the school newspaper. She participated in weekend courses such as science and theatre. She also had several best friends, with whom she defined very supportive relationships.

Education was extremely important for her and a major area of concern in her life. The underlying concern of the distressing areas in her life, which she put in the voice bubble, seemed to be related to academic success. She was afraid of failing at school a lot.

She had a positive perception of the future. She wanted to become a doctor or a teacher.

The adjectives she chose were tall, charming, cheerful, curious, hardworking, stubborn, outgoing, “get on well with my mother”, “have many friends”, and “I frequently get ill”.

Kerem

Born in Istanbul, the 11-year-old Kerem attends fifth grade. He lives with her parents, and 4-year-old brother. His mother is a housewife. His father is self-employed and owned a printing house. His mother occasionally helps his husband at the printing house.

Though Kerem generally defined positive relations with his parents, he seemed to be emotionally distant to his parents. He did not share his problems with his parents.

He mentioned having two best friends. He also indicated that he had two cousins with whom he spent considerable amount of time. However, as compared the other middle-income children Kerem’s social relations in general mainly depended on protection and guidance.

The most distinctive part of Kerem’s story was his relation with his dog, which was sent to the summer house by the parents due to difficulties in keeping it. Kerem defined his relations with the dog as “like a friend of mine”. Therefore, the main distressing issue for him was his separation from the dog. It was interesting that even though he did not share his problems with his parents, friends and cousins, he indicated that he shared everything with his dog.

The adjectives he chose were healthy, smart, proud, happy, hardworking, obedient, well-mannered, “get on well with my family”, and “get on well with my sibling”.

Alper

Born in Istanbul, the 11-year-old Alper attends sixth grade. He lives with her parents, and 5-year-old brother. His mother is a housewife. Her father is self-employed.

He seemed to have smooth relations with his family. The only facet where he might have felt distressed was his younger brother. That is, one of the dominant themes in Alper's narrative was sibling rivalry. He seemed to be jealous of his younger brother in terms of the things their parents bought for him. This could be why he tended to maintain a distance to his parents in sharing his problems.

His grandfather, to whom Alper could turn in times of need, seemed to play significantly supportive role in Alper's life.

Another dominant issue was the wrongdoings and peers with bad habits in the neighborhood all of which he witnesses in person. He was aware of all the wrongdoings in the neighborhood and shared his discomfort about it throughout the interview. He seemed to be distressed about it for two reasons. One was that his mother forbade him to spent time in the neighborhood. The other was that his friends teased him about acting cowardly.

School and education was important for him in terms of accessibility to supportive friendships and teachers.

He had a positive perception of the future. He wanted to become a doctor or a teacher.

The adjectives he chose were strong, brave, fearless, dreamer, lively, edgy, debonair, "have few friends", and "get on well with my mother". His choices implied attributions of fearlessness and power to his self, which reflected his distress of being teased by his friends about acting cowardly due to the events in the neighborhood.

Research Questions

In this part, the emerging themes from the interviews are given. These themes were organized according to the research questions mentioned in the first chapter: 1) How do the children growing up in chronic poverty define and explain the problem areas in their life? 2) How do the children growing up in chronic poverty define and explain areas that make them happy in their life? 3) What kinds of coping mechanisms do they use? 4) Are these mechanisms useful?

As was discussed in the methods section, in order to understand the children's own perceptions of their daily experiences, the children were given a large sheet that included the silhouette of a child's body with two "voice bubbles" on each side of the child's head to be filled out in response to the first and second research questions. After the first and second research questions and the third and fourth research questions had been given, a comparison among the children of low- and middle socioeconomic status was discussed in order to be confident that the discourse of material explored in the interviews was indeed mainly specific to these children's circumstances.

The data was analyzed using Grounded theory concepts and methodology. While formulating the themes for all research questions, gender was taken as the main line of differentiation. Whenever there seemed to emerge a difference among genders across all themes and their subcategories, the difference was highlighted.

Research Question 1: How do the children growing up in chronic poverty define and explain the problem areas in their lives?

For the first research question, the children were asked to fill inside one of the "voice bubbles" with any problem areas in their lives that they believed to bother or

upset them the most. From the children's answers, it came out that while aspects of family relationships, friendships, schools and neighborhoods helped to diminish the impact of disadvantage on children's well-being, children's accounts demonstrated that such resources are not always experienced as supportive and protective.

Therefore, there were 5 main headings (Family, Friendship, School, Neighborhood and Financial Situation), each with subcategories that emerged as the problem areas at the end of the analyses.

The emergent themes under each heading were the most common types of challenges though were not mentioned in as similar manner. That is, even though some of the children did not mention some issues spontaneously in the voice bubbles as the problems in their lives, several other distressing areas other than those filled in the voice bubbles did emerge as distressing within the process of the interviews. Therefore, the emergent themes in this section included both from these "voice bubbles" and from the interview process.

The most repeated themes that emerged from the "voice bubbles" were problems associated with friendship, possibility of discontinuing education, and lack of security in Tarlabası (Appendix E). Additionally, though mainly stressed by the three children in the study, within these three children's interviews extended familial difficulties (physical and emotional abuse, humiliation and exclusion) emerged as the most dominant and repeated themes.

The most repeated themes that did not emerge from the "voice bubble" but emerged within the interview process: Limitation of Available Goods (limited access to computer and Internet, and Inadequate Pocket Money), the Physical and/or Psychological Absence of the father, chronic illness within the family, substitute

motherhood (*“ikame annelik”*), and excluding support (*“dışlayıcı yardım”*)(see Appendix F).

Financial Issues:

The context in which the children in this study lived was more or less the same. However, listening to the accounts of children on their everyday experiences has revealed how subjective experience of poverty can pervade children's experiences in varied domains of their lives, in terms of not only the material needs but also the more social, emotional and academical requirements. Therefore before going directly into the children's reflections on the problems and unhappiness in their lives, it is essential to provide the financial context the children lived along with their perceptions and subjective experiences of this context in order to better understand how the experience of poverty is meaningful in different domains of their lives.

1. The context in which the children were growing up

The households of the children in the study were extremely poor and insecure. Breadwinners of the families were the fathers and elder children of the families. Mothers were not working outside their homes.

a. Job of the head of the Household

A common feature for the children's household was the informal and insecure nature of working lives of children's fathers. In practice, such work encompassed a diverse set of activities such as construction, service in a coffee shop, cleaning, junk dealer and street peddling, which do not cover any medical insurance. Working at construction sites was the common labor activity for low-income fathers. Among the three fathers who were engaged in street peddling, the two could only work occasionally with long period of breaks.

Almost all the families in the study were green card holders. Only one of the boy's father, who was working at a mannequin manufacturer, was registered to SSK.

Five children reported that their elder brothers and/or sisters were also working in varied informal jobs in order to contribute to their family income.

b. Children's perception about their families' financial status

Children were asked to reflect on their families' financial situation and to explore whether they felt any differences as compared to their peers. This was a very difficult area for children to explore. Therefore, great sensitivity was ensured in order to make children feel free to describe their own feelings and the meanings they give to their and their families' everyday experiences of the financial circumstances.

When it was observed that the children had difficulty in exploring, or that the children themselves might not been willing to acknowledge their families' financial status, the children were gently allowed to pass on to the other subjects. Explored feelings and thoughts on their financial status, later, were revealed upon the children's return to these areas under the guise of other issues.

Five of the children said that their families' financial status was bad. It was mainly the girls who reported that their family had less money and the financial situation was bad. In fact, these children belonged to the families with least familial or institutional support. These children also were the ones who explicitly defined some issues associated with the financial status of their problems as the problem areas in their life in their voice bubbles.

If our living conditions were good, then I'd have both my own room and my computer. As we have middle income, I don't want to leave school. I want to go on studying and become a powerful woman.
(Line 5) (Demet)

I think it is bad...for example, we have some friends and they are both getting help from Deniz Feneri and at the same time their fathers are working. (Line 351) (Aysun)

My dad's not working. Sometimes, my brother works at the hair dresser, and we are getting on with the money he brings. (Line 322) (Aysun)

It's bad...nothing...my mum earns her money on her own. At the moment my dad's not working. Because of freelance...he doesn't have a job, if he had he'd work then. Sometimes he has a temporary job, he works and he comes late. He's taking the fruit and bringing the things. We are getting on with whatever he has. (Line 361-366) (Semra)

My dad's working, he doesn't bring any money. Everyday he works but there's no money. Sometimes he works overtime and they give something like 5 millions. My dad's saving his money, I can't understand what sort of a job it is. (Line 84-85) (Sinem)

Sometimes I think it is good. Sometimes it's good and sometimes I think it's bad. When they bring coal or when they give shoes or trousers from school, it's good then. (Line 500) (Metin)

Five of the children, on the other hand, said that their families' financial status was normal or good. It is important to mention that these children's families could get support from their extended families or institutions.

We are getting on alright, some of my friends don't, we're helping them, for example, R., his father's working at a supermarket. They are not getting on well. But as his dad's working at the supermarket now they are doing alright. (Line 495-497) (Samet)

Well...it used to be bad, that's why my mum found a job for my brother, my brother wouldn't go there but we forced him to go and he worked. Now it's good, it used to be bad anyway... (Line 303) (Barış)

I don't know (thinking) good...good (laughed) Good...I see that the teacher is always helping people in class... I want to help them,too. There is this boy, nobody helps him except from our teacher, the teacher gives him shoes. I want to help them, too when I grow up. (Line 346-349) (Aydın)

Well, we don't have any money problem. When we have problem with money we borrow money that we need from someone and then we give it back. When they want money from us we give them money. That's why we are getting along well. (Line 294-299) (Murat)

Well... My mum does it all. Two of my brothers are painting shoes.. For example they bring help from the council. That's fine... (Line 215-220) (Deniz)

However, although these children responded that having less money made no difference in their lives and their financial status was good, their perceptions were frequently not borne out by their accounts which, in many instances, clearly demonstrated the impact of having a low income or an irregular income. For instance, while Barış was introducing himself he mainly mentioned the things he wished to have actually and the things he wanted to change in terms of the working status of his father. Similarly, Deniz indicated that her family had less money.

I want something like that, a bike.. and also I wish my dad was working, I wish my sister was working and I would like to work, too and I wish my little brother have baby food, I wish he had a feeding bottle I want something like that I wish they helped us and I wish they bought me a bike I dream of a bike. (Line 2) (Barış)

Well...the money my dad brings is too little.. we can't get on with that little money, they don't give much money to my dad, only 25-30, we are 8 people so you can guess our economic condition. (Line 265) (Deniz)

c. Problems associated with material needs

Children's negative perceptions of their families' financial status were also evident in their accounts about the scarcity of several material things. That is, no one put this issue in their voice bubble. Not being able to access several material possessions, which are directly associated with financial constraints, was the least explicitly stated but yet frequently felt as a distressing area throughout the interviews. Only one girl explicitly named restricted or no access to several material resources as the things that make her. From the narratives of the other children the same theme of limited material possessions was revealed as causing them distress. The themes were as follows: Limitation of available goods, deprivation compared to

peers, inadequate access to pocket money, inadequate housing conditions, social immobility and child labour.

1. Limitation of Available Goods

One of the girls explicitly indicated that the absence of computer and Internet access at home made her unhappy and interferes with her school life. Her distress was also associated with the fact that she had to pay for Internet access so that she could catch up with her peers in research type of homework.

I would love to have my own room. I wished to have a computer. If our living conditions were good, then I would have my own room and computer. (Line 5) (Demet)

We have to get the [homework research] from internet, encyclopedia, library by paying money. (Line 331) (Demet)

The absence of computer and internet access at home was also the most common concern of most of the children even though they did not explicitly indicated it in their accounts. The inaccessibility of computer due to economic reasons distresses these children in terms of hindering their homework, which require desk research. Children reported that they have to go to Internet cafes for research. However, since it is expensive for them, they cannot do adequate research as compared to more affluent peers.

It was obvious that deprivation feelings due to limited or no access to computer and internet at home was gendered. The girls indicated suffering from this much more than the boys. It could stem from the fact that girls were spending much more time at home and some of the girls' fathers forbade them to go to internet cafes.

My father yells at me if I go to an internet cafe.. Many boys there... (Line 212) (Aysun)

For example when I couldn't do my research I feel sorry, now the teacher will say why didn't you do your homework.. and of course I can't say I can't go to internet so I couldn't do it.. the teacher wants to see the homework for sure...want me to do it...I don't know now I

can't think of...now if I say I can't go then my friends will tell me how can we go... (Line 206-208) (Aysun)

When I can't do something or when I get bored, my dad helps me. For example, I don't have a computer. I'm telling him and he said I'll bring you one when I come back. (Line 382-384) (Samet)

Ç. has a computer, I go to them but I don't have any chance. Their computers are always turned on since morning but when I go it's turned off, so I don't have any chance. (Line 76) (Sinem)

Besides, especially from Aysun's accounts it was revealed that the reason why she could not go to an internet café for research was related to her responsibilities of caregiving to her younger siblings and of household chores.

We sometimes go to the library, I sometimes can't go because of my siblings... well.. I can't go, then I can't do my research. (Line 202) (Aysun)

2. Deprivation when compared the Self with Peers

Another area where children felt unhappy about their material deprivation revolved around comparing themselves with their peers who had the things the children in the study actually wanted to or dreamt to have. The inaccessibility or limited access to internet and computer also depicted itself in this theme.

Aysun, for whom lack of access to internet and computer was very distressing, also seemed to feel deprived when she compared herself with friends who owned a computer at home.

A friend of mine had bought a computer. I asked her the price, she said 1 billion.. I then told my mother, my mother said that we cannot afford it since our financial situation is no good. (Line 202) (Aysun)

For example, Ç. has a computer, D. has a computer, whichever friend of mine I see or whomever I meet, they all have computers. (Line 367-369) (Aysun)

Barış, on the other hand, spontaneously named “not to own a bicycle” during not only talking about the things that make him unhappy in his life but when he was describing himself as a person in the beginning of the interview. For him, the fact

that he did not own a bicycle like his friends did was a crucial source of feelings of unhappiness and deprivation.

I would like something like that, you know I would like them to help us and to buy us a bike, bike is my dream. (...) What makes me unhappy is that I've never had a bike. (Line 8) (Barış)

[Me and my friend share] My food for example, bike, well he's got a bike, he lets me ride. (Line 49) (Barış)

Rather than naming a possession they wanted to have, Aysun and Deniz also indicated a general unhappiness if they could not afford the same thing their friends bought in front of them.

When my dad was not working, for example, fathers of some of my friends give them 5-10 million, they buy something for themselves when we are at the Quran course and eat in front of us, they buy ice-cream let's say. Then we say go out, we come here to learn Quran, not to spend money, or not to count down the money our fathers give us. (Line 340) (Aysun)

For example, if a friend of mine buys something I'd love to buy it, too, but since our economic condition is not good perhaps I can't buy. (Line 32) (Deniz)

3. Inadequate Pocket Money

When asked whether they received any pocket money and if they did on what they spent their pocket money, seven of the children said that they received pocket money from their parents. There was no difference between genders.

Pocket money was mostly used for food at school. Some used pocket money to make homework research in internet cafes.

1 million (I'm receiving). Sometimes I'm not eating, sometimes only chips and bread and sometimes hamburgers. It's enough, sometimes it's even more than enough. (Line 252-261) (Deniz)

Yes, I'm receiving 2-3 millions. Sometimes I buy rolls. Sometimes I'm taking home, if I have to make a research, I do it, (sometimes I'm saving some for the trips) (Line 343-346) (Samet)

For five of these children it was evident that the amount of pocket money they were receiving were inadequate and prevented them from accessing what they wanted to buy especially at school. However, these children did not mention the role of pocket money in their lives up until it was asked directly.

I'm receiving 1 million. It's not enough. I can't do anything...It affects a lot, for example I'm only buying toasts with cheese, but my friend is buying toasts, fruit juice or yoghurt drink, and she's offering me some. I can't buy the things I want from the canteen. (Line 377-386) (Semra)

Well, sometimes in the mornings, since my father doesn't go to work and sleeps, when I go to school about 12, I'm receiving 1 ytl for pocket money. The school is up to 5 pm, and sometimes I can't receive any. Sometimes I give it to my little brother, he wants from me though... But then I end up with hunger, so I sometimes take lunch from home with me. (Line 109) (Aysun)

One girl, Semra, indicated that her money went down when his father was particularly short of cash. Semra was also the only child who was explicitly complaining about the inadequateness of the pocket money she received. From her account, it was evident that she found an alternative way to gain access to more money and to make her wishes come true. That is, once she had stolen money from her aunt's purse. While throughout the whole interview Semra spoke with a very low voice, it was almost impossible to hear her when she was talking about this event. This event came spontaneously at the time she was talking about the mutual instrumental support among her and her schoolmates. While she was describing how she and her friends shared all the money they had in hand and how they spent this money together, she suddenly skipped to stealing money from her aunt by saying: "Well, of course, I committed a crime once". Her distress and shame were evident.

Once I took some money from my aunt without her permission (lower voice tone) , I took 50 millions...from her purse. Then I only spent 25 millions of it with my friend at school...I bought toast and chips from the canteen (very low voice tone), of course I bought for my friend, too. Another friend of mine borrowed some from me. Then I gave the

rest to my mum. And then I put the rest myself and gave it back to my aunt. (Line 164-167) (Semra)

When I went to school, my teacher said you don't have that much money and I lied to her I said that's the money my mum receives, she asked how come does your mum give this money to you and I said she gave it to my in case my siblings take if from her. Then I came home. Then my aunt said I don't have my 50 millions in my purse. Then I had to tell the truth, I said I spent it. (Line 183-188) (Semra)

At the same time, 3 of these 7 children were receiving pocket money from the money that they already earned on their own from working. As would be discussed below, children seemed to seek work through the necessity of not having pocket money or not having adequate pocket money.

My dad is not here, he is in Cyprus. He can't give pocket money for school from there. I bring the tissue paper. I give the pocket money for school. That's it...(Line 32) (Demet)
[before I started working] I was receiving 2-3 millions. But it's not enough for me... (Line 400-407) (Metin)

I was giving the whole money I earned to my mum. My mum was giving 1 million. (Line 317-326) (Barış)

Overall, it is evident that children were very aware of their families' financial status and the impact of poverty on their lives. Though some children seemed to indicate that their financial status is not negative and they do not feel any impact of not receiving pocket money or of fathers' irregular jobs, their accounts throughout the interviews pointed just to the opposite. Children had given many instances from their lives with regard to their concerns about poverty.

As discussed above, even though some children tended to relate the poverty context they were growing up with several materialistic deprivations such as not owning the same possessions that their peers did, not having a private room at home, or not being able to buy adequate food and beverage at school canteen, they were also very mindful of the financial situation in their families and often sought to protect and help them. None of the children stated to ask their parents for these

expensive things. It seems that children understood and resigned their family's situation and the economic realities of their lives.

My brother's friends, sometimes they give 20 ytl. Then I go and buy some tomatoes and cucumber and give them all to my mum. (Line 263) (Aysun)

I don't know, for example, if I can't buy something, I don't feel sorry; I get happy when someone next to me buys something anyway. I'd tell them that it's beautiful. My mum buys everything, too but I don't want. (Line 209) (Deniz)

4. Spatial Immobility

From the children's accounts there was no evidence that they spent time together with their families or friends going somewhere else outside the home. Only while some boys indicated that they played football with their friends in the street, some girls were going to library with their friends to do some research for homework. Yet none of the children stated as a source of problem or unhappiness. Only in some of the children's accounts, it was evident that they were unhappy with not being able to afford some of the school trips, as would be discussed under the school-related issues below.

One of the children, Semra, on the other hand, seemed to be distressed by spatial immobility. Related to her distinct story of being raised by her grandmother, beside whom she could feel like a child, in the village up until she was 8 years old, today Semra was deeply unhappy about being away from the village she grew up. She was not able to visit her village for a long time and was aware of the fact that she and her family could not afford the travel expenses. Her unhappiness was also evident in her statements about future plans, including going back to her village, and studying there close to her aunts.

And since we don't have any money we can go (to the village) but my mum saves some to go, I'm really excited. (Line 24) (Semra)

[lessons] they were better there. There I was able to answer all the questions she asked but then I came here, there's neither any person to help with my studies nor anyone to...there's no one, anyway. (Line 311-314) (Semra)

5. Housing Conditions:

The unhappiness and concerns about the housing conditions emerged only from the girls' voice bubbles. It was evident that spending more time at home, and assuming more responsibilities in terms of household chores as compared to the boys, the girls seemed to be more involved with housing conditions and to be more constrained by the conditions of their houses.

a. Physical Constraints: Small Size of the House, and Deprivation of Goods and Furniture

While Demet felt unhappy about not having her own room at home, Aysun was distressed about the scarcity of household furniture and refrigerator. Both of the girls's accounts reflected their actual living conditions.

For instance, when asked about what Demet would like to change in her life, her response was in line with her statements about what things make her unhappy in life. She wanted to change her family's house.

I would love to have my own room. (Line 3) (Demet)

My room...I'd buy a bigger house. And our money problem, we'd get rid of it. Well we don't want anything more, thank God anyway...but my own room's furniture...(Line 415) (Demet)

For Demet, not owning a private space at home also made her feel vulnerable in relation to her school success. She hardly found an adequate place to study and to protect her school materials from her younger siblings.

When I do my homework, in the living room for example, my siblings tear them up. Then my teacher gets angry with me. I want to have my own room. If I had a room, I'd put my belongings wherever I wanted. My mum wouldn't get angry with me, she's say it's your room, do as you like. I do my homework in the living room, there on the table. So,

whenever I have homework I bring it with me and then I hide my bag...I'm trying to protect it. I'm hanging it somewhere high. (Line 327-330) (Demet)

For Aysun, especially not owning a refrigerator was meaningful and dominant in her accounts in the sense that it was associated with the feelings of exclusion and humiliation within the extended family.

They [uncles] bought a new fridge for them, but they didn't for us. My uncle bought for them, but he didn't for us and I felt really sad then. Then I'm thinking they are brothers, so why do they buy for them but not for us?... they bought themselves, my dad gave his money and they used it for their own fridge. It's been year since we moved here, maybe 2, but we've never used a fridge, we always put our things in the drawer. (Line 61-66) (Aysun)

b. Anxieties for Future Living

At the time of the the interviews were being realized, there was a gossip saying that the buildings in Tarlabaşı district would be torn down by the Istanbul metropolitan municipality. However, none but one of the children's accounts included this gossip as a source of unhappiness in their voice bubbles. Only Deniz, whose overall accounts indicated in-family communication about the financial situation or other problems were generally present, stated "to lose their home" as distressing and worrying.

If our house is demolished, I don't know where we can go, you know our economic condition is not good, I'd be really sad then. (Line 30) (Deniz)

There down the road there's a woman, they called them to talk about the neighbourhood. Then the men came inside our house and he said your house will be demolished because Tarlabaşı is too bad, bad places for the earthquake, then my mum said where are we going to go if it is demolished. Everybody speaks about this, yes everybody speaks, everyone here, our neighbours, they all say where are we going to go, we all got used to our houses and the people around here. Well, you know we were all born here, we grew up here, I guess it would be much better if we can stay here, it's better to stay here not to risk our lives. (...) Our house is demolished, well I don't know what to do. Thinking of this makes me really sad, I really don't want things to happen in that way...for example, if our house is demolished, I

feel like we'll be living on the street and if the government are to demolish our houses, that's alright but at least they should show a place for the people for sometime then they can demolish their houses and then they can rebuild and give our houses back, this would be much better. (Line 94-107) (Deniz)

The other children and their families in the study might have not heard the gossips or though their families were they might have not discussed the situation at home at all, as the children did not imply any in-family communication about their life situations in general.

6. Children's Labour Activities

In this insecure and poor context of the households, three out of ten children in the study had been observed to have some informal work experience. Two were currently in work and one had been working during summers. Among the ones who were currently working, a girl was selling tissue paper on the streets and a boy was working as the errand boy at a hairdresser. The other had worked in a textile factory and at a forge during summers. They worked a range of hours per day after school time, from a few hours a day on selling paper tissues to about 5 hours on textile work.

In children's accounts decision to start working seemed to depend on their own wish and control. It was as if their families did not have a role in their choices about working or not working. None of the children's accounts indicated a pressure by the families to start working. All the working children started working by means of their friends or relatives.

A friend of mine asked me, do you want to work...he lives just across our home, he failed the second grade and he was working. I asked my mum and she said you can work...she said do what you want. (Line 390-399) (Metin)

I made up my mind, I'll leave anytime I like. (Line 468) (Metin)

(....) I was going to work, I decided to do it on my own. My parents were looking for me then, I told them I'm at work, I'm working... I sent my brother and she asked where is Baris, and I said... then I came home at 8 and I said I'm working... and my mum said OK. Because my elder brother was working at the textile factory previously. He was carrying something on his back and then a car ran over his foot... and he left for a while and came back home... without any permission I went and worked on behalf of my brother. My mum didn't know then, I started working. I didn't tell her because I told her before that I looked for my brother and a car ran over his foot. (...) then I went and called my uncle's son and told him let's go and work and then we went, I told the guy over there, I came on behalf of my brother, that's it. (Line 273-288) (Barış)

I worked at a forge for about 3-4 months. Then the schools opened in September and I left that place, and I started to work at a textile factory. A friend of mine came, he's from our neighbourhood, there was a man there called M., my friend told me that they were looking for errand boy, then I and my friend, we went and worked there. (...) I thought ... yes I needed to work, too and I had to bring some money home. I was excited, I started working immediately. (Line 289-293) (Barış)

With my aunt's support. I'll sell paper tissues do you want to come, she asked, and I said yes, I want to come. (Line 102) (Demet)

I'm not planning to go today, no I won't. I'll stay at home for a while. (...) There is no force. When I say I don't go, that's alright. If I don't want, then I won't go. (Line 291) (Demet)

However, accounts of Demet and Metin also revealed that mothers' expectation on children to continue working seemed to evolve as the children engaged in work activities and brought money to the household that more or less helped mothers in dealing with poverty.

My mum didn't let me, she didn't send me. She was saying you can't go. Then when I started to bring home some money, she said well at least you can have some pocket money for school. My mum came, too and she sat there. The cops didn't catch me then. (Line 100) (Demet)

My mum's getting on my nerves. She asks why didn't you go to work? Why are you playing football?... she says you'll go to work tomorrow and I say OK. I don't know why but whenever she doesn't have any money, she says so. My dad doesn't say anything, he says do however you like. (Line 470-477) (Metin)

[for a year] sometimes I go. I go whenever I feel like. When I don't have any money I go or when my mum tells me so I go then. She (my mum) wants me to go when she doesn't have any money. (Line 414-425) (Metin)

a. Reasons for Working: Money for pocket money and school necessities, and Money to contribute to family

Even though the children explicitly indicated that they started working willingly without any pressure by their families, it was observed that the children's entrance to labor activities was determined by the fact that they felt responsible for dealing with the financial struggles their families going through. For working children, being able to access adequate pocket money and to contribute to the family's income were intertwined as the reasons for doing some form of paid work outside of the home.

For my pocket money for school. [it wasn't enough] for me to buy food. Meatball yoghurt drink, it wasn't enough for food. To buy doner, to buy toast in the canteen. (Line 400-409) (Metin)

[with the money left to me] I am playing on the internet, I am buying things, and that's it. And also when they want something at school. (Line 440) (Metin)

(I wanted) to help the family budget. (...) that's why I went and worked at the forge. (...) (Line 289) (Bariş)

Our economic condition is not very good, average. I was selling tissue papers. There was a reason for selling tissue papers, since our economic condition was not good. My dad is not here, he is abroad. (Line 12) (Demet)

I have really sold everyday. On some days when I got sick I was at home. Of course I wasn't able to stand up. So, when they want money at school for cleaning I am going for selling I earn the money and then I give. We are getting on like this. (Line 38) (Demet)

It can be suggested that working children felt themselves as grown-up members of the family, who assumed some of the responsibilities of the household, rather than a child. They seemed to put themselves out to the world created a more

mature way of interacting. For example, for Demet, working meant increased independence and created an adult-like identity in terms of not only making money but also protecting the younger children from working in the absence of the father at home.

My brother was selling tissue paper when I was going to the village. Then I went next to him and let him go, you know to make him relax and go around a bit. I'm not bringing them anymore. He cried and said I will come, I said come and see it yourself. I brought him then, he got so happy and he wanted every day then. Then I started not bringing him. Now I'm selling by myself, if I let him alone then something may happen to him. I had a fear like... you know someone may come and take him away while I'm selling tissue papers. (Line 270-280) (Demet)

I don't go out very often. I like it but not too much. (...) I help my mum with the housework, I help my brother. I change my brothers' clothes. I was playing games when I was little but I am not playing anymore, it seems childish to me. I am a child but hide and seek, run after, they are all far too behind. (Line 459-466) (Demet)

Similarly, accounts of Barış, which did not indicate any expectations from her parents for him to work, revealed that Barış was very mindful and sensitive to his family's need for multiple sources of income, as was validated by his decision to take his brother's job over in order not to lose the money coming from there. In a parallel way, his short-term future plans included going on to work with the permission of his mother.

No no, they [my parents] don't tell me anything like that... not like go and work. When I finish the school... the grade... and pass to fifth grade, then I'll ask for my mom's permission to work, and then I'll work. (Line 331-336) (Barış)

From the working children's accounts about to whom they gave the money they earned, the children's closeness to the mothers as compared to the fathers was revealed. All of the working children reported giving their weekly wage to their mothers. One boy gave the whole money to his mother and then his mother gave him

some pocket money. The other two children gave their weekly wage after sparing some pocket money for themselves.

[the money] I was giving half of it to my mum when I came home, we were putting it there for the next school day and in the morning we were taking it. (Line 110) (Demet)

I earn 15-20 for a day in total. [to my mum] I am giving half of it. Sorry I am giving much of it and the less left for me. (Line 436-439) (Metin)

I was giving the money to my mum. I was paid weekly in confection, 40 millions. My mum was giving 1 million as pocket money. At school in the canteen some food... Sometimes I buy for my brother... That's it. I was never giving any to my dad. (...) It is because my dad doesn't go shopping but my mother does. (Line 319-334) (Bariş)

Especially Bariş explicitly indicated the reason behind submitting his weekly wage to his mother rather than his father. That is, he did not hand in any money to his father due to the fact that he found his father undependable and unreliable in contrast to his feeling that the whole family could depend on the mother, who would spend the money only for the sake of the family members. His distrust toward his father was revealed when he was asked about what "security" meant for him:

I give to my mum but I don't give to my dad I have confidence in my mum, not in my dad. I don't give it to my dad or else he would spend it. I give it to my mum she goes shopping. He buys cigarettes or something. I have never give it to my dad I have always give it to my mum. (Line 344-352) (Bariş)

b. The problems with working

Even though none of the working children in the study mentioned any downsides with their working experiences and they tended to focus solely on positive sides of working, one of the children, Demet, had distinctive experiences as she was working on the streets. Her accounts on her experiences during working clearly demonstrated how she had conflictual perceptions with regard to working. On one hand, she tended to describe working as an empowering experience in the sense that

working provided her with play and socialization with other children working on the streets, and with opportunity to afford clothes she wanted to own, as would be discussed in coping section in detail. On the other hand, she reported being aware of the fact that working was not good for children of her age but needing to defend herself she said that she had to work due to her family's financial struggles. In addition, her narrative on working included instances of significant risks of the street such as being accused of theft by the people, insult and abusive intentions from some adults, and almost being run over by cars.

When they shouted at me, for example, that day the man said I'll give you 10 millions. We were crowded and then we all jumped on him, because the man was saying bad things that's why we jumped on him. He was saying I'll give you 10 millions, come to our house. He was saying bad things. We were altogether, he was saying come to our house and I'll give you 10 millions, he was saying bad things. And we jumped on him. Then we got rid of him. When you are altogether, it's good. We were protecting each other. It was comforting. (Line 64-72) (Demet)

Once I was hit by a car, I was hit but nothing happened to me. Thank God nothing had happened. I was just coming from the Merter bus stops, the car came and I did like this to the car, the car came and just stopped in front of me. Something happened like a miracle. Otherwise I would definitely be at the hospital now. Then suddenly I felt as if my whole life was perished. I said myself OK my life is over, then the car was just here (pointing) and I did like this and stopped the car. And I also felt myself strong. (Line 88-91) (Demet)

Sometimes, some boys were taking our money, that was bad too. (Line 168) (Demet)

Demet also seemed to experience fear and insecurity due to negative public perceptions. From Demet's accounts it was also evident that being on the street meant being visible to the society and brought the risk of exposure to the stigmatizing tendency of the society. Being labeled as "thief" induced feelings of not deserving such treatment and exclusion on Demet's side.

We were playing cops. You know like the thief and cop, but of course we were not thieves. Even if we don't do it, when they go next to

them they leave their bags at ease, but when we go next to them they [people at the cafés or walking on the street] hold their bags like this (she imitates holding something very tightly). That's how it happens and we feel sad about it. Of course, they have the right. Because people steal like this quite often. But then I feel really sad. I feel myself considered as a thief. It's like they were showing them when they hide it, but when it comes to us they were hiding it. We never steal anything. Those who come next to them always tell them we won't take anything, we won't take anything. They didn't use to do anything and but when someone stole something they were coming to us and telling us you did it, you are thieves and so on. They were setting free next to other people, those who sell roses or paper tissues. The others are pickpocketing the mobiles and then they are coming and saying you did it. And they were saying we won't ever buy tissue papers from you. (Line 72-81) (Demet)

The other two working children's accounts, on the other hand, did not imply any negative experiences. Of course, either working outside or in a closed setting put the children at certain risks. However, Demet's experiences could suggest that working in congested city streets and intersections exposed Demet to greater risks for injuries resulting from traffic accidents or physical and emotional abuse by a wide range of people on the streets. In a similar vein, the fact that in the last decade working children on the streets has acquired major public concern, received considerable media coverage and has become a priority for child welfare organizations and government might result in additional emotionally intense experiences for Demet in terms of getting acquainted with police and exposing to misbehaviors by the police.

Throughout the interview, even if Demet did not express her emotions with regard to the bad treatment she endured by the police, anger and indignation was apparent in the tone of her voice while she was talking about her experiences. However, like other working children working for Demet implied positive sides more than negative sides. This could stem from the meaning of financial contribution of working to her life. In addition, the support of her mother against

maltreatment of a police during one of police arrests by suing the police might have contributed to her positive perception of working, as the relaxing effect of the sense of justice was apparent in the tone of her voice while she was talking about the result of court case.

It was 7 a.m., my mum came to pick me up at 7. I asked won't we go to school, I thought things like that. And I went home immediately and combed my hair. I directly went to school. My mum didn't ask me anything. Only how did you get caught, did they treat you well, your hair...how...My hair was that long, the cops pulled my hair. They pulled my friends hair and turned her around them. They pushed her to the floor. Then they ran away, but they chased after me, they said come here. I made a complaint about that cop and then he was discharged. I complained like this. I will always defend my rights...I went to the court, and I sued. They are both catching us, pulling our hair and treating us badly I said. I said I'm going to complain about this man, my mum complained, too. My hair came down while I was having shower. When I wasit was becoming like this, look now, it's thinner now (pointing at her hair). He was discharged. My mum said my daughter's hair is not thatI felt so much pain. What sort of people are they, I said. Put yourselves in our shoes, I said. (Line 257-268) (Demet)

Demet's accounts on her experiences at Rotary Child Center was paradoxical in the sense that while she ended up there as a result of a distressing process, she seemed to be fascinated with the room she slept at Rotary, which she did not actually have at home:

(...) when we went to the Rotary we ate and we were all full then. There was dining hall, I was trying to figure out... what sort of place is this, you know. The beds were so nice. I wanted all of us to have a bed like those. It was a bit weird to sleep on someone else's bed. Well, it's not so bad but I wasn't feeling comfortable. I was thinking what if someone comes and tell me you are sleeping on my bed. Nothing happened like that, the beds were free, I heard it later on and then I felt relaxed. My friend had never slept, and she fell down from the bed. Then she felt a lot of pain, you know he fell down from a bunk bed, he had never slept on them before. We were sleeping three people in bed. (Line 241) (Demet)

When asked about whether Demet had any solutions in mind to the process associated with the triangle of working on the street-police and SHÇEK, it was evident how she was confused about this legal and social process:

Actually, they (the cops) might be right, of course they are doing their duty. They are earning money, they have to look after their family, too. Sometimes I think they have the right. But I don't want them to catch us everyday. I don't want bad people to be here, and I don't want cops to interfere with our lives. The children should be able to sell, then they won't be bad people. Kidnappers. I don't want such things to happen, then the cops would set the children free. They chase after them then. [So you think that they are catching you to protect you from those people?] Yes, that's why they are catching us and taking us there. They told me so there, everybody says so. (Line 292-300) (Demet)

(...) When they put us on a monthly salary, I quit selling tissue papers. Then they withdrew the salary, and I restarted working. (...) If they helped us, you know with the household or with the food, of course I wouldn't sell. If they helped us like this, I wouldn't sell. (Line 268-304) (Demet)

Even though all working children tended to stress the positive effects of working on their lives and negate their conflictual perceptions and feelings, working also seemed to impose more complicated concerns and issues in different domains of their lives. For example, Demet's anxiety and hesitation about the possibility that her classmates and teachers might realize her working status revealed her conflictual feelings about the effect of working on her social life. While at the same time, this anxiety might stem from the fact that her teacher once displayed a very negative attitude towards the fathers who left their families behind in a poor situation. Demet might have feared that her teacher would also accuse her father of leaving Demet in the same way. Besides, Demet's awareness that the society had been critical and judgemental to the children working on the streets and their families induced fears of being excluded and stigmatized via "selpakçı" label by the friends or teachers at school.

Nobody knows that I'm selling. Some people are selling for two years and everybody knows, I've been selling for 6 but nobody knows. (...) I'm worried for example. If I tell my teacher, they may look down on me. For example, I think they may call me "selpakci", I would get sad then. Our teacher would never say such a thing, she has never seen me. Even if she sees, she would understand and be tolerant. But if she says, then I'd get really sad. They may say she's selling selpak till late, then I'd be sad. (Line 180-185) (Demet)

In class people know that some friends of mine are selling but we didn't tell our teacher. Because once when we told, the teacher said people are selling selpak on the streets and it is a sin, I'm worried if she thinks in the same way for me. I have fears like these. (...) Hard... When I see them [friends], I hide. If they see me I tell I came somewhere else, like visiting my uncle. I don't wanna tell lies but I have to. (Line 191-197) (Demet)

One or two of my friends know I work, and they are very mindful and understanding. They said nothing at all, they said it depends on the situation. (...) They told, working is not shameful or disgraceful. They reacted positively to me. (186-191) (Demet)

In contrast to Demet, the other two working children did not indicate any perception that working interfered with their social relations with teachers and friends. The societal concerns then seemed to differ among genders.

[I don't have any other friend working] they know, my classmates know. They see me. They don't make me feel anything, I am not ashamed of my friends. They come and say and I say yes I am working. They tell it to the teacher and I say yes I am working to the teacher. Some of the teachers know and some don't. The teachers asked are you working, I am working I said. (Line 458-466) (Metin)

My classmates and my teachers know that I am working. They say what did you do in summer and we tell. The teacher says tell me what did you do in summer and we say we went to the village, I worked something like that. (Line 367-405) (Barış)

With regard to whether they could have enough time to study, none of the children explicitly pointed that working interfered with their academic performance.

I was going to school, then I was coming home and I was doing my homework, then I was having my lunch. I was quite hardworking then. I felt uneasy when I didn't do my homework. When I did my homework I was going out to sell paper tissues. I was coming back at 5 in the evening. I never stayed out late. (Line 104) (Demet)

[after school] I am coming home I am having my lunch and than I am working until 8. I am coming home at 8 o'clock.(...) I do my homework when I come from work. [I'm not getting tired] (Line 414-454) (Metin)

However, while the working children did not explicitly indicate any perception that working interfered with their social relations and/or academic performance, when they were asked what they would like to in the time that they spared for working if they had not been working, their need for fun, leisure and studying was evident. They said that they would like to study and play.

If I didn't have to work, I would play football during those hours that I'm working, I would play games, I would study. (Line 456) (Metin)

Then I would study and I would improve my low marks. (Line 337) (Barış)

Similarly, while Demet indicated that working never affected her grades, her conflictual feelings were evident from the statement below:

It never affected my grades. I was both going to my school and studying. The time was not limited then. Now it's like more limited, the day flies away very quickly now. (Line 180) (Demet)

Familial:

Most of the themes that emerged from the analysis of accounts about the children's perceptions about their familial relations could be broadly categorized as reflecting either feelings of unsupportiveness and mistrust, or perceptions of closeness, warmth and trustworthiness. Although most of the children's perception of their relations with their nuclear families involved feelings of happiness, security and supportiveness, for some of the children several familial distressing issues emerged in their "voice bubbles". Indeed, these problems seemed to be correlated with the economic circumstances of the families of the children. Even more the nuclear

family-related struggles seemed to vary as a function of the quality of the extended family relations.

1. Nuclear Family Related

a. The strain of changing Roles for the Eldest Girl in the family: Substitute Mothership (*“İkame Annelik”*) and Difficulties in Relationship with the mother

There emerged a significant gender difference in the roles of children within the family life. Being a daughter implied additional difficulties on the side of the girls as compared to boys. Among the five girls participated in the study, there were three girls (Sinem, Semra and Demet) who were the eldest girl in the family. Among the other two girls, Deniz had 2 elder brothers and 2 elder sisters with whom she defined positive and supportive relations while Aysun had 2 elder brothers and a sister with whom she seemed not to have any significant supportive relations.

Elder girls in the study were working in the homes, doing household chores and looking after their younger siblings. Household roles have been reversed among mothers and daughters, which was conceptualized as substitute mothership (*“ikame annelik”*). They were not only the “big sister” at home, but also the “second mother/substitute mother” for their siblings. Three girls in the study, of whom two were the elder sister in their families especially reported suffering from substitute mothership (*“ikame annelik”*): Sinem, Aysun and Semra. Aysun was an exception in the study in the sense that though Aysun chronologically was not the elder sister in her family, Aysun seemed as if she assumed the role of being the elder sister of the four younger sisters in the family when compared to her elder sister. This could stem from the fact that her elder sister seemed to be absent in the household, and that Aysun had many siblings younger than her in a parallel with Sinem and Aysun.

From the accounts of Sinem and Semra, it was evident that to be an elder girl generally meant additional burden on low income children. Aysun's accounts about caregiving to her younger siblings and engaging in household chores were also in line with those of Sinem and Semra. These three girls' accounts indicated that this shift of roles among mothers and daughters was an inevitable result of the large number of siblings, marital disputes among mothers and fathers, and mothers' chronic illnesses. They had to shoulder a far larger share of household responsibilities. In some cases the fathers were away working, or had health problems which imposed an obligation to work on the part of the children both within the house and outside home.

Substitute mothership (*"İkame annelik"*) and associated issues were most difficult areas for children to indicate spontaneously in the voice balloons as problems across all problematic domains in the children's lives. Therefore, especially for the two girls substitute mothership (*"ikame annelik"*) was generally embedded within children's accounts on their current suffering school lives and on their future worries about school failure. However, after the issues related to substitute mothership (*"ikame annelik"*) emerged in their accounts, the three girls could deeply reflect on the associated difficulties and burden on them. Their despair with regard to the association between their academic life and substitute mothership (*"ikame annelik"*) was apparent. Indeed, this reflected their actual reality.

(...) when I can't do my homework, when I go to school the teacher asks me..why didn't you do your homework...and then I say... I can't tell her that I'm cleaning the house and looking after the kids. Then I say something, you know I say for example I slept late last night. Because if I tell you know the others in my class will say we look after our brothers and sisters but we also do our homework.. you know then they will ask me how come you can't do your homework.
(Line 436-443) (Aysun)

My grades are too bad. I can never study. I can't study. For example, my mum tells me to take my little brother out. Then in the evening my dad tells me to study, but I don't want, I really get bored. I used to study a lot in Van, I never failed. ..This what I'm expecting.. I know I'm going to fail this year. Because I can't study, I have to take care of my little brother. The youngest one... I'm doing all the housework... I'm helping my mum. (Line 65-71) (Semra)

I want to be very successful in the future but if my parents keep on quarreling with each other I can't do anything. My mind gets confused then I can't understand my lessons. I want to be a doctor but I won't be able to. (Line 104) (Sinem)

Semra and Aysun's accounts on taking care of their younger siblings revealed another risk factor for children from low socioeconomical background. These households are too crowded to the fact that the parents tended to bear many children, which then puts caregiving responsibilities on the eldest girl in the family. For example, when asked the person who causes the most problems to her in her entire life, Semra's response also revealed how she accused her mother of giving birth to children more than she could look after.

My parents...I can't study, I have too many brothers that's why I can't study. Sometimes I ask myself and then I say if only we could be rich as other people. I asked my mum...why do you give birth to too many children, but she didn't give say anything...she didn't answer. (Line 526-539) (Semra)

I want to be very happy; I don't ever want to be sad. I want to be successful like my other friends. Sometimes I tell myself...I wish I could be successful like them, what's wrong with me?. I want to study but I can't. If we weren't too crowded, then maybe I could study but we're too crowded at home, I don't have any space for studying, that's why I can't study. If I had a room on my own, I would love to study like my other friends. (Line 551-558) (Semra)

For example, we have some friends in class and they have only 2 or 4 siblings but I have 8, that's why I can't study and look after. (Line 452) (Aysun)

The above accounts also indicated Sinem and Semra's ambivalent feelings towards their mothers. For example, in Sinem's case, on one hand, she blames her mother for abandoning her and her siblings several times, leaving all the

responsibility at home on her shoulders. Taking over the house chores and having to take care of her siblings made her feel even lonelier. On the other hand, she empathized with her mother since her uncles and aunts united against her mother, physically and psychologically abused Sinem's mother and influenced her father's views on the mother negatively. Her mother appeared to be the only role model in her life she identified with her and she generally held her father's family responsible for all the trouble at home. Paradoxically, though there was no evidence that her mother supported her, her mother was only one whom she wanted to turn to.

My dad, whenever my mum tells something he goes and tells some other people and then my mum gets angry with me, she thinks that I told everyone. Sometimes it's my mum's fault sometimes it's my dad's. My mum asks him why did you go and tell my private things to other people and then my dad says who you think you are and then the row starts. My mum left home maybe a hundred times. She went to her uncles's. I'm looking after the kids. I feel really stressed. I can't speak. I get sad. I'm always alone. (Line 34) (Sinem)

I suffered a lot, too. I wanted to go with my mum because my dad was torturing both me and my mum because of my aunts. But they are telling too many lies. (Line 55) (Sinem)

In Semra's case, in addition to accusing her mother of having too many children, she blames her mother for abandoning her when she was a toddler and then for ruining her happy life by taking her back to İstanbul when she was 8 years old. Similar to Sinem, Semra also blames her mother for leaving all the responsibility at home on her shoulders. Though throughout the interview her hidden anger and disappointment with her mother was clearly seen, she did not explicitly put it into her list of problems. Her feelings were embedded within her future dreams about going back to the village near her grandmother and aunts to live with and within her resentment with regard to her failure at school, as indicated above.

And I believed her, and then I ran to her and gave her a kiss. At first I felt really bad. I always told myself... I wish my granny was my real mother. Then my mum came back to village, and my granny told me

again ...look this is your real mother...and I believed. (...) I asked my mum..why did you leave me in these hard conditions and go away? She didn't give any answer. She said... I was in a difficult situation. And I believed her. (Line 449-489) (Semra)

My mum gave birth to me and then left me. She went away. I don't know exactly if she went away, or I don't know if she really abandoned me there or not. (...) My grandma brought me up. I almost don't know my mum. Then my grandma came and told me all those things. She told me...look this is your real mother. Look this is her, she said. I told her you are lying to me but she said no I'm not lying. She said... I brought you up and your mum went to Istanbul. (Line 465-479) (Semra)

I don't have any feelings for my mum, she is behaving me really well anyway, she listens to me. (Line 622) (Semra)

Among the three girls, only Sinem expressed the burden of substitute mothership (*"ikame annelik"*) also independent of the school-related difficulties. Substitute mothership (*"İkame annelik"*) in her life also reflected in her mother's health problems (gallbladder operation), in the extended family's negative and degrading behaviors towards her mother, and in her peer relational problems. In addition to resulting in academic failure, substitute mothership (*"ikame annelik"*) led to difficulties in maintaining friendships for Sinem. For example, compared to Aysun and Semra, Sinem seemed to be most vulnerable child in terms of lacking any supportive social relationships. This could be why she suffered from peer relational aggression and exclusion and why these difficulties with peers held a large share in her story.

I can't go out, there are to babies to look after anyway, plus I do the cleaning and my mum goes somewhere. She had a gallbladder operation. Now she's alright but she still has stiches. My brother, still a baby, he fell down from the roof twice. He also suffered from eclampsia. My mother was tortured a lot. My siblings are at the ages of 1, 3 and 6. The one who is 6 has bronchitis, I look after him. When he goes to school, I always pick him up from school. I always read Quran to them. (Line 30) (Sinem)

(...) when my mum was at hospital my brother used to wet his bed and then he (her father] was waking me up telling me to clean. (Line 55) (Sinem)

I can't get support from anywhere.. My friends, they say... you don't come... and then I ask them ... if you had two siblings like me, would you be able to come? Then they don't talk to me again. Then sometime later they tell me again... come with us, we have some money, we'll do this and that...but I can't just leave home under these circumstances and go with them. (Line 57) (Sinem)

The other two girls in the study, Demet and Deniz, did not seem to suffer from substitute motherhood (*"ikame annelik"*). They did also take care of their younger siblings. However, in contrast to Aysun, Sinem and Semra's conditions, neither Deniz and Demet nor their mothers had extended familial difficulties. Moreover as was suggest above, Deniz was the one of the small kids in her family with elder sisters. In addition, her parents appeared to be "there" for their children both emotionally and instrumentally. From her accounts her mother's supervision was evident. Her mother seemed to involve with her school performance and to try to comfort her so that Deniz could have a space and time to study. Similarly, she defined her relationship with her father, in which she felt reciprocity, fun and share.

Though Demet was also the eldest girl in the family and seemed to be more involved with taking care of her siblings than Deniz, her mother did not seem to put all the responsibility on her shoulders similar to Deniz and in contrast to Aysun, Sinem and Semra's mothers. The involment with the siblings was in the form of helping to the mother occasionally rather than constant caregiving. This could stem from Demet's distinct experience among the girls who assumed substitute motherhood (*"ikame annelik"*) role. That is, Demet was working in the street and assumed the role of "breadwinner" and "father" of the family in the absence of his father who was working abroad for a while. However, compared to the other three

girls' substitute mothership (*"ikame annelik"*) role, becoming breadwinner in the family was more likely to be an empowering experience for Demet rather than problematic, which was argued in detail below. Even though she did not perceive herself as a child similar to Aysun, Sinem and Semra, this perception imposed different feelings between the two. While this was a very negative connotation in Aysun, Sinem and Semra's lives and puts them at risk, for Demet it implied resilience via autonomy and strength coupled with the opportunities she experienced with regard to working. As a result, the concept of "substitute parent" seemed to take the form of "substitute father" in Demet's case rather than "substitute mother".

b. Difficulties in the Relationship with Fathers

1. The Physical and/or Psychological Absence of the father

There were two cases where the father was away working for as long time as one year. While these children did not spontaneously name their fathers' absence as unhappiness in the voice bubbles, they could explicitly reflect on the unhappiness imposed by the absence of their fathers throughout the interview.

Well sometimes I become sad and I cry at school and so I send letters to my dad. (Line 197) (Demet)

I said daddy you can't go, I will miss you, otherwise I said. I said we won't see you, what will we do here I said. I said you can't go to daddy. Don't go I said...we'll work here... you and me...we'll sell water, we'll go everywhere I said...he went. (Line 201-212) (Demet)

I am sad that he [my dad] is not here. when he was here he was coming one day and one day he wasn't. sometimes I cry at night. I think that there might be an accident on the plane but I pray not to let anything happen to him. (Line 443-456) (Samet)

From all the other children's accounts, fathers except those of Demet and Deniz were either barely existent or existent with negative connotations. To put it more specifically, for three of the other children (a girl and three boys), even though

the children did not put it in their voice bubbles, the fathers seemed to have disappeared or almost nonexistent despite the fact that they were physically available at home. From Semra, Metin and Aydın's accounts, it was evident that their fathers came to the scene only associated with financial issues.

I can't talk to my dad. I don't know why. I talk to my mum. Our teacher gave us a performance homework. I take money from my mum getting her permission, then I go and tell her I need money I need to buy this and then she buys me. She does what I say. I don't ask for help from my dad. When I say it to my mum, it always...well I don't need my dad, I guess. (Line 366-376) (Aydın)

You know it's said that little ones with mummy and elders with dad. My brothers get along well with my dad, because when they need my dad gives them money as my father works. (Line 284-286) (Murat)

For example Semra's unexpressed anger towards her father was evident.

Throughout the interviews, she just mentioned her father twice and it was related to neglect by the father in terms of not buying clothes for her while he did for other siblings. In the context her life, parents' having too many kids, coupled with being the eldest sister might lead to feelings of neglect and unloved.

I get angry with my dad a bit, but I can't tell him. Once I told, I told him to buy me trousers. He said I forgot, and I said to him you bought for them, why didn't you buy for me. He bought for my little brother. I asked him, you bought for him but why not me, didn't you think of it, he said I forgot. He said I'll buy you next week. And I said if you don't buy me, I'll get really angry with you this time. (Line 612-621) (Semra)

In Metin's case it was also evident that her father did not stand for him when his uncles physically and psychologically abused him. He just defined his relationship with his over money in the sense that the father gave him money when he asked for it.

I want something for school, and when he gets his money at the weekend he gives 5-10 millions to us. He gives half of it to my mum and the other half to my dad. With my brother we receive 5-10 millions of it. We share it at school. I don't share any other thing. (Line 558-561) (Metin)

For two girls and a boy, on the other hand, fathers were present but with negative perceptions. For the girls, Sinem and Aysun, it seemed be associated physical abuse. For example, Aysun was offended by her father in the sense that he abased Aysun in front of her friends. This in turn puts Aysun at risk for self-isolation from the friends due to fear of being teased by the friends.

For example, sometimes I think of my niece/nephew's death or my aunt's yelling at me. Sometimes...well now I remember once we were outside I was takin care of my brothers, my mum told me to take them out. When I take them out, my dad always shouts at me when my friends are around, he always humiliates me, he says bad words, he slaps me and tells me to go home. You know, just in front of the door, he shouts at me when my friends are around. (Line 156) (Aysun)

He says go home, once when we were playing games outside and I totally forgot about the time and when my dad was coming home he saw me and he really got angry and again he slapped me. Actually when my father gets really angry he beats the children. Whenever he does like this, I always cry, he always beated me, he humiliated me when my friends were around, now I don't want to go near my friends, you know they might make fun of me. Some friends make fun of me, you know like Aysun's father beats her. (Line 184-189) (Aysun)

For Sinem, physical and emotional abuse by her father was also associated with her role of substitute mothership (*"ikame annelik"*).

(...) he beats me as he beats my mum. For example, sometimes I tell him about those bully guys go hit Özgür in the neighbourhood, he was saying you should hit like this and that, are you a coward he says...they are blaming me all the time as others beat my brother (disabled one), Özgür. Only my dad blames me, he says if you beat him/her they won't do anything to you then. (Line 68-82) (Sinem)

Barış mentioned his father only once throughout the whole interview in which he indicated his father's untrustworthiness in terms of looking after the family financially, as also indicated above in Barış's working experience.

c. Physical Abuse by the Parents

As noted above, among all the children in the study, two girls, Aysun and Sinem, reported having been struck and berated by her father occasionally.

From Sinem's accounts it was evident that other children in the family were also beaten by the father.

[My brother] He doesn't behave and think properly. He is 10. We always take him to the hospital. My dad was beating him a lot. But now he doesn't too often. My mum was crying then. Nowadays he rarely beats him. (Line 49) (Sinem)

One boy, Samet, also reported having been beaten by his mother. He mentioned her mother's physical abuse while he was talking about his relationship with his father. He seemed to compare and contrast his parents. The support of his father against her mother's physical abuse was also in line with Samet's turning to their fathers for support, not to her mother, in contrast to majority of the children in the study.

Sometimes when my parents are quarrelling I go outside because I feel sad but when I come back home everything's alright. They quarrel mostly because our mother beats us. My mum beats us from time to time and my dad gets sad and then they shout at each other. She seldom beats us, sometimes she doesn't she feels pity. I feel sorry. My little brothers cry that's what makes me sad. Sometimes I tell my mum, I want to shout at her but I can't. When I tell it to my dad, my mum does what he says, he says don't beat them and then she doesn't. (Line 459-472) (Samet)

d. Chronic Illness of the Family Members

Children's accounts demonstrated that they tended to worry about their parents and siblings and this manifests itself in particular circumstances in their lives.

As was indicated in the introduction section, people living in poverty are more prone to chronic illnesses. There were four cases in the study that demonstrated the effect of having a family member with a chronic illness on children. Several

children reported chronic illness history of their family members. Therefore, another worry about parents and siblings was often manifested itself as unhappiness and concern for their health because of their chronic illness, irrespective of having extended familial problems.

1. Health-related issues of the parents:

It was evident that two of the children were worrying about their parents' physical well-being. None of these children explicitly named their parents' health issues as unhappiness areas in their voice bubbles. Both for Deniz and Samet, this issue seemed to be disguised in more general expressions.

For example, for Deniz, it could be embedded within the following statement, which she put in the beginning of the interview as a source of unhappiness in her life

If someone either from my family or some other people's gets ill or dies I feel really sad, that's why I don't want anything happen like that to anyone. (Line 24) (Deniz)

Only after Deniz was directly asked whether she had such an actual experience, his father's illness and her worries about him unearthed.

You know, my dad, he suffers from asthma, and when he gets ill sometimes he feels too much pain, there's something here (pointing at her chest). And sometimes he feels pain here and here (pointing at), well... what was it called, well...they call it rheumatism in Kurdish. But it's not something important, is it? So, he suffers from this... rheumatism...sometimes he sleeps in bed, and then I cry. Once he got very badly ill, he couldn't breathe and then my mum and my brother went to bring something. Then my father was saying I'm dying I'm dying...it's really frightening. For example, I really get frustrated when my father gets ill, but I'm not frightened when my mum gets ill...because my father frightenes me as he always says I'm dying, it's a not a pleasant thing to do. I immediately get sad when my father is in pain...I really feel sad. (Line 58-71) (Deniz)

Similarly, even though Murat's mother's cancer operation was deeply influential in shaping Murat's attitudes and behaviors in his relationships, this issue emerged under the guise of "support" issue. When he was asked whether there was

anyone in his life to whom he and his family could turn in times of emergency, he ended up with:

When someone gets ill or has an operation we always want it otherwise in other situations we don't. (...) My mum once got ill, cancer...It was like a year ago. I got really sad, we were at school and couldn't visit her so often, and plus the hospital didn't let us, too, so we were talking on the phone. I was asking my father...has anything happened to my mum? He was saying no, she went somewhere. Then he told us 1-2 months later, you mum is ill...(Line 298-309) (Murat)

Only towards the end of the interview, he could put his worry about mother's health more directly. However, once again his general attitude of avoiding the negatives and of being emotionless were evident.

I'm worried mostly about my mum's death or my sister's leave. (Line 362) (Murat)

Since his mother and his elder sister were the ones he felt the closest to in the family, and he was felt like being left by his sister, who moved to Van after getting married, his worries about losing his mother both physically and psychologically might be disguised in his statement about losing relations in general, as it was too much for him to voice in the sense that his mother was the one he ran to for help when things get problematic at school or with his friends in the psychological absence of the father.

2. Health-related issues of the siblings:

Concerns about health of the siblings emerged in cases of the three girls who assumed the substitute motherhood ("*ikame annelik*") role. Semra, Sinem and Aysun's concerns and unhappiness about their siblings' health condition was clearly felt throughout the interviews. Compared to the other children these three girls had more risk factors such as physical violence, neglect and lack of parental care. It is

meaningful that they all had siblings with either some kind of physical disability or chronic illness.

While Sinem and Semra did not directly voice these as problems, Aysun frequently tended to touch upon her brother's substance abuse problem and the issues arising from that. This could be explained by the fact that problems in her parents' marital relationship were exacerbated by the big brother's drug abuse, which in turn caused further unrest in the whole family. It seemed that drugs have contributed to the brother's mood swings that induced further conflicts in the family relationships, and Aysun seemed to abdicate her own needs vis-a-vis her brother in order to sustain the familial harmony.

I'll talk about my brother after my mum comes, is that alright? (Line 113) (Aysun)

My brother D. who is 17. When he was 14, he was still at the 4th grade, he had always failed. then you know, his friends, they were making him get used to these things showing him the pockets of people. Then he was getting used to those things, you know there are some people, pickpocketing...snatching...I will tell some other things later, then when my brother was 14-15 as he was a drug addict he started to smoke other things like weed other bad drugs...then he was cured, but started to smoke again. (Line 247-250) (Aysun)

When there is a row, my mum always thinks that my brother got involved, too. Then I go and check, there next to the market, my brother goes there sometimes. Well, you see...sometimes he doesn't come home, my mother worries about him then. I get worried, too...how? ... (Silence)...I'm asking...how all these things happened? (Line 276-283) (Aysun)

Semra and Sinem's accounts of their siblings' health condition clearly indicated in what way factors such as neglect and physical abuse may carry risk for poor children who have problematic relations with the broader family and lack support both at home and outside.

My brother doesn't have any friends, he never plays, he's alone all the time, nobody plays with him, everyone calls him nuts. But the doctor says that he is not nuts, it all happened because of my father's

beatings. Because my dad was hitting him a lot. He has too many wounds. Some kids pick up some stones and hit him, too. (Line 80) (Sinem)

Especially in Semra's case, listening to several stories of accidents taking place on the street made it apparent that neglect and inadequate supervision of low-income children may have serious consequences on the children's lives.

My sister had a traffic accident and her leg was injured but she can still walk. she just spent a month in hospital and we couldn't see our mum and we became very sad. I couldn't go to school either. (Line 71) (...) There is also...my other brother; he got really ill, too. I don't know what his illness called but they took water from his back. Then they took my brother home. They were giving injections every day. I feel so much pain he said. Then I told him they will do it otherwise you won't get better. (Line 112-125) (Semra)

Extended-family Related:

a. Disputes between Parents and In-laws

From children's accounts it was evident that for some mothers, the mother-in-laws and fathers' families never left the control over the house, making the harmony in the family life impossible. The mothers' relationships with the in-laws seemed to have effects on them and consequently direct and indirect effects on the children via verbal and physical aggression, exclusion and insult.

Among the children, there were two girls (*Sinem and Aysun*) and a boy (*Metin*) who deeply suffered from their fathers' families' interference and negative attitudes. These children were either living in the same apartment building or in the same apartment.

Sometimes with my aunt, my aggressive uncle's wife...they fight then my grandama tries to make everything alright with my uncle, then they both go to their rooms, we close their doors and lock them and then hide the keys, then he doesn't come out till evening, then in the evening he comes out of the room. (Line 200) (Metin)

My mum for example, sometimes she feels bad, my dad says bad things to my mum's mother, too. My mum gets angry and then they

fight, once my grandma came, I had never seen her before because they live in Muş. My great grandma (my father's mum) came when we were outside, then we were sitting you know, but my grandma gets really angry when my great grandma says something bad. You know she says your daughter is not smart, she can't do nice things, she doesn't cook but my mum always cooks, she's in the kitchen all the time... my other aunts were always going out for example. (Line 164-169) (Aysun)

My mum went to my aunt's home and they beated her and pulle her hair. My three aunts they all pulled my mum's hair. My mum told us. My mum called the police. The police were saying don't ruin your family relationships but my mum was crying out loud. (Line 32) (...) When my mum goes I cry a lot. It's like my heart is torn into shreds. I cry but I try not to make other people notice. I want to go with my mum, too. Because my father was torturing both me and my mum just because of my aunts. (Line 55) (Sinem)

No other children reported living in the same apartment with the extended family members. Even some of these children reported receiving financial and emotional support from their extended families in times of need. They also reported good relationships with several uncles and aunts.

Among the three children Sinem seemed the most vulnerable child. This might stem from the additional risk area of conflict among her extended family members and her mother that depicted itself in Sinem's case in the sense that her mother left the house several times abandoning the children all alone. The absence of her mother coupled Sinem's struggles in the role of substitute mothership ("*ikame annelik*"). In addition, abandonment by the mother put the children at risk for separating from each other. It seemed that her mother's threats to the husband about leaving the house, and her extended family members' constant threats about separating the children from each other inflated Sinem's feelings of loneliness and desperation in general.

His eldest sister, she came here this year, living just across our home, everyday she says divorce her. Give us the children and we'll look after them she says. (Line 32) Because of this my mum went away from home maybe for a hundred times. Next to her uncle. I look after

the kids. I feel really stressed. I can't speak, I feel sorry. I feel alone.
(Line 34) (Sinem)

All in all, relationships with in-laws seemed to affect the mothers' functioning. Then the children's coping and relationships were likely related to the quality of their mothers' health and ability to cope with stress. Of course, children's level of functioning was determined by a large number and variety of interacting factors, but there seemed to be a link between their mothers' relationships with in-laws and with husbands, and children's general sense of well-being. Those who did not have bad relationships with their extended family and who received support from them seemed to function as better parents for these children and letting them live their childhood and school life as well as possible.

Sharing the same fate of exclusion as their mothers, the children whose mothers had bad relationships with in-laws seemed to also suffer from extended families. Below, the themes representing the problems associated with extended family were discussed: growing up in a family setting where the parents constantly quarrel, physical and emotional abuse, humiliation and exclusion, and blame. Though they were conceptualized under different themes, they were often interrelated.

b. Parental Dispute due to in-laws

The in-laws' degrading behaviors toward the mothers, and turning the fathers against their wives seemed to cause disputes and physical violence among the parents of the children. Therefore, parental disputes seemed to mediate the effects of the mothers' relationships with the in-laws on children through.

Sinem and Aysun mentioned disputes among their parents. From the children's accounts it was evident that extended families' pressure and fathers' unemployment and/or instable employment were central features in parents'

relational problems, which usually resulted in physical abuse of the mothers by their husbands.

My parents, they quarrelled a lot. My father was beating my mum very badly. He was punching her head he was kicking her. (...) You know they are calling him to go to the party to talk. They say divorce this woman, she will do you no good they say. His eldest sister, she came here this year, living just across our home, everyday she says divorce her. Since my older aunt came, there have been big rows. In the past years they didn't use to quarrel that much. (...) My mum was just newly-wed like two months, my dad's mother saw a dream and she said I saw a ghost. And the ghosts told her this woman, my mum, brings bad luck, get rid of her, she'll bring you bad luck, they said. Then my mum went away again. (Line 32-40) (Sinem)

I wish you could be invisible and watch. You'd see many things then. That's only one part of it. I'd like you to see the times when my father beats my mum. And also what my aunts say. I haven't seen them, either, my mum tells me. (Line 45-50) (Sinem)

In the past we lived together, you know altogether, we lived together wherever we moved, my grandma and my uncles' family. In an apartment building on different floors. (...) I'm always thinking you know if only we didn't live so close to each other, that's because sometimes my grandma makes my dad quarrel with my mum, she causes bad things. (Line 115-133) (Aysun)

Sometimes my dad oops sorry my grandma, she says ridiculous things to my dad, then my mum and dad quarrel with each other. Once on a fest day, my parents had a fight again and I cried so much then. Actually our mothers are our everything. (Line 16) (Aysun)

Though Sinem, Aysun and Metin suffered from their extended families, their stories also differed at some points. The most distinct difference among the girls' and Metin's stories was that Metin's accounts did not indicate extended-family related quarrel between his parents. Though he mentioned some disputes among his uncle's wife and her mother due to sharing the same apartment, his accounts did not evolve around the mother's problems with the extended family. Rather his accounts indicated that the target of the interference and degrading behaviors of the extended family was Metin himself, as demonstrated above.

c. Physical Abuse

The most repeated theme was physical abuse among the children who had difficulties with their extended families. Three of the children reported having been struck by extended family members on repeated occasions. These children shared their pain and distress about family violence. The assailants were mostly the male members of the extended family with whom they lived together in the same apartment or in the same building such as the uncles in Metin's and Aysun's cases. Aysun and Sinem were also physically abused by their fathers, as noted above. Physical abuse generally accompanied verbal attack. All of the physically abused children seemed to feel offended.

[my uncle] as I watch TV at home he comes and beats me and it hurts very much. (Line 24) (Metin)

Then half of people in the house beat me. My nervous uncle and sometimes my single uncles beat me. When I don't obey my grandma... He beats me then my aunt come and ask why did you beat and give a slap in the face. Yesterday my uncle and his wife fought. (Line 204-207) (Metin)

Sometimes my uncle beats me. I feel very bad when they beat me. I get very nervous and sometimes when my uncle treats me badly they sometimes swear, and they are getting on my nerves. (Line 16) (Aysun)

[if only the walls of the house were talking] may be they'd say why they always beat me, why they blame me, slander me. (Line 562) (Metin)

Metin and Sinem did not directly express the violence in the voice bubbles whereas Aysun immediately pinpointed her uncle's violent behaviour when she was describing the sources of unhappiness in her life. However, although Metin did not name his uncles' physical abuse in the beginning, as he was working on the picture, he named "seeing people fight" as a source of unhappiness in his life and by saying that he may be considered to have implicitly voiced the violence he is exposed to.

Metin seemed to be very irritated by witnessing any fights. He defined his feelings and concerns about fights, he frequently said that he was pissed of and fights. These feelings were in line with his feelings when he was beaten by his uncles or when any fights among his family members took place. He consistently used the term “getting on the nerves” (“*sinir ediyor*”) throughout the interview. Yet, his paradoxical stance at fights was evident within the same statement.

I get irritated, I don't want anybody to fight. (...) When they fight outside it makes me feel unhappy they beat each other. for example before a while there were two people beating each other and it irritated me, I felt unhappy, that's it. (...) I get nervous. They fought with each other, hit with their heads, they fought with fists and kicks, it makes me sick, I get irritated. They fight and I get nervous. I also fight sometimes. If someone beats me I beat him too. Whenever a friend of mine from the neighbourhood fights I also include myself in the fight. (Line 278-303) (Metin)

For Metin who had to share the same apartment with his uncle and family, extended family meant an extra problem beyond the issue of physical abuse. His uncles were involved in his private life and continued to bother him in his own space. This can be a risk that makes Metin want to get away from home and spend more and more time on the street.

They send me somewhere and I get very tired. They always say go there bu I don't want to go. My uncle says I don't want to go too. While I am sitting, they say go to your uncle's. I don't want to go and then I get angry, they swear and it makes me sick, that's it. (Line 16-21) (Metin)

For example they invite me somewhere, but I don't want to go, I feel nervous. It is hard. He comes when I am watching a movie, and change it.. is this a cartoon he says. Listen to something else he says and he goes away. (Line 92) (Metin)

d. Humiliation and Exclusion

Sinem and Aysun felt marginalized by her father's family, especially by the female member of their extended families. As they did to her mother, they also excluded, denigrated and bullied Sinem and Aysun.

I feel so sad, very sad. My mum was tortured a lot; there are many things to tell. We are being tortured, as well. Nobody loves us. My friends don't, either. My aunts don't love my mum. (...) I was just a little child, about 1 year-old. My aunt A, was always saying my mum your daughter is very ugly. She was too much making fun of my mother saying that your daughter is very ugly. Once we had a fight with her and I pulled her hair, because of her my mum pulled mine. My mum was tortured a lot because of them. (Line 42-44) (Sinem)

My grandma lives in our upper flat, they live. My grandma doesn't love us. She always loves my aunt's children, she doesn't treat us well. (Line 16) (Aysun)

My uncle he bought some ice cream on Saturday, and my uncle said give some to them, give some to the kids he said, and then she gave some to them a few spoonful my grandma said I'll give some to my own grandchildren, on the upper floor there lives two children of her youngest son she loves them so much... my aunt loved them most, as well...but nobody loves us. For example, when they go to the park sometimes they never take us with them, they take the other kids...this makes me feel sad. (Line 101) (Aysun)

e. Blame

One of the issues in which children felt that they had been treated unjustly within the extended family was related to "blame". Both Aysun and Metin who shared the same building with their grandmothers underlined their unhappiness about being blamed for things they did not do.

Aysun's grandmother accused Aysun of causing the death of her cousin and she put the heavy burden of blame on her shoulders; heavier than what a child can bear. Coupled with all the other negative behaviors of the extended family, her grandmother's accusation induced keen sense of guilt and deathwish on Aysun. She wished it were her who died. At the same time she felt being left alone in front of her

grandmother's blame. This was a grave example of how negatively Aysun and her family are influenced by the extended family members.

On one hand it was obvious how badly the treatment of the grandmother influenced Aysun's life, and on the other hand she was hungry for her grandmother's affection, as some of her contradictory statements suggested below.

Sometimes I love my grandma but sometimes she makes me feel bad. I get nervous when she does something bad to people. I love her. When I go to park she strokes my hair, when she treats me well, when she takes me out, for example when there is a wedding she takes me there. (Line 133-136) (Aysun)

Sometimes my grandma loves me...once my nephew died, he was run over by a car down the street. I cried so much but my grandma always blamed me. I didn't do anything but they always blamed me, they said it's all because of you they said you're always outside and because of you they don't come home, either. (...) When the accident happened or when they treated me badly I was saying I wish I died instead of him/her, I always thought like this. When he died I felt so bad...that time when my nephew died my mum cried too much then she had a problem with her throat, she had a terrible pain in her throat and she went to the hospital, because of my nephew's death my mum got ill. (Line 136-145) (Aysun)

My grandma was saying I wish you died but not him/her. She was saying like this, she didn't love us at all, she always caused bad things. (Line 152) (Aysun)

Metin's grandmother, meanwhile, blamed him with theft. His grandmother's accusation also pointed the exclusion beginning within the family. In parallel to his reactions across other difficulties related to his extended family, Metin described his feelings with "getting on the nerves" (*sinir ediyor*). While talking about the event related to blame, he seemed to be very offended and irritated.

When she loses something, she says you stole it and I say no I didn't, then she finds it somewhere and again she says you stole it. Once she found her keys outside, but my grandma beated me. (Line 224) (Metin)

Friendships:

Most of the themes that emerged from the analysis of accounts about the children's friendships could be broadly categorized as reflecting either feelings of distance from and mistrust of friends or, perceptions of friendliness, warmth and helpfulness. Although majority of the children's perception of friendships involved feelings of happiness, security and supportiveness, the same children also indicated several problem areas with their peers in the "voice bubbles" about the things that made them unhappy in their lives. However, most of these problems seemed to imply age-appropriate peer relational difficulties free of economic status of the children.

a. Fear of getting cross with friends (*"Küsülmek"*)

Children's accounts of friendship indicated fear getting cross with friends (*"küsülmek"*) as the main issue that made the children unhappy in their friendships. Three girls and a boy indicated concerns about getting cross with their friends. "Küsülmek" theme was gendered, suggesting that their friends' getting cross with them had a more intense emotional burden on the girls' side.

Yes, I've never been happy in my life because last summer a friend of mine made me get cross with all my friends. Yes...she said if you don't get cross with this I won't talk to you again, then she made me get cross with everyone. She doesn't like me and I don't like her, either. While she's making me live the best moments of my life she's also making my life worse, she's making me live the worst moments of my life. She makes me get cross with my all friends and also with her. Once I was going to a friend's house and she saw me through the window, she drew the curtains, she did some bad things. (Line 254-262) (Semra)

You know, when my friend gets cross with me, I feel alone then...this scares me most. (Line 630) (Semra)

My classmate, she's a very stubborn girl, that is to say when she gets cross with someone, she never talks again. I beg her, I say please talk to me, she says no I won't talk to you then I get sad, I say why don't

you talk to me, I don't have any fault...I didn't do anything bad to her. I just want to treat her well. (Line 126) (Deniz)

Then they get cross with me. When we are going to school with C. she gets cross with me just because I'm waiting a step behind. I always cry then. For example, last night we had a row with S. For example, if I'm here and walk with the other girl arm in arm then she doesn't talk to me. She says get lost then I go but then I say why do you do that. I talk to her again. Even if I'm not faulty they get cross with me. A friend of hers was saying for me she begs a lot. Then I was hiding I was going to cry. Even now I feel like crying. (her voice gets lower but she doesn't cry) (Line 7-9) (Sinem)

The things which make me sad mostly are my exams and my friends' getting angry with me. Or thinking of that no one loves me. Or thinking that my all friends hate me. I feel these when my friends don't talk to me. Or when they don't come near me. (Line 7) (Aydın)

Although "küsülmek" by friends seemed to be a general peer issue that was independent from SES level, since these children had a higher potential of social exclusion at the same time, depending on their social, economic and ethnic backgrounds, lacking friendships could be a risk factor for being a victim of bullying at school or in their neighborhood, which implies further exclusion. Therefore, they wanted to keep every single friend they had whatever it takes and in general they might feel more vulnerable compared to other children when it comes to the issue of having no more friends. For example, in Sinem, Semra and Aydın's stories "making and sustaining friendship through threats" was a clear theme. Their friends were threatening them with revealing all their secrets or not talking to them anymore and these children gave up on themselves to be able to sustain their friendships and they ended up doing things they did not really want to do.

I don't have any impolite habits. Ç. sometimes say let's go and knock their doors but I say no I won't. Then we get cross. They call me a coward. I get very sad; I try hard not to cry. I go somewhere and I do like this (she blinks her eyes) and they say you are crying. Then they shout at me they say get lost. (Line 17) (Sinem)

My friend who makes me very sad, she makes me very sad, sometimes I also make her sad but I didn't make him feel sad too

much. Ç says we keep all our secrets and wants me to tell all my secrets, or else they won't talk to me. S.'s telling everything by force, if she won't she will get cross with her and then make peace with me. Just to make her jealous. (Line 14) (Semra)

The one who gets cross with others is M., because I think he's a bit nuts . Whoever hits him, he comes and hits us. He beats us you know. He jumps on me, he lies me down on the floor....M knows some of my important secrets, I wish I had never told him. (Line 167-192) (Aydın)

There's a girl, she doesn't know anything. She just started to read and write. I have done all her homework almost from the first grade to the second, I did it all. Now she's 3rd grader but she still comes and says to me you'll do my homework. She says if you don't do, I wont talk to you again. And then generally when I've already finished my homework, I ask her if you have any homework I can do it and then I do it and give it back to her. (Line 75-90) (Aydın)

At the same time, differently from Sinem, despite all his poverty, Aydın used “money” to resolve his problems with his friends and continue his friendship with them. This demonstrated Aydın's awareness that to be friendless was to be vulnerable. In the same vein, his friends' approach towards him and their decision to no longer talk to him were always related to financial reasons. Similarly, when he says that he has to give money to his sister to solve the problems between them, it is a sign of how anxious he is about losing the relationships in his life in general.

When my friends get cross with me...you know when they ger cross with me I can't study then. Because during the exams I always think of them. Even while I'm sleeping I think of them. You know... they hate me and it's like I hate them, too. Well, I don't know sometimes they don't talk to me at all. Whenever something happens they get cross with me. I cant understand why... everyday they get cross. You know things like you didn't give me money and so on. I don't know what to do. They say I'm not talking to you, I won't talk again. I tell them that I'm joking, I'm saying I won't give, but then they get angry and they go back to their desks and they get cross with me. For example when I buy hamburger or hot dog they want a bite, but at first I say I won't give and then they get angry with me and they don't talk to me but in fact all I wanna do is...you know I'm joking. (Line 75-86) (Aydın)

b. Betrayal Associated with Revealing Secrets Without one Party's Consent

(“Sırların Tutulmaması”)

As noted above, from the accounts of the children both for girls and boys, friendship meant security, support, and shared activities. For the girls, an additional meaning to friendship was attached: keeping secrets. Girls seemed to perceive good friendship as being confidants. Therefore, betrayal that depicted it self in “revealing secrets among friends” emerged as an important theme which two of the girls reported suffering from and being unhappy about.

You know there's this girl for example (talking about her uncle's daughter), whenever you tell her a secret she tells it to all the people that's why I don't like saying anything to her. But when she gives me a secret I keep it till I die as if you know she didn't tell me anything. She trusts in me but I don't trust in her. (...) İ. says, too...you know I don't like anyone but for example if I like someone, you know if I love a boy...yes for example we had a friend from class, B., she used to like someone from the class and she told İ. Then she told me D. if you love someone tell me then I'll go and talk to him...but because of these I don't tell her, I'm scared. (Line 153-166) (Deniz)

We promised to each other. In the past we used to tell each other's secrets to the others. Ç. is very bad, S. is really good, you know we were saying things like that. Then we gave promises each other you know not to tell anyone each others' secrets. We said you're telling our secrets so we won't talk to you again. Then I told, she told as well, each one of us told secrets of the other. Then we told ourselves we won't tell each others' secrets, otherwise we won't be friends anymore. (...) She tells Ç. S tells Ç that Semra told me like this and that. You know, Semra said this and that about you. I'm telling her if you tell again don't talk to me again, and she says OK I won't tell. Then she gets cross with me for example and she goes and tells all my secrets. (Line 278-286) (Semra)

From some of the boys' accounts it was also seen that “being confidants” was crucial for choosing their best friends. However, “revealing secrets” or “distrust” did not seem to constitute a source of unhappiness or distress in boys' lives.

c. To be treated badly

Two of the girls and one boy indicated concerns about being treated badly by some of their friends. It was evident from the children's accounts that they value friendship so highly that friends' negative attitudes influence their sense of well-being.

Sometimes it's my friends' treating me badly, they really get on my nerves. I have some friends and they treat me badly... how...even if I treat them well they treat me badly. They get on my nerves when they do something bad to me. For example, they always cause rows, they always cause us to be cross with each other or always to have rows. When we were going to the Quran lessons we were cross with each other, they weren't talking to us even if we didn't do anything. (Line 38-43) (Aysun)

For example, sometimes she comes and pulls my hair or does other things, you know hits my arm. I don't like such things, sometimes at the Quran course bad things happen. Well how can I tell, you know she is pinching me, she steps on my foot, then she pulls my skirt, she takes out my headscarf when we are going to the course. She's saying bad things and talking about boys all the time as if she had never gone to the Quran course or read Quran. (Line 49-52) (Aysun)

I'm treating Ç. very well but she doesn't treat me well. She makes me unhappy. (Line 282) (Semra)

And it makes me unhappy that my friends do not play with me. (Line 28) (Samet)

d. Friends with Bad Habits

Some settings children were faced with both at school and in their neighborhood not only mean an insecure environment for them but also bad role models. Especially the boys were more aware of this risk compared to the girls although they did not explicitly mention it, and they were more afraid to be influenced by the negative behaviors of their friends. This was in parallel with the girls spending more time at home or at school or going to the library to do research

whereas the dominant theme in the boys' stories was "playing on the street". This theme was particularly apparent in the story of Murat and Barış.

We were playing football during the break, 2 boys about 14-15 years-old were smoking. Then after two weeks we were again playing football and a boy who is 12 years old smoked. Sometimes I get scared. You know I'm scared because I don't want to be an addict like them, sometimes I think that perhaps if I look at them I'll be sick...they might make me an addict. (Line 147-151) (Murat)

Barış's distress with regard to friends with bad habits depicted itself in his accounts on classmates who were constantly disrupting the order. He indicated that what makes him unhappy with regard to friends was the presence of some kids who were fighting too much and disrespecting the teacher. This was in line with his general attitude throughout the interview and with especially his discourse on what makes him happy in his life: "peaceful and nonviolent atmosphere" and "when his teacher punishes students whom Barış complained about".

When the teacher doesn't come in the class, or when the bell rings, all the people in class start to shout or hit each other, and the class captain writes the names of naughty boys on the board and when the teacher comes she punishes them. The teachers makes them stand on their one foot in front of the board. For example the teacher, writes something on the board in our maths lesson, but when we can't keep up with her speed or when the teacher doesn't come, they always fight, that's why we can't write properly and we complain about them to the teacher and the teacher punished them, you know they stand on their one foot. (Line 93-95) (Barış)

Barış's concerns about his friends' behaviors run parallel to his classification of his classmates as "the smart ones" and the "troublemaker".

Among my classmates and my other friends there are some smart ones. All the rest are always fighting. So those ones pass and the others fail of course. I'm one of those smartest ones. As they are smart kids they never fight, they stay still, they read their books and then the class captain writes their names on the "smart" list and the others on the "naughty list". (Line 109-122) (Barış)

e. Social Isolation and Loneliness

One of the girls, Sinem, appeared particularly socially isolated. Similar to her isolated and bullied home environment, Sinem had very few friends and was experiencing bullying and exclusion by her peers at school and in the neighborhood. It may be suggested that difficulties in her familial relationships left her vulnerable to social exclusion in her wider social relationships. The other girls who lived in an extended family setting such as Sinem do not seem to feel an overall isolation in parallel with the fact that outside home, they can build relationships where isolation is not an issue.

I feel so alone. Not everybody plays with me. I'm always alone. My classmates don't play with me. I have only two friends around our neighbourhood. (Line 2) (Sinem)

Then she says your friends never play with you but really nobody plays with me. I'm always alone. Not to be alone I always go near them and tell them please don't do like this. And today M. (a boy), he came near me and kicked me and then I cried and he said if you cry again I'll beat you again, I'll kill you he said. I'm not saying anything. Everyone was shouting but he only saw me. They all slender me. (Sinem)

When I say I'm alone, you know nobody plays with me, they never call me. There is only S., she calls me sometimes. There's a boy in our class, whenever you do something he says bad words, he swears. (...) I say I want to play with you, too, but they don't let me. And then I ask why, they say we love each other like sisters and brothers but we don't love you like this so we can't let you play with us. They are playing with their best friends so they don't care about me. (Line 5-30) (Sinem)

For Sinem, the special needs of her disabled brother and her responsibilities in the household associated with substitute motherhood ("*ikame annelik*") also increased her feelings of exclusion and loneliness, especially with regard to leading difficulties in making and sustaining friendships. She explained how she had restricted time even to play with her friends since her family forced her to go back home right after school.

I can't get any support from anything. I never go out. My friends don't talk to me then. My mum goes somewhere. I wash the dishes, clean the house. My friends, they say... you don't come... and then I ask them ... if you had two siblings like me, would you be able to come? Then they don't talk to me again. Then sometime later they tell me again... come with us, we have some money, we'll do this and that...but I can't just leave home under these circumstances and go with them. (Line 57) (Sinem)

School-related:

Generally the children had a positive perception of their school experiences. When they were asked whether or not they liked school, all of the children said that they did like school. Only Semra was ambivalent about it due to the fact that her family prevents her from studying and enjoying school times.

When the children were asked about their school performance, the majority of the children defined their school performance as normal or good. Even majority indicated receiving an honor certificate. Only two girls, Sinem and Semra, defined themselves as unsuccessful and indicated that their marks were low. It is noteworthy that Sinem and Semra were the children who were growing up in a context with the most intense familial struggles and with the least support resources. Among the boys, only Samet perceived the level of his school performance as on average even though he did not define himself as unsuccessful.

In their discussions about school life, the children also identified several areas of school life that caused concern and trouble for them. Where children feel unhappy was related to continuing their education, academic failure, and relations with friends and teachers. However, the last two concerns about relations were distinct to Aydın and Barış rather than general concerns of the other children. There were two themes that stood out both in girls and the boys: Academic failure and dropping out of school.

a. Academic Failure

Especially four children expressed worries about success and failure at school, particularly about failing exams and not having done their homework that require extensive research. However, only one of the boys and one of the girls did explicitly mention his worries about academic performance as a problem in his life.

When I get bad marks, I sometimes cry. For the first time in my life I got 1 from my graphics exam. I drew it wrongly so I got 1 out of 20. I felt so bad. I didn't cry but I felt so sad for not being able to get a higher mark. So first I cried but then I said it's alright. (Line 59-62)
(Aydın)

I want to be happy, I don't ever want to be sad. I want to be hardworking like my other friends. I say I wish I could be hardworking like the others, what's wrong with me I say. (Line 551)
(Semra)

A boy and two girls, on the other hand, did not explicitly name their worries about failure at school and unhappiness due to having low grades in their voice bubbles. This theme emerged in their accounts as they talked about their feelings about school life.

For Murat, it was interesting that he started with his success at school when he was asked to describe himself a little bit in the beginning of the interview:

I've never failed. I love my teacher and my friends, too. (Line 2)
(Murat)

However, at the end of the interview Murat's anxiety about failing school revealed in response to whether there was a problem in his life that he thought he successfully solved.

Yes, I was thinking perhaps I'll fail but I studied so much. My teacher was always telling my sister on the teacher-parent meeting days that he's very hardworking and he's really good and then I thought OK I won't fail. Then I studied a lot and I've never failed. On the teacher-parent meeting day (I was scared) last year. I thought maybe they'll tell my mum or my sister that he's a lazy boy and his grades are too low...or maybe I'll fail. Actually my grades weren't bad but I was just thinking like maybe I'll fail this year. (Line 420-427) (Murat)

For Sinem, Aysun and Semra, on the other hand, their unhappiness about her academic performance was revealed as they were talking about the difficulties they had been going through with regard to their families and substitute mothership (*“ikame annelik”*), as was noted above in the “familial problems” heading. Both girls felt that they had been treated unfairly and had been required to assume more responsibilities than they could actually handle. Taking into account the fact that they have to play the role of substitute mothership (*“ikame annelik”*) by assuming the responsibilities at home and that they cannot find time the proper time and setting to study unlike their friends, their perceptions of academic failure and their feelings about unfairness were generally accurate.

I can't understand some of my lessons, my grades are too low. You know, my mum's going so I can't study, my mind gets confused. That day when she went again, there was an exam and I got 1, my report card is not that good. (Line 76-77) (Sinem)

I want to study but I can't. I want to study, too. (Line 555) (Semra)

b. The Possibility of Discontinuing Their Education

Majority of the children reported that their parents supported them to continue their education. Some children reported that their parents generally tell them, “If you do not attend to school, you cannot get a proper job and your future will resemble ours”. It seems that children perceived their parents want them to become more than what they are.

Good, he says study and become a powerful man. (Line 408) (Murat)

My family tells me not to leave school. And sometimes my elder brothers tells me not to leave school, as well. My uncles...for example, my little brother, he doesn't want to study much, he's 8, my mum forces him to go to school. And sometimes when he doesn't want to go to school we ask him what he wants to be when he grows up and he says he wants to be a footballer. I asked him how are you going to be a footballer and he said by studying and I said but you

don't want to study and he said OK I'll study, and now he does, he goes to school. (Line 437-441) (Samet)

Sometimes my dad tells me, study he says. For example, we didn't study and that's why we are in need of others' help, we always worked for other people he says. He says you won't be in need of others' help but they will need you then. He says you'll help them then and you'll gain something in return. I want to study as I want it myself. My dad supports me. He says you'll study, study he says. When you get married if your husband does not have a job, you might have and then you can get on he says. Or if both of you have jobs then you'll get on much better he says. You won't suffer like us he says. You won't be in need of your mother-in-law's help he says. He tells me such things and I'm affected by all these and then I want to study. (Line 312) (Demet)

My family tells me to study; they say go to school and become a doctor and save your life. They support me. All of them tell me to study. My dad tells me to study as much as I can. (Line 104-107) (Sinem)

My mum wants me to go to school. (Line 597) (Semra)

At the same time even though all of these disadvantaged children above all wanted education to help them obtain work and combat with poverty, the gap between study participants' educational aspirations on the one hand and their learning opportunities on the other was extremely wide. That is, despite the evidence that children perceived their families wanted them to attend to school; it seemed that some parents did not prioritize education sufficiently. For instance, the general accounts of Semra, Sinem, and Aydın did not validate that their families supported their present school life and/or future education. While their parents advised their children to continue their education, they seemed to behave in such a way that prevented their children from studying hard enough. As noted before, Sinem and Semra typically helped with domestic work. Aydın held jobs after school and summer time. Parents of both Sinem and Semra prevented them from attending any courses at Rotary Child Center or Tarlabaşı Community Center.

Therefore, when academic failure was combined with the threat of withdrawal from school it became an important common point that makes the children worried and unhappy. The possibility of discontinuing their education was a directly voiced concern by three of the girls and one boy. However, in all cases the worry about a discontinued education was related to academic failure (flunking) and economic challenges.

Well, if I fail I guess I leave the school. So if I fail probably I won't go to school again. My mum told me if you fail this year then I'll make you work and I told my mum that I don't want to work. (...) I felt so bad. My mum told me you'll work and I said I don't want to work. She said you will because you have to. And I told her I don't have to. Then she said you have to because you'll look after us. Then I said you work and look after yourselves, I'll take care of myself I said. I'm saying I can't look after myself so how can I take care of you. (Line 593-604) (Semra)

I want to be very successful in the future but if my parents keep on quarrelling like this then I can't do anything. Because I get confused and then I won't understand anything. I want to be a doctor but I won't be able to. (Line) (Sinem)

I don't know how long I will study, either. My mum says whenever you fail I'll take you from school. I guess she wants me to work. (Line 415-418) (Aydın)

As our economic condition is average I don't want to leave school. I want to study and be a powerful woman. Sometimes my grandfather tells my dad why do you make her study, she's a girl, what's the use they say. Then I get scared you know if they tell me not to go to school. (Line 5) (Demet)

In this context, it was meaningful that these children belonged to families which financially struggled most and did not receive any regular aids from institutions. Thus, it is evident from the children's accounts that lack of parental concern for education and a need for children to work emerged as obstacles to keeping children in school. Children who fail at school were especially at risk for dropping out of school and entering to the informal labour market. As it was evident

from the girls' narratives in the study, being a girl even increased the risk for dropping out of school.

c. School Trips and other necessities

Other than concerns about academic performance and future education access, the children seem to share another concern and unhappiness with regard to some within school experiences: access to school trips and other necessities. Others included concerns about losing relationship with teacher and gang activities, each of which was mentioned only one child in the study.

Though it seemed that children generally had a positive perception of their school experiences, the only facet where children might feel excluded is related to school trips and activities, and several other necessities such as uniforms for special events due to the fact that participation depends on money. Mainly a boy and a girl tended to express their concerns about this issue.

For example, there was one boy, Samet, who valued school trips a lot and mentioned not going to school trips causing him concerns.

There's something as well, when we don't go to school trips. This Tuesday I'll save some money, I haven't yet. We'll go on a picnic, school trip on Tuesday. Some of us will buy pastries and some of us will buy coke and then we'll go. But it's not certain whether I'll go or not. I need money, because we'll go by bus. If I don't go my friends will, I'll get sad if I can't go and they might as well. I haven't saved any money, yet. If I can save some, perhaps I'll be able to save some on Monday. (Line 331-341) (Samet)

For example when I couldn't give the money on time... We would go to Miniaturk and I had 10 millions with me. It was over since we didn't give on time. There were place only for 3 people and we drew of lots among 6 people. I was on the list, E., A., and also C. (Line 350) (Samet)

There was also one girl, Aysun, who mentioned that she felt particularly vulnerable and excluded when school demanded extra money for performance on

special days. She said that she would be too embarrassed if her friends noticed that her family could not afford.

He [my dad] couldn't work much and he couldn't earn money and sometimes he was saying we would buy clothes for the 23 april and I had 5 millions, I told to my mum because I'm embarrassed to get money from my dad. My mum said I didn't have any money, we wanted from my dad but do we work he said, and told me to tell my teacher we can't give money since our economic condition is not good and I can't give money. Well later we told my dad again. Later on my dad gave me 35 millions. I was still needing 10 millions and my friend's mum had given me 10 millions[I didn't want her to] she had given me I love that girl very much and since I take care of her her mum always gives me money. [I wasn't telling to my teacher] I feel embarrassed among my friends. (Line 387-396) (Aysun)

Therefore such kind of school demands on children may pave the way for feeling excluded and even pave the way for children excluding themselves from the rest of their friends.

d. Concerns with regard to teacher

Only one of the boys, Aydın, explicitly indicated a concern related to his teacher in his voice bubble of troubles. He was unhappy to think of about the possibility of his teacher hating him. His concern about losing the relationship with his teacher was parallel to his general concern about losing relations in his life in general. This point was also in line with his anxiety about failure at school as mentioned above in the sense that Aydın associates the meaning of “being hardworking” and “studying” with maintaining good relations with his teachers.

The things that make me unhappy most are exams and my friends' getting angry with me. Thinking of nobody loves me. My friends' hating me and my mum's hating me. It will make me sad if my teacher doesn't like me. (Line 7) (Aydın)

We were taking an exam I forgot to write my friend's name and I gave the pen and tell him to write then the teacher wrote cheat on the pen. Then my friend cried, and I couldn't look the teacher in the eye. Then the teacher said how can I understand, and we said Deniz forgot

to write his name and he said ok. He erased the cheat. (Line 221)
(Aydın)

Other children in the study did not spontaneously mention their teachers as distressing them. Yet although some children did not know very well how to read or write as was observed during their completion of “voice bubbles”, they did not link this to their teachers’ lack of skills or dedication. Only a few children concluded that some teachers lacked training, that their instruction was dreary and disconnected from children’s needs. They were more concerned about the conduct of teachers in the classroom. When asked about their perceptions of their teachers, two of the children expressed dissatisfaction in that teachers were often impatient, insensitive and uninterested in whether or not they are learning.

In chess class, we didn’t play chess, but others played. I complained them to the teacher and then she said why don’t you watch them, you can learn she said. But I said they don’t let us play. If she had told us what to do then we’d have learned. But she doesn’t. She should’ve warned them, but she never does. (Line 41) (Semra)

I don’t like the computer teacher at all, she doesn’t teach us anything, she doesn’t do proper lessons. She explains things just for once and then leaves.(Line 59) (Semra)

Our maths teacher doesn’t do any proper lessons but last Wednesday we weren’t naughty and he said if you keep on being good like this, there will be 10 questions in the exam and I’ll tell you 5 of them now and you’ll do the rest he said. We said OK. (Line 101) (Samet)

Sometimes our maths teacher says bad words such that don’t talk jackals (*çakallar konuşmayın lan*). And tells us not to speak at all. Then we get really sad. (Line 119) (Samet)

Among the girls, Semra also touched upon the physical violence by the teachers.

For example we have a friend called F. in class, s/he talks all the time, makes jokes and because of him/her we can’t do a proper lesson, we don’t understand anything. Then when we don’t understand, the teacher beats us. (Line 26) (Semra)

I have complaints about my teacher. We're only 5th graders but she tells things which are above our level or she speaks about the subjects that we are unfamiliar with, then she beats us. Moreover, we have also an English teacher, she just makes us write things, for example she says write these for five times but we only write it for once, then she makes an exam and then she says why don't you study but she never lets us read. (Line 30) (Semra)

Once S. [a friend] complained about our teacher to her mum, she complained about our religion teacher. In return the teacher came and asked our friend why you complained about me, I didn't beat you that badly he said. Who do you think you are, you can't complain about any teacher here, you are too young to complain about me he said. As I'm scared I can't complain about anyone. Once I did, I complained about something. I said our English teacher doesn't explain anything properly I said. I told it to my dad. And he said don't complain about anyone else again otherwise you'll get into trouble he said. Then as I was scared I could never complain about anyone. (Line 53-57) (Semra)

e. Gang Activities

Even though only one boy, Samet, mentioned gang activities outside the school, he did not seem to perceive it as a threat or distressing. Yet his paradoxical feelings was evident from his narrative, which implied that the school sheltered them from violence at the same time.

We didn't used to have security in the school. So many fighters were coming. On that day the security came and fired their guns. We were all afraid, of course. Then the time passed. Some come now but don't enter the school they wait outside. They wait children to go outside. (Line 71-74) (Samet)

They quarreled on that day, he fired his gun. (...) it happened once. They don't enter, they can't enter the school. Our school is surrounded with wires so no one can enter. Our principal will give cards to parents in order to enter the school building, entrance permission card. These days they give their identities and they enter. [outside the school too] it happens. It makes us unhappy. But the teachers help us separate them. (...) In the mornings I am very happy as I am going to school. Our school is a safe and a good one, our principal is good too. (Line 85-98) (Samet)

f. Ethnic Differentiation "Us vs. Others"

From the discourse of Samet it was seen that the teachers at his school discriminated against children from different ethnic backgrounds (Romani people).

Samet did not seem to have negative attitude towards his schoolmates from other ethnic backgrounds. However, how he was confused about the Romani peers was evident from the fact that he mentioned this discrimination right after he talked about the gang activities at the school, and from his accounts on feeling pity for them.

I have some gypsy friends; they don't do anything bad they are always good. When I quarrel with them I don't complain about them to the teacher, because I feel pity for them. But sometimes when they hit me, I hit them as well. They complain about me but I don't. Our principle had expelled some gypsy students and sent them to other schools. (Line 69-71) (Samet)

I was going to register to that school (H.B. Primary School) but they drew lots, but now I'm so glad that they didn't draw my name. They sent me to S. Primary School. I'm so glad that that they didn't draw my name. [My best friend] many of my friends are there but there are lots of gypsy kids there, too. (Line 286-290) (Samet)

Those who sell weeds and drugs are gypsies, he's son of one them. I have some other friends but their families don't sell. And I have also other friends whose families sell weed and drugs, but I don't hand around with them too often. (Line 292) (Samet)

It seems that identity and ethnicity were part of what parents encouraged in children. For instance, when he was asked if he had any qualities that made him feel different, Samet told:

They are Romani and I'm Kurdish. That's why I feel different. It causes some problems sometimes. Once many things happened, Romani people fought with Kurdish people, I was too scared that I went into a shop you know they might have fired their guns, I went back come from a short cut. [do you go through any problems as you have Romani friends?] Actually, no, I want to be friends with them in fact, but their parents might not want. My parents don't know that I have Romani friends. Romani people are good friends. They are helpful people though they fight sometimes. (...) they don't tell their families that we're friends and I don't tell mine, either. If I do so; my parents won't let me then. They might say that they are our enemies. Romani friends might not tell as we are Kurdish. In our neighborhood there are no Romani people but only Kurdish. There are Romani people at school. (Line 521-553) (Samet)

Neighborhood:

Majority of the children were unhappy about the district they were living in. One of the more troubling findings of the study is that while children's discourse displays that demeaning and illegal ways of earning money are observed in their neighborhoods, the children talked about them as if they were ordinary events. Although they touched upon negative points and mentioned that these points made them unhappy, their expressions seemed to lack emotion.

Despite a lack of open expression of feelings about the problems they lived in relation to their neighborhoods, it must be mentioned that especially boys seemed uneasy and mentioned problems with regard to neighborhood they were living in.

a. Lack of safety

Three of the boys named the security-related issues in the neighborhood as making them distressed. Children concluded that they witnessed incidences of theft, assault and drug peddling. They did not feel secure.

For two of the boys, drug peddling and the substance abusers on the street seemed to be the major problem.

As I am playing in the neighborhood so many junkies come they get some and disturb us. At nights they shout and sometimes they fight. Cops come and search the houses. (Line 27) (Samet)

As I am climbing the road up from our neighborhood, I get scared a little from the junkies. (Line 65) (Samet)

Our neighborhood is very good; the cleanest neighborhood is ours'. There are no bad people except thieves. There are many thieves. There is one drug dealer. I was afraid from them. There were packets green things I don't know their names I think marijuana I saw them even while selling to university students. (Line 383) (Aydın)

[there is another that I get cold feet] yes his name is Ş. He also smokes marijuana sometimes we go back streets. A friend put a fire and he bought seed for us then we go to play football with our friends

it's a back street a quiet place. We see marijuana smokers every day.
(Line 408) (Aydın)

It is also understood that some children are close to both the drug dealers and the police at the same time, which constitutes a major risk for the children. For example, one of the boys, Aydın, was evidently conflictual while telling the drug dealing event he witnessed. On one hand he voiced his fear and wish to be a policeman to catch the drug dealers, but on the other he said that he went to the drug dealer's house without worries and that in fact the man was a good guy. In a similar vein, when he described the dealers his starting point was how "rich" the dealers were. Given all his poverty, this might increase his conflict and thus increase the risk of being too close to the drug dealers in the neighborhood.

I am afraid. I don't want them to sell but they are selling. I talked to that man why do you earn your living like this. I can't do anything else he said. He invited me to his house and we talked. What are these I asked but he didn't say. Then I said I am very scared and since he was a preacher he did something like this (he is showing his actions) then he wrote something in a piece of paper and gave it to me. (Line 388-392) (Aydın)

There are some sellers but they are very rich. Limousine, they go by car from here to there... (Line 396) (Aydın)

I wasn't afraid of him. I went alone and what do you sell I asked.[to his house] Actually I went there. My dad also knew him. I saw him preparing weed. (Line 398-402) (Aydın)

I say I wish I was a cop and caught them and didn't let things like this happen. But when I grow up, I am thinking to be a cop. So that I can catch them and send them to jail. (Line 408-411) (Aydın)

In one boy's story, violent and bloody fights and daily occurrence of physical and verbal aggression among neighbors was a strongly emerging theme. Violent clashes between gangs of youths whose parents lived next to each other were also causing violent quarrels among neighbors.

For example my friends from the neighborhood fight with some boys from another neighborhood, then their parents come and fight since they hurt their children. (Line 55) (Bariş)

They always shout and fight, and then...they fire their guns to each other. (...) That is because the boys come and fight... then his mum his dad come and say why did you hurt my son? There is too much noise. (Line 61-67) (Bariş)

One of the boys even mentioned that he wanted move out of Tarlabası but the problem was that they could not leave because of their financial state.

There happens quite often in our neighborhood. In A's [his closest friend] neighborhood also happens. They also sell there sometimes. Sometimes they give secretly, and sometimes they give at once. They wrap it with a newspaper and give, and he gives money. Sometimes they sell to people from Diyarbakır, Batman, Mardin, Manisa. Sometimes they sell to people from their own villages, to their friends. Sometimes when a purchaser comes, they yell and argue that's my client, it's my client. I get very sad. I want to move from there. [my mum and dad] they know. Maybe we can move when my dad return from abroad. (Line 36-48) (Samet)

In general the children did not voice their families' reactions regarding the neighborhood. When asked about the family's reaction the general answer was "they don't say anything". In this context it may be considered that the parents are not that supervisory about the time especially the boys spend on the street. Only one of the boys, Samet, shared how uneasy his mother felt about the time he spent on the street.

Yesterday my mum shouted at me. She said why don't you come earlier, there are junkies. I won't do it again I am sorry I said. (Line 67) (Samet)

Though not spontaneously, two of the girls touched upon the insecure atmosphere in their neighborhood similar to boys' accounts. Their fear with regard to neighborhood security emerged as response whether they spent some time on the streets of the neighborhood district in their free time. They reported acquaintancing with incidences of drugs, guns, bloody quarrels and fights. The fear, lack of safety

and uneasiness about the incidents they witnessed was more or less the same with that of boys.

There's a woman in our neighborhood, she buys yoghurt, you know those pills, powder ones, there's an art centre over there, she goes there and she buys cigarettes. Once I saw her, I was so scared that she could force me to sniff as well, he bought the thing and she sniffed it... then I looked at her and she looked at me. I'm scared of such things... then one gets scared when the guns are fired. For example, sometimes my dad comes late in the evening. But rarely. Because of his job. And then I get worried, you know because he's still out. And they fire the guns. (...) there were many thieves here. (Line 273) (Deniz)

People from Diyarbakır are fighting with people from Mardin. A terrible fight took place down the road over there, the cops came but even they couldn't separate them, they were hitting each others' heads or they were kicking each other it was really bad. (...) these things happen quite often in our hood. I feel so bad and I say I wish we weren't living in this area, my aunts but they are not my real aunt, you know some kind of relatives, they were living there you know they were living just next door and they were coming to us. Now they moved to another place as those things happen in the neighborhood. (Line 269-275) (Aysun)

b. Physical Pollution and Noise

One boy, Murat, complained about dirtiness and noise. Murat was also indirect about the insecure environment in the neighborhood and his unhappiness however he talked about these issues via "children hanging from the back of cars, children with bad habits". He voiced his complaints about the neighborhood over some physical complaints. The fact that Murat seemed to refrain from emphasizing anything negative and persistently underlining how he disliked spending time in the neighborhood supported this view.

Sometimes the pipes explode. They are reconstructing our street; they are removing the stones, that's why our street is too dirty. I feel sorry about this. (Line 412-413) (Murat)

Very dirty. The women upstairs, they always throw rubbish on the street. (Line 414) (Murat)

There was one boy, Barış, who complained about the noise of other children in the sense that the noise distracts him while studying. The noise he meant was also associated with the quarrels among the neighbors and children, which was described in “neighborhoods/fights among neighbors”

You know there's a lot of noise, that's why I feel so sad, and they always shout at each other, they always fight, and then ...they shot guns each other. They jump on some places, they jump on the cars, those people in our neighbourhood. (...) for example while I'm doing my homework, as there's a lot of noise I can't do my homework. (...) As there's too much noise. And sometimes as I don't want them to fight, I want them to get along well with each other [that bothers me]. (Line 61) (Barış)

c. Gossip and Exclusion

As noted before, girls did not tend to mention any problems with regard to neighborhood they were living in except “lack of safety” though not spontaneously.

Only Sinem spontaneously defined the gossips in the neighborhood with regard to the institutional aids her family received and the humiliation towards her disabled brother as a source of unhappiness and rage in her life, feeling herself and her family excluded. When her exclusion and loneliness both in her friendships and extended family relations, and the deeply negative effects of this exclusion on her life were considered, it is meaningful to see the projection of exclusion issue to the neighborhood district she was living.

People in the hood are slanderers; all of them have cars except from us. They all have cars but again they receive aid. I can't understand how they get all these aid. I don't know if they slander or I don't know what they say. (Line 86) (Sinem)

I have a disabled brother; some kids in the neighborhood hit him. They say bad words. He's just 10 years old. And I attack those people who hit him to save my brother. (Line 30) (Sinem)

d. Some youths causing troubles

One of the boys reported feeling distress concerning some elder children in the neighborhood district, who harass and bother him.

Some kids come you know just to bother us. They are not my friends, they steal our balls... we go down there to play football, when we go there they harass us. (Line 256) (Murat)

However, on one hand the children who bothered Murat and his friends were in the neighborhood district. On the other hand, Murat's accounts revealed that the adults who functioned as protective and supportive figures against these elder children were also a part of the same neighborhood district.

Some kids run after me to hit me, some people in the neighborhood warn them. Some kids some you know just to bother us. They are not my friends, they steal our balls... we go down there to play football, when we go there they harass us. They say don't do anything to these children otherwise it'll be bad for you and they don't come again. For example, there's a man called Y., he has a coffee shop just across our home. He threatens the kids. (Line 252-255) (Murat)

Organizations and Institutions:

a. Excluding Support (*"Dışlayıcı Yardım"*)

One of the ways for combating with poverty for these low income families was governmental and/or nongovernmental (NGO)-based aids. Seven of the children in the study indicated that their families got irregular non-monetary supports from NGOs such as Deniz Feneri and/or governmental institutions.

The children's emphasis on the irregular nature of these supports and the application process for these kind of supports made it clear that in this context children had contradictory perceptions about governmental institutions and NGOs. Even more most of the children mentioned that they could not obtain the right to receive regular or periodic supports despite their mothers' multiple applications to several organizations for financial aid.

For the children who mentioned receiving supports despite irregularity, these kinds of supports seem to be far from having a protective and supportive role in their lives. Rather the children defined the supports in terms of “excluding support” (*“dışlayıcı yardım”*). This appeared to be related to the difficulties during the application process. That is, the most common problem that the children mentioned was that their mothers could not reach the help that they needed, and that the institutions did not distribute the help to the ones who genuinely needed it. For those who did not receive any supports, none of the community-based organizations or governmental institutions was good. Not everyone benefited. The supports excluded some people. The state and NGOs approached them unevenly. They did not provide permanent incomes to improve living conditions for their families. For those who received food supports, they were considered limited. There was evident distrust of these types of support and children lost their faith in these supports.

The children who had “excluding supports” (*“Dışlayıcı yardım”*) perceptions were especially from the families who were financially struggling most and who did not have access to any informal support from extended family. For example, Sinem, Aysun and Barış apparently indicated their negative perceptions about the support provided by community-based organizations. They believed that rather than the ones who were really in need, the ones who already owned houses or cars were receiving this kind of aid. Their feelings of exclusion in comparison to other so-called needy ones were evident.

Everyone at school except from us has grant. We applied but deputy principle said no I'm not accepting, they don't like us. He said it's over, there's no vacancy for grant list, then someone came and they registered him. Then my mum cried and I cried, too. And then the teacher came and she told my mum to stop crying. (...) Then my mum cast a spell on them as they didn't give us the grany and something happened to that teacher. Well, you know she did us wrong. (Line 84) (Sinem)

My mum goes everyday and she cries. Nobody helps but they give lots of money to other people in the neighborhood but they only give us 60 millions. The rest receives 200-300 millions. Some receive even 500 millions. (Line 85) (Sinem)

We have some friends, they always get help from Deniz Feneri, their fathers' are also working. (Line 351-352) (Aysun)

[My mum] applies but we don't receive any aid. (...) when we don't receive any aid, I say to my mum you go in vain. It is useless. (Line 355) (Aysun)

We want aid but they don't give us. We went to district house and asked for some help, they said you will but we haven't received anything yet. (...) They gave to my aunt, but not to us, not yet. My other aunt received some money from tax refund 250 millions, they went to supermarket, we haven't received anything yet, but we will. (...) it makes me feel bad. I feel angry. I feel angry because they give to them but not to us. I'm going to the yellow card place with my mum and they give some clothes. There's this yellow card and a phone number, we go there and they give 3 kinds of clothes. (Line 353-383) (Barış)

It was always the mothers of the children who sought assistance from the state or NGOs to find solutions to their financial problems and who actually got access to the help. Fathers of the children, on the other hand, seemed passive in searching solution to their families' financial problems. From the accounts of some of the children whose fathers had occasional jobs, it was evident that their fathers did not even actively searching for a job in times of unemployment.

Nowadays my mum's going to some places and she's applying. At the moment sometimes we receive some food. They give us food during Ramadan. (Line 84) (Sinem)

My mum does everything she can. Sometimes she goes to mukhtar and they give some coal. (Line 492-493) (Metin)

My mum saves the money on her own. We receive aid from a couple of places and my mum never spends them. (...) There's place called Deniz Feneri, we get help from there. For example we receive food and things for breakfast, we don't get anything else. My mum goes everywhere and she makes a lot of effort. (Line 357-372) (Semra)

My mum finds the aid. If it weren't for my mum, we would have no money, we'd die. My mum meets the expenses of this house, for

example if my mum weren't at home for three days, then we'd suffer, hardly survive. (Line 224-228) (Deniz)

In Aysun's accounts institutional supports were also connoted with the extended family's use of her mother's efforts for finding some financial support as another way of humiliating and degrading her and her mother. Her grandmother tried to create distress and dispute among Aysun's parents with regard to her mother's efforts outside the home.

You know she says your wife goes out to get financial help, she goes around till midnight. Actually, my mum goes out but comes back immediately, she comes back. (168-172) (Aysun)

There were only two children who did not imply any negative perception of the supports from institutions. One was Metin whose discourse implied a positive perception in the sense that such kinds of supports improved his perception of the family's financial situation. In response to how he evaluated the economic situation of the family, his discourse implied that the economic situation of the family was good in times of support while bad if there was no aid in hand.

I think it's good. Sometimes good, sometimes bad. When they bring some coal or when they give shoes and trousers from school, it's good then. (Line 500-506) (Metin)

The other was Deniz whose accounts on institutional aids indicated that she was the only child in the study whose family received regular aids from several sources.

For example, they bring us help from the city council, food for example, here the council has a van which distributes food, they say come and register and then my mum went and registered so we can get both food and bread. (Line 219) (Deniz)

b. Impeded/Precluded Social Support

The children in the study did not spontaneously mention any sources other than school that they benefited from in terms of social and academic support.

However, when they were asked directly whether they attended any courses outside the school, their accounts revealed that only two girls did attend to a social center, Rotary Child Center. None of the boys indicated attending any kind of social center for children.

Semra ve Aysun reported attending to Rotary Child Center for some time, and benefiting from the center academically and socially. However, they quit attending there by their mothers upon their Quran hodjas' interference. The most cited reason was that some Quran hodjas in the neighborhood tried to prevent children from attending to courses of the center by telling mothers and children bad things about Rotary Child Center. Even though neither Semra nor Aysun stated this issue as a problem in their lives, it can be suggested that the opinions of Quran hodjas were influential in making up the mothers' minds and in preventing children from getting some extrafamilial social and academic support.

Once I went to Rotary and once I went to after school studies. (...) My uncle's daughter told me about these, she said come and then you'll be more successful. And then I went and registered, they helped me with my lessons and I understood much better. I registered for the maths course. Then my mum didn't let me go. (...) Our [Quran] teacher told us not to go there, he said they are not Muslims and they'll teach you their own religion. But our neighbor's son, he's been going there for a couple of years they haven't done anything to him, nothing's happened. (Line 559-575) (Semra)

I used to go to the child centre but I'm not going anymore. (...) We were going and then we gave up, our Quran teacher used to go there when she was young, as well. The teachers over there was confusing the children's minds, they were telling things and then our teacher told us not to go there, we asked why and she said don't go. I'll tell you later, for example they said there are some dead people buried underneath that building. (Line 226-236) (Aysun)

Sometimes we play football and then we attend chess, music and maths classes, you know I attend the lessons I like. (...) It does good to me, after we got out from there we were going to Taksim and playing in the park, we were playing games, that's it. (Line 238-244) (Aysun)

Research Question 2: How do the children growing up in chronic poverty define and explain areas that make them happy in their life, and how do they define and explain their resilience capacities?

Related to the second research question, the children were asked to fill inside the other “voice bubble” with any areas in their lives that they believed to make them happy and feel good the most in order to elicit the possible protective factors and supportive mechanisms in low-income children’s lives.

Looking at the children’s responses, it was obvious that the areas which children defined as sources of happiness in their lives more often implied “wishful thinking” for regular availability of the happiness sources rather than their actual regular experiences. In addition, the “happiness” areas also reflected the exact opposite of the “troubling” areas that made the children unhappy in their lives. Yet these were meaningful in the sense that they also mirrored the children’s own definition of factors that would enhance their resilience and coping capacities.

Six headings each with varied themes emerged at the end of the analysis: Family, Friendship, School, Neighborhood, Material Ownership, and Personal. It was evident that the emergent themes under the first five headings reflected the protective sides of the same headings that emerged in the analyses for Research Question 1. The sixth heading, personal issues, was, on the other hand, related to self-directed thoughts of the children.

The most repeated themes that emerged from the “voice bubble” were the familial themes (good and supportive nuclear family relations, and parents’ support for education) and inclusion and support in friendship. Different from the headings that emerged from the analysis of Question 1, personal issues emerged as an

important source of happiness for the children in the study such as to be loved and appreciated by others, and dreaming about good things (see Appendix E and G).

Familial:

a. Good and supportive relations with the family

Four girls and four boys defined good and supportive relations with their families as the major happiness they drive in their lives.

It makes me very happy that my family supports me. I get more ambitious as they support me. I would like to fulfill my ambition and take a step towards good things. When I grow up I do not want to embarrass them. I would like to be proud and be praised by them. I get so happy when they support me. For instance, I say I'll be a doctor when I'm grown up. (Line 333) (Demet)

I get along very well with my family. (...) Whenever I have a problem they solve it. They give me what I need. If my shoes are torn, they buy me a new pair. They buy me what I need. They buy what is necessary for school. They sometimes buy stuff that I need. Sometimes if my book is ripped off I buy a new one, and sometimes when someone lets me down I share it with my family. (Line 214) (Murat)

It makes me so happy when I am with my family. My family loving me... (Line 9) (Aydın)

What make me happy are my family, mom and my teacher, my sister... (Line 19) (Barış)

For Deniz who currently had good relations with her family it was important for her that her family was happy and contend. It was apparent that what made her happy was the exact opposite of what she indicated in her unhappiness voice bubble: She would be happy if no one in the family died (as opposed to being unhappy if someone in the family died). As explained before, this had to do with her father's illness and her fear of losing her father. Thus, wish for happiness of her family and her actual experience of a happy family seemed to be embedded in this case.

It would make me happy if my family were happy... (Line 35)(Deniz)

If someone from my family or from outside died or were sick I would be very unhappy, that's why I do not want anyone to end up that way. (Line 24) (Deniz)

Especially for Barış, Murat and Aydın, supportive role of their mothers in their lives as sources of happiness was apparent.

For instance once we lost our ball and we told it to mom. Mom said "wait a minute", then we couldn't find it, but mom gave us money and we bought a new one. Mom said "come to me if this one deflates and I will buy you another one". (Line 214-217) (Murat)

She makes me feel confident and gives me power. I just feel that I am not alone when I take an exam. When I go to school my mom says "May God bestow upon you clarity of mind" I go and imagine getting 5 from the exam, I imagine my mom next to me and then the exam goes all well. (Line 252-255) (Aydın)

Among the three boys, Murat also pointed out his mutually supportive relationship with his mother.

Whenever my mom has a problem she shares it with me. I think of possible solutions. When I have some problems I tell it to mom and she thinks of possible solutions. (Line 234) (Murat)

As indicated previously, Sinem and Aysun did not have any account of a supportive relationship with their parents throughout their interviews. Therefore, it seemed that in contrast to Sinem and Aysun, all of the other children's accounts and perceptions on happiness with regard to their good relationships with their families seemed to reflect their regular experiences. Sinem and Aysun's answers, on the other hand, seemed to reflect their irregular and temporary experiences rather than their constant experiences. Yet it was crucial in terms of revealing their drive to feel happy.

For example, for Sinem, whose accounts generally indicated neglect by her parents, a tiny little experience of being noticed by the parents seemed to have a tremendous effect on her life. Her discourse on how her parents' appreciation in

response to her success at the Quran made her happy revealed the possible protective role of parental support, care and encouragement for her sense of well-being.

When they pat me [*arkamı ovaladıkları*], I get really happy. I feel so good. When I pass from my Quran lessons, I guess they like me a lot, they say well done, good girl. Then I feel so happy and I go and sit next to them. (Line 80) (Sinem)

Good relations with the family also comprised good relations between the father and the mother for Sinem. Most of the unhappiness and challenges in her life was related to the negative relationship between her parents marked by violence and humiliation by the extended family. Taking this into account, it is very understandable that Sinem placed this wish in her happiness bubble. It clearly defined that a positive relationship between her mother and father would create a positive and protective effect in her own life too. However, from her accounts in general it was evident that peaceful moments among her parents were hardly present.

I get so happy when mom and dad make peace. (Line 80) (Sinem)

In Aysun's case, her statement about feeling happy about good relations with her family also seemed to imply wishful thinking for consistent good relations with her family rather than her actual experience as it was evident from mentioning wish for death within the same sentence.

One of the things which make me happy is that I get along well with my family members, I feel so good when I get along well with them. (...) Sometimes I feel bad, I say I wish I could die, but when my family is around I feel so safe and sound. When I feel myself good I'm happy. If I feel alone... you know I feel lonely. (Line 20) (Aysun)

b. Familial support for education

Among all children, only two, Demet and Barış, explicitly indicated in the voice bubbles that their families' support and encouragement with regard to their school life pleased them a lot. It is noteworthy to mention that in contrast to other children, Demet and Barış's perceptions about their families' attitude toward their

education and available support from their families were consistent. Their answers reflected their current experiences rather than wishful thinking.

I feel so happy when my family tells me that we'll help you study.
(Line 14) (Demet)

It always makes me happy. My mum buys me gifts when I pass my exams and that's why I feel so happy, moreover, last year I gained an award from my teacher and my mum bought me a cake. (Line 221)
(Barış)

Friendships:

As the themes such as feelings of distance from, exclusion, and mistrust of friends emerged as distressing areas in the children's friendships, perceptions of closeness, warmth, helpfulness and sharing of activities emerged as sources of happiness and satisfaction in most of the children's lives in the study.

a. Good Relations: Not being excluded by friends, being talked to, getting along well, being loved

Four boys and three girls wrote friendliness and getting along well with friends in their voice bubbles. For example, for Murat one of the major points of unhappiness in his life was the anxiety about losing his friendships, as discussed previously. Therefore, it was meaningful to see that his positive friendship relationships were among what made him happy in his life. In both Murat's and Aydın's accounts it became evident that they also had positive friendship relations built on reciprocal sharing.

My friends at school really love me. I get along well with my friends at school. (Line 2) (Murat)

(...) what makes me happy is that my friends love me. (Line 9)
(Aydın)

For Metin, getting along well with friends and being accepted/acknowledged/included by them clearly manifested itself through "shared

interests". Playing football with friends and being invited to play football with them was one of the happiness areas that Metin mentioned at the very beginning of the interview. As for Samet, sharing his birthday with his friends was one of the points of happiness in his relationship with his friends.

When I feel like, I go out to play football when my friends call on me. Sometimes when my friends at school don't let me play with them, they come afterwards and ask me to play with them, and this makes me quite happy. (Line 28) (Metin)

We don't generally celebrate our birthdays but my aunt does. Sometimes I receive some birthday gifts but actually I don't want them to buy anything. I don't want my friends to buy gifts for me. It'd be fairly enough if they could come here. It would be really good if they could come to my birthday party. Sometime they call on me and sometimes I go near them. (Line 306) (Samet)

Contrary to Murat, Aydın, Samet and Metin; Sinem, Aysun and Semra had no or inconsistent accounts of positive friendship relations or inadequate relations at most. What was very important for them and made them happy was to have good relations with friends, not getting cross with them and being loved by them. Nevertheless, what made them happy were not actual positive friendship relations but rather wishful thinking of what they did not have at the moment.

With my friends...what makes me happy are that my friends love me and they treat me well. (Line 20) (Aysun)

I always want to be happy with my friends. (Line 24) (Semra)

If no one gets cross with me and if no one reveals our secrets when we share our secrets with each other... Then I feel happy. (Line 333) (Semra)

I always feel very happy when my friends talk to me. (Line 5) (Sinem)

b. Support from friends: "To be there"

Aydın and Samet emphasized getting support in friendship relations (especially academic support) as something that made them happy and feel good

through various examples during the interview. While some of the girls mentioned the availability of mutual academic support with their friends during the interviews, they did not directly put this in the voice bubble as an area that made them happy.

It makes me feel happy that my friends are always by my side. (Line 9) (Aydın)

I help them and sometimes they help me. When I don't know the answers I ask them and they ask me when they don't know. (Line 69) (Aydın)

My friends and my family. I feel very happy. If I don't work for the school exam my friends immediately come and help me. Of course, not just me, they help everyone at school. (Line 23) (Samet)

Personal:

a. To be loved and appreciated by others

Underlying Demet and Deniz's statements about "creating something new and flamboyant" and the boys' statements of "playing football" lay how protective a role appreciation and admiration by others played for their selves associated with their need for social relations in their lives.

Thinking a new or a good idea and making it brilliant make me feel happy. (Line 14) (Demet)

I love to undersign something. I feel very happy. For example, I want people say Demet is champion of this and that. I want to share with other people. I want to learn their reactions when I share. If they will beat me or do something. And also I love to prepare it brilliantly when I think of something. For example I imagine a girl and I want to present it brilliant. I prepare banners, and present it to the class, that's it... (Line 320-325) (Demet)

The things that I like most are inventing something new, putting forward something and searching on it. I feel good when they say it is very beautiful, I feel very happy, but if they say badly I get sad. (Line 37) (Deniz)

If the scientist who discovered the light didn't exist, I would do it... For example Graham Bell invented the telephone... If the scientist who discovered the bulb didn't exist, I would do instead of him, I would make something for the benefit of humanity... I would make

people be better in the future, and lead an easier life. (Line 341)
(Deniz)

Similarly, when Metin was asked about his strengths if any, his response indicated how much he needed to be seen and appreciated as someone who was almost invisible and in fact humiliated in his family and at home. Similarly, it is meaningful in that sense that playing football was in Metin's happiness balloon whereas it was not there in many of the other boys' voice bubble of happiness. Among the reasons for playing football and wanting to become a footballer in the future, financial opportunities and the desire to be admired by other seemed to be more overlapped in the case of other boys in the study, who could receive recognition to a certain degree in their families. But for Metin involvement in football meant more than earning money. It would provide him with opportunities to satisfy his need for recognition and acknowledgement from others about his success or accomplishments.

Carrying something, saving somebody from falling make me feel strong. I feel good then, and also I happen to help him... You know they say thank you to me. (Line 590-593) (Metin)

Footballer the most. I always play; I want to be a football player. I feel happy when I score a goal. In order to join big clubs. I will be a star. There will a great admiration for me. (...) [I] imagine. Like Ronaldo. I want to be a player who scores good goals. (Line 360-375) (Metin)

In a similar vein, football was in Aydın's voice bubble too. However compared to Metin, Aydın's interest in football was more about the financial opportunities it promised. This could be explained through Aydın's familial relations being more positive and supportive as well as his recognition by family members, in that unlike Metin he could be more focused on the financial advantages of football rather than the social ones. However, it was also obvious that football was meaningful for Aydın also in that it brings about social acceptability and appreciation

through the sharing with friends and the admiration by the older children. It was understood that feeling good, successful and talented makes Aydın happy.

I love football very, very much. (Line 9) (Aydın)

I feel very good. I play football with my friends when I am bored. I play with older boys, and as I beat them sometimes they pick me and we play together. When they play for a bottle of coke or sweet pastry they include me in their game. (Line 284) (Aydın)

All in all, it was evident that these children had an extreme need to be seen by people in their lives. To be loved and appreciated by others functioned as a protective role in these children's lives.

b. To dream about being in the Village (associated with support from the extended family)

For most children "village" had a very positive and relaxing perception.

Though few in number, there were children who could visit their villages in summers such as Samet and Murat.

I visit my nephew annually. Then I go to Sanliurfa with my mum and dad. (Line 27-30) (Murat)

I miss the air and the animals there. You can't get close to the ducks, they attack you immediately (he is laughing). In the village [life is better]. On the way to my grandma's house there are 3 places. From the house in the alley you can see the mountains. We are at the top of the mountains. And below lay fruit gardens. Friends over there, houses... The houses are huge. Rabbits are beautiful. There you can't see many fights. Just sometimes... At the moment of a fight, we set up gangs in the village. When someone beats another, we all beat the fighter. If any of us get into trouble we all help each other. We are helpful as being friends. (Line 260-271) (Samet)

Deniz and Semra were the only children who mentioned memories about their village and their desire to go to the village in their happiness balloons. For Deniz whose family migrated from Bitlis to İstanbul before she was born, and for Semra who grew up in the village in Van with his grandmother and aunts, "village" took up

a great place among things that made them happy in life. Underlying their accounts of the village was the sharing and support with the members of the extended family back there. Though not linked to memories of village as it was in Semra and Deniz's accounts, Sinem also mentioned her grandmother as supportive and comforting. In this context, Sinem's mention of the "grandmother" in the happiness balloon rather than directly mentioning the village itself seemed parallel to Deniz and Semra's accounts of the village.

The other members of Deniz's extended family preferred to migrate from Bitlis however they settled in Balıkesir. Deniz seemed to have a deep longing for the village and very positive memories with regard to being together with all her family members in the village. The other members of her extended family migrated from Bitlis but were settled in Balıkesir. She did not want to live in Istanbul but rather in the village. That is why she mentioned "dreaming about my village" among things that made her happy in life.

The thing that makes me happy is to dream about my village. (Line 35) (Deniz)

(...) People there are so nice. Our family is really happy there. When we go there, we had so many good memories. But I don't have such good memories here. I don't like here at all, I like the village the most. For example, I have friends in the village, we play games all the time, we go to our aunts' houses. We spend time in the gardens, collect fruits from the trees. People there are very cheerful, that's why I wanna be there. When we go there, it is enlivening. I don't know, well, I don't find people here close and intimate. People there hang together. We just have a relative downstairs, but we seldomly spend time together or share something. We have lots of relatives there in the village. It induces eager in me. We are family there. Everybody is interested in the other party. Here no one knows each other or aska if they need something. (Line 191-202) (Deniz)

As revealed in Semra's account of things that made her unhappy in her life, the village and in relation to that her grandmother played a huge role in her life. As mentioned before, there was a different situation about Semra's migration to

Istanbul. Soon after she was born, her parents migrated from Van to Istanbul and left Semra with her grandmother in the village. Semra thought his grandmother was her mother as she was growing up and was faced with the truth at the age of 7 when her mother came to the village to take her to Istanbul and she migrated to Istanbul to live with her parents. She returned to village and studies 3rd grade as she lived with her aunts and came back to İstanbul at the 4th grade. Semra did not seem to know why her parents left her in the village. She showed no hints of any negative feelings about being abandoned by her mother. However, considering the difficulties regarding substitute motherhood (*“ikame annelik”*) in Istanbul, she had feelings of anger, sadness and deprivation towards the mother for taking her away from her grandmother to bring her to Istanbul.

Throughout Semra’s account the longing for going to the village and her life with her grandmother and aunts there was dominant. For Semra, being in the village meant being with her grandmother as well as being near her relatives who gave her support in the village, because the village is the only place where she can be a child and “be happy”. In that sense it is very understandable that Semra wrote in the happiness balloon her longing and wishes about going to the village, also considering her statement “I was never happy in my life, maybe just a couple of times” and her linking of those moments of happiness to the village.

We can’t go to Kurtalan since we don’t have money but my mum saves money for us to go and I am looking forward to it. (Line 24)
(Semra)

Then I went to village and that was my best memory. There live my aunts and my mum’s sister. I saw my mum’s sister. She gave me hug and kissed me. When did you come she asked and I said I just came. She said welcome then. I finished my 3rd class in Van, I stayed with my aunt. (Line 206-217) (Semra)

I want to go to school there because I have my uncles and aunts there who can teach me. There are many people who can help me. (...) it

was better there. I was able to answer all the questions he asked there but I came here and I have nobody to teach me, actually nobody. (Line 246-313) (Semra)

My aunts were helping. My uncle and my aunt helped me read. We were helping each other. She was giving homework asking which one it is, she was reading to me and marked one of them and said you did right. I got happy. Later I came here and since I am alone I can't do anything by myself. If my aunts were here I could have passed the class. But my aunts are in Van, and I can't study. There they give me lessons everyday and they take me out to see around. (...) We were in Istanbul and we didn't have any money to go there my mum saved money for us but it wasn't enough and we couldn't go anyway. Hopefully we can go this year. (...) I want to stay there. (Line 236-244) (Semra)

Similar to Semra's longing for the support of her grandmother, Sinem who shared the same difficulties regarding substitute mothership ("*ikame annelik*") had her grandmother in the happiness balloon. Although it was not a very dominant theme, it indicated how important the recognition of a family member could be for a child under so much risk.

I get very happy when I talk to my grandma on the phone. She says me something good and I feel very happy. (Line) (Sinem)

We were getting along so well [with my grandma]. She even tells me that they will take me to Ordu, Fındıklı. I am very bored I can't go on a holiday I always look after my brothers or I am beaten. (Line 82) (Sinem)

c. Religiosity

For Deniz, religiosity of people was a source of happiness; however it rather implied a wish.

People's being prayerful and good... and I don't want anybody to die, these kind of things make me happy. (Line 35) (Deniz)

Well for example if only the people all around the world would become prayerful, behave in good manners and speak and have a relationship with God and if only they read Quran, and pray it would be better. It would be more beneficial to people. May be one can be forgiven in the other world. I was praying and reading Quran. (Line 262) (Deniz)

School and Education:

a. High Academic Performance

All the children identified education as a key means to combat poverty. Poor children above all wanted education to help them obtain not only a job, but also a profession. Among children's various proposals on education, a call for education to improve job opportunities ranked the first.

My education is good... I can become a teacher, footballer. An engineer. (Line 360) (Metin)

A good future in the upcoming years. Perhaps I'll attend the university and have a good job. But if I can't go to the university I can work in other jobs.(Line 406) (Murat)

Getting education will provide me a job, will make me a good person and literate and I will be educated... For what... To earn my living. (Line 191-194) (Barış)

We can't have any proper jobs if we don't go to school. We can be a shoemaker or a janitor but if we study when we graduate we can choose any profession we like. (Line 415) (Samet)

Education... School for example... If a person doesn't go to school he can't choose any profession he can't work anywhere. Of course collecting garbage is also a job, well how can I say, you know you can earn money from all kind of jobs but if we don't go to school you can't do anything you can't choose a profession so if you can't choose one you can't work. (Line 424) (Aysun)

It will be beneficial for example if I study when I grow up I won't be in need of any others' help because I'll have a job on my own so study and don't be in need of other people's mercy. (Line 305) (Deniz)

I support education, I want everyone to study. You know education will open me new horizons and I won't need anyone. (Line 345) (Demet)

Education will enable me to take whichever job I want, to do whatever I like, to earn the money I want, not to work for other people but for myself and not to need anyone... you know things like that. (Line 346) (Demet)

If I don't go to school I'll be poor as my mum... (Line 591) (Semra)

In addition to schooling and courses, children idealized education as a vehicle for promoting values, personal development, obedience and better social relations, and defeating illiteracy.

Education makes me be respectful to elder people and it makes me do whatever my parents say and enables me not to be ignorant. There is a woman in our hood and her husband died but he was registered in the National Health Service. The people at the hospital took some papers to her to sign but as she was illiterate she signed but she didn't realize that she turned down benefiting from National Health Service. (Line 414) (Aydın)

Education makes us respectful and organized in our lessons. (Line 426) (Aysun)

For example people who don't study, well we can't call them ignorant but generally they don't know about anything but I want to know about the world for example what is the shape of the world, 365 days things like that... (Line 346) (Demet)

It was evident both from the children's accounts on the meaning of school and education, as stated above, and from the children's general other accounts related to school that school was an area for children where they felt good about themselves and through which they could dream about their futures. However, only three children explicitly put "academic performance" as a source of happiness in the voice bubble.

Success in exams and good grades seemed to make Demet and Barış clearly happy. Demet also felt good about learning new things at school.

When I go to the supplementary course at school or when I learn new things I feel happy. Or I feel happy when I get good marks. (Line 14) (Demet)

When I get 5 from my exams I become very happy, each time I feel very happy. (Line 19) (Barış)

My teacher for example makes me quite happy when I get 5 from my exam. Yes and also when I get 4 or 5 from my performance homework she makes me very happy. (Line 181) (Barış)

b. To be noticed by the teacher

For Sinem and Barış, being noticed by teachers and having their needs recognized were among points that made them happy.

I feel so happy when I complain about them to the teacher when they fight. The teacher punishes them. (Line 181) (Barış)

When the teacher asks me to read a text in the classroom I read. It makes me feel content. (Line 80) (Sinem)

For Sinem who emphasized her lack of communication with her teachers due to her shyness, it was a great source of happiness to be called upon by the teacher in the classroom. In fact, as someone who was constantly disregarded and excluded by her friends and family, this was the chance to feel that she was seen by someone else. However, as opposed to Barış, being seen by the teacher seemed to be a wish on Sinem's side rather than an actual experience.

I'm not talking to any of my teachers. I feel embarrassed even my own teacher. They don't let me take any turns so I can't talk. I don't feel myself close to any of them or now I can't think of a name. (Line 74) (Sinem)

c. Making Friendships

Only one boy also indicated that school made them feel good by giving them the opportunity to see friends and spend time with them.

I feel so happy at school. When I see them [friends] at school I fell happy. (Line 517) (Samet)

The neighborhood:

a. Availability of Supportive Extrafamilial Adults

Both for Murat and Barış, to be loved and protected by the people in the neighborhood were a source of happiness in their lives. Their accounts reflected their actual lives.

There are very nice, good people in our hood. There are nice people who like me in out hood. (Line93) (Murat)

Considering that noise and the fights in the neighborhood were a great source of unhappiness for Barış, a point he wrote in the voice bubble regarding the neighborhood signaled wishful thinking that would make him happy vis-à-vis the unhappiness he experienced.

I feel happy when nobody fights with each other. (Line 19) (Barış)

Financial:

a. Material Ownership

Aysun was the only one who named material ownership as a source of happiness. Aysun's statement implied her wish for having good clothes and shoes. Aysun was also among the four children in the study, who reported feeling unhappy about their material deprivation revolved around comparing themselves with their peers who had the things they actually wanted to or dreamt to have. Her definition of self as a person in the beginning of the interview was also in line with her wish for having good clothes as causing happiness to her.

I like the pink things... opps.. I'm sorry (she had difficulty in reading what she wrote) like clothes in pink and shoes in pink very much. (Line 2) (Aysun)

I feel really happy when I have good clothes. Yes, it pleases me greatly if I own good quality dresses, and shoes... (Line 20) (Aysun)

Comparing Low SES Children with Middle SES Children

In this section how the everyday experiences and struggles of the low SES children in this study seemed to differ from the comparable experiences that middle SES children had in their lives was evaluated.

From a qualitative study of only 10 low SES children and 4 middle SES children, it is of course impossible to precisely learn how low and middle SES children's everyday life experiences differ from or resemble each other. Nevertheless, the narratives derived from the 4 middle SES children gave a general impression that the discourse of most material explored in low SES children's interviews was indeed specific to these children's circumstances associated with chronic poverty and exclusion.

The most repeated troubling issues the middle SES children in the current study named included quarrels with the siblings, being sick, worries about academic failure and worries about physical appearance due to some peers' tease (see Appendix H). In contrast to low SES children, middle SES children did not significantly suffer from psychological and/or physical abuse associated with financial burden on the parents in familial relations and degrading behaviors from friendships that may hinder their future choices. This does not mean that the middle SES children did not suffer from any troubling issues which may have put them at risk for detrimental consequences. However, not only the nature and underlying reasons of their troubles but also the protective factors in their lives seem to make difference.

In terms of financial status of the families, there was obviously a significant difference among the low SES and middle SES households. In contrast to the informal and insecure nature of working lives of the low SES children's fathers, the fathers of the middle SES children had formal jobs which covered social security and insurance. The middle SES did not seem to feel any financial insecurity and expect any big financial struggles in the future so that they did not seem to have anxiety and despair that was evident in most low SES children's accounts about problematic

areas in different domains of their lives, as assessed via voice bubbles. Similarly, the children's perceptions about their families' economic status seemed to influence children's expectations from their families and their statements about the troubling areas of their lives.

To put it more specifically, while middle SES children expected their parents to buy them varied expensive things such as laptop, mp3 player, i-pod, and branded clothes, shoes, and school backpacks, the low SES children seemed to have lower or none materialistic expectations from their parents. The low SES just reported suffering from computer and internet at home, which was more related to their concerns about homework coupled with inaccessibility to affordable internet cafes at all time. Yet, their accounts about unhappiness imposed by not having computer and internet at home did not seem to include an expectation from their parents. It just emerged in the form of wishful thinking or dream for some children. On the other hand, the middle SES children's accounts about not having some of the so-called possessions implied feelings of disappointment and deep unhappiness.

Though middle SES children often considered their mothers to be closer than fathers like low SES children did, their fathers did not seem to have disappeared in terms of emotional and practical support. Conversely, for the majority of the low SES children their relations with the fathers were based on financial necessities. Yet some did not directly turn to their fathers but asked indirectly via their mothers. Therefore, the low SES children seemed to be less involved with their fathers than the case in typical middle SES families, as all middle SES children had a steady father who seemed committed to playing a significant role in their children's lives. In contrast, there was convincing evidence in low SES children's accounts that fathers from low SES stratum, frustrated by irregular and insecure jobs, were lashing out

with neglecting or in some cases abusive behavior toward their children. In addition, the middle SES children's parental relationships included spending time together inside the home as well as weekend activities outside the home.

The middle SES children also differed from the low SES children in that their parents' expectations from them were in line with being a child. In contrast, expectations from most of the low SES parents implied that the low SES children should be attaining adult roles and responsibilities. Throughout their interviews, the middle SES children were talking in an age-appropriate style demonstrating that they were living their childhood whereas all of the low SES children seemed to display more mature attitudes and adult-talk. It was as if a young adult was talking rather than a child.

The fact that the middle SES children were able to live in line with their childhood was also evident in the children's responsibilities at home. The middle SES children had only one sibling and did not assume caregiver roles for their younger siblings. While they also reported taking care of their siblings, the level and content of this care was far from substitute motherhood (*"ikame annelik"*). Rather the middle SES children were expected to look after their siblings occasionally when their parents were not available.

One of the areas where the effect of economic constraints on children was seen was friendship. The importance of friendships and the value of developing and sustaining satisfactory social relationships were evident for children from both socioeconomic strata. However, the middle SES children seemed to have more opportunity to meet peers and to develop wider social networks in the sense that they reported attending several leisure courses such as swimming, basketball and painting at locations other than school. The low SES children's opportunity to make friends

seemed to be restricted to school environment and neighborhood, which were often interconnected.

The importance of the opportunity to access to varied means of making friendships also depicted itself in named difficulties in friendships in the voice bubbles of the low- and middle SES children in the study. Several age-appropriate peer relational difficulties such as “disclosing secrets” (*sır tutmamak*), and “conflicts and fights on daily issues” seemed to emerge as distressing themes irrespective of economic status of the children. The middle SES children also indicated their distress about quarreling with their friends. In a parallel way, fears of being teased or in a way standing out were evident throughout the interviews of both low- and middle SES children. However, for some of the low SES children being teased went one step further to being bullied.

In their friendships, several other distressing themes emerged in the low SES children’s lives such as fear of getting cross with friends, to be treated badly, and being influenced by the negative behaviors of friends. This difference seemed to stem from the fact that as the low SES children already suffered from inadequate social and familial relationships, they feared of losing friendships which would restrain the opportunity for social inclusion. These fears of loneliness and social isolation also brought a form of friendship among the low SES children that was not observed in middle SES children: giving up their own needs and bearing with negative behaviors from the friends in order to maintain the available friendships.

Interestingly a certain amount of time two of the middle SES children’s interviews revolved around the quarrels they witnessed in their neighborhoods, as it was in majority of the low SES children’s interviews. However, the middle children’s fear with regard to the events they witnessed was much more apparent in

their accounts as compared to low SES children. Their distress was related to being prevented from spending time in the street by the parents, which implied the supervision and protection by the parents. In contrast, though some of the low SES children explicitly named the insecurity in their neighborhoods as one of the unhappiness in their lives, they appeared to be accustomed to and curious about the events in the neighborhood, which put them at risk for unprotection when coupled with undercontrol or inadequate supervision of their parents.

For both the middle SES children and low SES children, school and education were important. The importance of being successful at school and worries about school failure did not vary as a means of socioeconomic status. However, the underlining reasons seemed to differ in a way that all of the low SES children in the study perceived education as a key means to combat poverty via improving job opportunities which their fathers lacked due to being uneducated. Likewise, the underlining reason for the worries about school failure was differentiated among the middle- and low SES children. The middle SES children had anxieties in terms of not catching up with their ideals and their parents' expectations, and in terms of not being able to win their dream department at the university entrance examination or to win the university they dreamed of. The low SES children, on the other hand, had worries about failure at school in terms of their mothers' threats of leaving the school in order to work if they were unsuccessful.

Future dreams and plans seemed to be effected by the socioeconomic status of the children. Both the low and middle SES children, future dreams included pursuing college education and earning a profession. However, college education was generally the second plan for the low SES boys. In contrast to the middle SES boys, becoming a footballer emerged as a crucial dream for the low SES boys in the

sense that football would provide the low SES boys with the hope that they could get rid of their actual poor financial circumstances and escape from the chronic poverty. In addition, the importance of the choice of a career for the low SES children was as a social as well as an economic issue. Involvement in football meant not only an opportunity to restrain the social exclusion but also to bring social inclusion via recognition and acknowledgement from the society.

As seen from the difference between low SES children and middle SES children, childhoods of children from low SES families, growing up in chronic poverty, were shaped by the constraints of poverty not only in material terms but also in social and emotional means.

Research Question 3&4: What kind of coping mechanisms do the children use and are these mechanisms useful?"

The third research question of this study was “What kind of coping mechanisms do the children use?” Data source was obtained through directly asking the children what they did in order to deal with the aforementioned challenging and distressing experiences in their lives. The fourth question was concerned with whether these strategies worked out or not. The coping strategies were given along with the problem they were used for (see Appendix I).

Two headings emerged for this question; the first is concerned with the coping strategies that the children used, the second is concerned with the familial, and wider social support resources that the children turned to in order to cope with the distressing areas in their lives. The first part, the coping strategies, were further classified under problem- and emotion-focused coping. The second part was evaluated through a wider outlook on the personal, familial, and social resources that enhance the well being of the children despite adversities.

Coping Strategies

1. Emotion-Focused Coping

It appeared that the majority of the children in the study did not or could not demonstrate reactions that involved active steps with the intention to change the situation. While these children clearly were not just passive victims of the poverty situation they grow up in, it was evident that the children more often did not have a sense of control over the majority of the problems they encountered with. Therefore, they ended up with accepting the struggles and finding internal and emotional ways of coping with them.

a. To ignore (“*Yok saymak*”) and to keep distance from (“*Kaçınmak-Uzak durma*”)

Three girls and three boys indicated ignoring the problems they were living through. It appeared to be that the children could do nothing to solve or get rid of the problem so that they kept trying to avoid the situation or feelings associated with the situation.

For example, one of the unhappiness areas in Deniz’s life was seeing someone unhappy and crying. When asked how she dealt with these kinds of circumstances, Deniz indicated that she tried to ignore the distressing event and pretended as if it was nonexistent as long as other people also did not express their feelings with regard to that event.

I mean I don’t know for example if my mother didn’t cry after a death of a relative, if someone did not cry near me, I will not cry, either, I mean I imagine there is no such thing I mean I imagine that nobody has died. I mean if I imagine that no such thing has happened I will not be sad I will not cry. I mean if my mother cries, I cry a lot for example, if both my mother and father cry I cry a lot but if they don’t I won’t cry either (Line 84-87) (Deniz)

Similarly, Murat, Samet and Aysun indicated pretending either the bad event did not occur or trying not to think about it. For example, Murat tried to handle his

anxiety about losing her mother due to cancer by avoiding to think about the situation. Similarly, when Samet was asked how he coped with his grandfather's unexpected death, he said that he ignored the distressing situation. Aysun tried to cope with her grandmother's blames by not thinking about the situation or trying to forget about it. As evident in the below accounts, Aysun, Metin and Murat reported how they just tried not to think too much about the distressing situation.

I did not think about that subject. When I came home I said to myself maybe today my mother will come home feeling better. Then one day she came back and she was feeling better. (Line 320) (Murat)

(...) we took his body to the village, I saw everyone was crying. I asked why, but no one told me that time. I was looking through the window. (...) I pretended as if I hadn't known, heard. But I cried for him while I was sleeping. I was glad that I went to the village too, because I didn't know why we were going there, you see? Crying helped sometimes... But sometimes it did not work. (Line 224-229) (Samet)

When I cannot solve it, again I try to forget about it. I forget it to cross my mind...I cannot concentrate on my lessons when sometimes my mother and father quarrel; when they do I cannot concentrate on my lessons. (Line 436-441) (Aysun)

When asked whether avoiding to think about the situation worked or not, Aysun and Samet's accounts revealed that it worked occasionally. For Aysun, her parents' quarrels seemed to continue interfering with her school performance despite her efforts to not to think about it.

For some children, ignoring or avoiding the problem seemed to interlock with distancing themselves from the problem, still enduring the problem state quietly without expressing or solving it. When Aysun was asked how she coped with her grandmother's accusation of causing the death of her niece, she said that she escaped from the house in order to be alone and to try to forget about the situation.

I feel bad. For example when a friend...when a friend feels bad and blames me I feel bad. And sometimes when I feel bad for example, I go to the park, I sit down and not to think about it all. That's all...For example about my niece's death, about my aunt's blaming me (...)

For example mmm well how shall I put it...My niece's death...I went to the park, when I sat there...I sat there. Then it was evening it was 7 or 6, I went back home. (...)I don't think about it a lot. It was as if I forgot it; it was like as if I fainted then. (Line 144-158) (Aysun)

However, as evident from Aysun's accounts, trying to avoid seemed to be not working in this situation in the sense that the burden associated with her grandmother's blame went out as somatization.

Aysun was also dealing with the friends who treated her badly by keeping distance from these friends. In some cases, she also reported going nearby other friends who treated her nicely. Therefore, in struggles with friends, taking a more active stance Aysun seemed to go one step further from keeping distance from the problematic relationships to compensating it with working and supportive relationships.

I don't go near them. I sometimes play in front of my door. I try to keep away. (Line 77) (Aysun)

I don't do anything else but sometimes when I feel bad I go to another friend, and she makes me feel happy, another friend for example. I go near S, she treats me well. I go near D. she treats well, too. (Line 79-82) (Aysun)

There is S who is older than me in the supermarket, she makes others treat me well, she treats me well. She is a neighbor, she lives next door, she treats me really well. I sometimes go near her, she treats me really well. (Line 81) (Aysun)

Similarly, Metin and Murat used keeping distance from the people causing them trouble. For instance, Metin tried to cope with exposure to physical violence by his extended family by escaping from the assailants and locking himself into a room. Murat tried to deal with friends with bad habits, which was a major source of unhappiness for him, by avoiding and keeping distance from them even if it meant to give up the activities he enjoyed engaging in. When Deniz was asked what she did in

order to deal with troubling events in the neighborhood, her stance involved protecting herself from the danger without interfering the troubling event.

I immediately go in. I don't do anything else. (Line 275) (Deniz)

I swear I talk to myself and think inside that I should go and fix up the quarrel. Just fix up the quarrel and send each part to his way. We get in between. But the boy does not understand he says that he will fight. Then older guys come and fix the quarrel, then we call him to play football. Then gradually he calms down. (Line 280-283) (Metin)

I close the door so that no one will come, no one bothers me and that makes me strong...(Line 595) (Metin)

I don't go to the places where I play football. I don't near the place. I don't go near them. If I have friends who smoke, I don't talk to them. (Line 155-161) (Murat)

However, when asked whether keeping distance from the people causing problem worked or not, it turned out that it did not always work out in Metin's case whereas it seemed to help Murat to deal with his anxiety that his friends' bad habits would affect him negatively. That is, Metin ended up with acting out especially when the abuse of the uncles was extremely dense to avoid.

When they beat me up I revolt/rebel. I swear at them, they hit and I say why you are hitting me, he says it is none of your business, I fight. He hits me in the face, I get angry, I swear at them (Line 212) (Metin)

I rebel then. I throw whatever I find. I am a nervous person... Then they beat me up. When I am playing outside, I throw stones at them, or at the windows. (Line 50-61) (Metin)

For three of the children, avoidance included distraction. Sometimes Metin seemed to find means in order to avoid and keep distance from his uncles' and grandmother's abusive behaviors such as playing football with friends away from the home.

I run away, I go to play football. (...) Sometimes it works. I don't feel frustrated anymore. (Line 114-116) (Metin)

I feel nervous. I go out. I feel football [with my friends]. We play after we team. Sometimes we play hide and seek with girls. Sometimes I go

to the internet, I play for an hour then I go back home. (Line 228-237)
(Metin)

When Samet was asked what he did to deal with his feelings associated with the drug peddlers in the neighborhood, he indicated that he tried to ignore these people by changing his route to home and going to the school to play football rather than spending time in the neighborhood district.

I sometimes climb the road up from our neighborhood around the street of A. [his best friend]. Sometimes I go to the school for playing football, I ignore them. I am blind to these junkies and I walk up. They are on that side and I turn to my head towards the mosque, and I walk looking at the mosque (...) It works a lot. It makes me contend to ignore. (Line 54-69) (Samet)

Similarly, Aysun coped with the unbearable feelings induced by her parents' quarrels and by her grandmother's degrading behaviors by engaging activities that enable her to avoid these situations.

Sometimes when I read a book it passes, so I immediately start to read. (Line 103) (Aysun)

Well... Sometimes when I go to bed at 12 or 1 my mother and father quarrels, and when I am left alone I go next to my elder sister, I sleep but I cannot sleep because I think about my parents, I say I wonder what they did, and sometimes I don't sleep. When I don't sleep I stay in bed, and as I said I read a book. (Line 174-177) (Aysun)

Using distraction means seemed to be more effective than merely avoiding the situation in the sense that it provided the children with the feeling of taking active steps to attain a better state.

b. To keep it inside ("*İçinde tutmak*"):

One of the most common themes that emerged in the interviews was to keep the problem inside ("*içinde tutmak*"). Two boys and three girls talked about keeping the problems inside. They stated that they did not share or object to what they were living through. "To keep inside" depicted itself in the children's narratives as "not

sharing”, “doing nothing but crying” (“*hiçbir şey*”) and “getting used to” (“*alışmak*”).

From the accounts of the children it was evident that they kept the problems inside due to feelings of despair and learned helplessness. They kept the distressing circumstance inside because either they experienced sharing did not solve the problem or caused further problems within the family or there was no one to share with. Therefore, whether solely keeping the problem inside was an efficient way of coping or not is debatable in the sense that the children kept the problem inside even though they still continued thinking about the distressing situation.

For both Metin and Sinem, keeping the problems inside served as a preventing role for further problems. For instance, Sinem used “keeping inside” across two contexts, within the familial and friendship difficulties. When she was asked what she did to overcome problems concerning the leaving behind by her mother and subsequent substitute mothership (“*ikame annelik*”), she stated that she kept them inside. It was evident that she could not express her feelings due to the fact that her father would blame her further.

When my mother leaves I cry. It feels as if my head is shrinking. I cannot talk, it makes me sad. I am left alone. Then I wipe off my tears so that my father won't see. Because if he sees, he will yell at me, he will say look your mother is gone you are still crying after her. (Line 34-38) (Sinem)

Sinem also chose to keep the feelings inside with regard to her friend's exclusion and aggression towards her in order to get rid of further exclusion and humiliation. For her, keeping the problems and feelings inside seemed to function as a means to protect her experiencing additional sorrow and distress.

Then I really felt like crying. I stood still silently, I was about to cry but I didn't. I went near them they were staring at me. I turned my back at them so that they would not recognize. They did not care at all. (...) [If I cried] then they would make fun of me more. They

would say you are weak, you are a crybaby. Then that would be another reason for them to stop talking to me. I don't want them to see me cry or anything. (Line 22-25) (Sinem)

Similarly, Metin did not share with or seek support from his father in order not to cause disputes within the household among his father and uncles.

I don't tell. If I tell there will be a quarrel. (Line 139) (...) Once I told. He had a fight. There was a fight with my 18-19 year old uncle who is a bachelor. (Line 194-197) (Metin)

Keeping the problems inside seemed to be related to inadequate and unsupportive or untrustworthy social relations for Sinem and Semra. When they were asked how they coped with the difficulties they were going through at home, they said that they just kept them inside due to the fact that there was no one around to share with and that their friends were not dependable to share.

I can't share my problems with anyone. I don't have any sisters either; I can't talk about my troubles. When I share with my friends, then they tell other people. And then we quarrel. (Line 423) (Semra)

I don't get any support from anything. I never go out. My friends don't talk to me. (...) There is a friend of mine but I don't trust her, I don't tell her anything. I sometimes share a little. But then I fear that she'll tell it to other people as well. (Line 57-67) (Sinem)

When Murat was asked how he dealt with her mother's cancer operation, he indicated that he did not share it with anyone in the family in order not to make them unhappy too. Even though he stated that it worked out, his anxiety about the possibility of losing his mother was evident throughout the whole interview. His anxiety also seemed to diffuse into his other relations in the sense that he tended to lose his relationships in general.

But I did not share it with anyone...So that they would not be upset too...That's why...(Line 356) (Murat)

When were asked how they coped with the problems they had, two of the girls said they did nothing, they had no other choice, but go on living with these

circumstances and getting used to them. “Nothing” is an expression which best describes the state of hopelessness and the lack of any other alternatives. It seemed to be most commonly used by the two girls, Semra and Aysun, who felt that they have no control over the distressing situations.

Among all the children in the study, Semra was the only child who constantly used the term “nothing” in her narratives across wide range of her problems: substitute motherhood (*“ikame annelik”*), separation from her grandmother in the village, academic failure, and feelings of deprivation related to her family’s financial situation. She used this word 11 times during the interview.

I don’t do anything. I just feel sad. (..) I just cry. (Line 335-337, 387, 483, 541, 435, 541) (Semra)

However, doing nothing seemed to be not working in this situation in the sense that the burden associated with these problems went out as acting out, which seemed to put Semra at risk for juvenile delinquency. These act-outs included stealing money from her aunt’s purse and harming someone’s car on the street, as discussed before.

Similarly, when Aysun was asked what she did to overcome problems concerning her sorrow with regard to being excluded and humiliated by her extended family, her brother’s substance abuse and criminal acts, and disputes among her parents, she stated that she did nothing but just kept them inside, cried and got used to them.

When for example my mother and my father fights, I feel bad I immediately get into my bed, tears start falling down my cheeks I cry, I say why is our luck always like this. My brother does bad things, my mother and my father fights. Because of these reasons I feel bad. That’s it I do... (Line 172) (Aysun)

Nothing... What could I do? I’ve just been upset... That’s it... I had cried a lot. I didn’t tell anything to mum, that I was sad. Nothing would be changed if I told them. (Line 67-69) (Aysun)

Nothing I could do... The fridge was bought...by my uncle...noo...they bought the fridge for my grandma then my uncle bought also one more for their own kitchen, and you see we, since we moved here we haven't used a fridge for a year..., well we got used to it. (Line 111) (Aysun)

Nothing...Nothing...Sometimes my father beats him [my brother] up really badly, sometimes he hits with a thick stick, my mother sometimes cries and well we are upset. That's all...(Line 316-320) (Aysun)

c- To sacrifice oneself (“*Kendinden ödün vermek / feragat etmek*”)

Two of the children sacrificed themselves and gave up on their own needs in order to cope with the struggles they were going through. For example, Aydın was tremendously anxious about losing his relationships. When he was asked how he handled his problems with his friends, he indicated that he consistently applied to handing in money to his friends and to doing homework on behalf of them, and he did the things he did not really want to do in order to sustain his relations with them. Similarly, he used money in order to solve the problems with his sister.

I give them money. (Line 119) (Aydın)

I gave my sister money and she said “OK, it is all right” (he laughs) (Line 217) (Aydın)

They sometimes get stuck with certain questions you know, and they ask me, and I keep it in my memory; 5 minutes later I say it to them, they come near me for help, and I help them. (Line 129) (Aydın)

I help with his homework to make peace. It really works. I mean we make up. My favorite course [it helps me]. My favorite course is math and that is why I always score 5. They cannot answer the questions and they have homework too. Well, then what? They ask it to me. If I wasn't good at maths, they wouldn't come to me... that is what it is like (Line 146-153) (Aydın)

To do what they tell me to do...For example they want to brawl with a girl and they use me. They tell me to go and hit her. I say why should I but they say they would get angry with me if I don't, by force. But actually I don't want to hit her. So I just do it in order not to have them angry with me. Well I said actually I don't want to hit but if I don't they would get angry with me. So I do it and they make peace. (Line 156-162) (Aydın)

Similarly, Aysun tried to handle and/or prevent any quarrels among her parents and her brother induced by her brother's substance abuse problem by abdicating her own needs vis-a-vis her so that the familial harmony was sustained.

He was asking for money from my mum so long as he continued doing these things. On April 23rd we would buy a pair of shoes for 15 ytl, but we didn't buy then, April 23rd was on Sunday, and that day it was still Friday. The teacher gave each of us 15 ytl and I gave my money to my mum not to cause something wrong, as I love her. My brother was always telling bad things to my mum (yawning). He was always asking for money and my mum was swearing saying that I don't have any money; at last I gave him my money. My father gave me that money to buy shoes, and then I couldn't of course. On April 23rd I wore another pair of shoes, but everyone in my class had bought new shoes...everyone... (Line 255-259) (Aysun)

As I don't like rows, quarrels when I have some money, I give it to my brother, and sometimes I save some money, 10-20 liras and I was giving them all to my brother. (Line 259) (Aysun)

d- Self-soothing

Self-soothing seemed to be a different coping mechanism than the aforementioned ones as it was more effective in enabling the children feel a sense of perseverance, control and activeness to overcome the emotional burden of the situation. It was observed in two demeanors: assuring oneself via thinking the opposite of the actual experience, and dreaming and thinking about the positive.

Assuring oneself

Three girls and a boy explained how they tried to soothe themselves by thinking about the situations from a different point of view. For example, Demet was dealing with his father's absence due to working abroad by trying to thinking that he did not leave her. Her narrative was full of examples where she tried to overcome the emotional burden by self-soothing such as thinking about planning a welcome party and writing a letter through which she expressed her emotions.

There is a boy in our class. His dad left them. Since my dad is also away, the teacher says I will beat your dad. I say my dad goes there to work, but his dad left them. Not with my dad, my dad went away to work, but she [the teacher] is angry with dad. Well sometimes I become sad and I cry at school and so I send letters to my dad. (Line 197) (Demet)

If he comes back again I would like to embellish the house. I plan to prepare something for my dad. (Line 427) (Demet)

Similarly, Aysun dealt with the emotional burden of her brother's drug addiction and criminal acts, she tried to persuade herself that it was not her brother but friends of her brother who engaged in criminal acts.

(...) it wasn't him actually his friends did it. When his friends did bad deeds they say...they shared the money. When they shared the money when for example it was the birth date of our prophet for example they distribute candies to the children. When my brother took money, he would buy candies for the children. Downstairs lived a black woman, and well their financial situation was not good, so my brother sometimes gives her money. (Line 288) (Aysun)

As indicated before, Deniz and Aysun expressed their emotions related to the experiences they had been facing due to poverty. When they saw that their friends could have much more than they themselves had, they tried to deal with the subsequent feelings of deprivation and unhappiness by soothing themselves such as telling themselves there was no need to worry and other things were more important in life.

Well I say it doesn't matter, when my father starts working, we will be able to buy something for ourselves, too. (Line 343) (Aysun)

Well sometimes, my parents are talking and I was eavesdropping, I actually, my mum would love to buy things for me, but if it's not a daily necessity, you know otherwise I have lots of clothes, so what would I do with some more...I'd be happy if my family's happy, that's enough for me. For example, if we only have a loaf of bread and if they brought a rich family and asked me would you prefer the rich family, I'd prefer my own family again even if we had only this loaf of bread. (Line 209) (Deniz)

In this context, it was crucial to mention that Deniz's tendency to undo whatever she had said about her feelings induced by comparing herself with a more affluent friend and to reassure herself was in line with her general attitude throughout the interview. For instance, especially while she was talking about their financial situation and their future, it was more like an adult talking rather than a child. Similarly, this was also parallel to Deniz's hesitation about hurting her family's emotions and her sensitiveness in mentioning the positive sides of her family. She seemed to protect her parents by concealing her disappointment or not complaining about the things they could not have as they did not want to burden their parents with additional worries over money.

Among the other children, Deniz was the one who used self-soothing at most. In addition to the comparison with her peers, she tried to deal with her anxiety about the possibility of losing the family's house and about his father's illness in the same way. It seemed that this helped her to overcome the emotional burden across wide range of situations.

Then I tell my self it's over, it's all over, this event will not gonna happen again, it's just over... I retell myself... Then I recall other things and I handle all these... (Line 118) (Deniz)

I cry I mean I go for example I am a very good masseuse. I give my father a massage and then he feels relaxed. (...) Then if I see my father feels a bit relaxed, I feel relaxed as well. (Line 72-77) (Deniz)

Murat reported to be really worried about her sister's well-being, who migrated to another city via marriage. When asked about what he did in order to overcome his anxiety, it turned out that thinking about good things that might be happening to her sister helped Murat to relieve his worries.

When my sister left I wasn't talking to anyone. I thought, is my sister happy or unhappy there? I thought, she must be happy and in good condition there. I thought, she must be happy there. Perhaps she will be happier there. (...). I thought, her husband will treat her well. She

must be happy there. I was thinking about that and not feeling sad...
(Line 370-404) (Murat)

Dreaming

When the children were asked how they coped with the hard conditions they are living in three girls and two boys said that they were dreaming about the good memories in their lives or the things that would make them contend.

Both Deniz and Semra reported dreaming about their good memories in their villages. This was also in line with their statements about the things they put in their happiness voice bubbles. Deniz used dreaming in order to overcome her anxiety about losing the house, while Semra used it across financial deprivations and difficulties associated with substitute motherhood (*"ikame annelik"*). Aysun also dreamt about moving into another house away from her extended family in order to cope with the struggles she had been going through with regard to her extended family's excluding and humiliating attitudes.

Well, I always dream, I dream of other things. For example I dream a lot about going to the village, you know, we will do this and we will do that, it is such a beautiful place, I swear. (Line 110-113) (Deniz)

I want to stay there, I am more hard-working there, I answer all the questions he [the teacher] asked me there. That was my best moment, I always dreamt about staying there. (Line 236) (Semra)

(...) I don't tell anything to my mother but I see it in my dreams. I feel very happy. I run in the fields, I do certain things; I play with my siblings, those sorts of things I mean. (Line 547-550) (Semra)

For example, sometimes I think... if only I had so much money, and if only I could buy whatever I wanted. Then I'd buy both for myself and also for my friend. I'd buy things for my other friends and then I'd do something really good. Then all my friends would be full. (Line 389) (Semra)

And sometimes well I always thought about this, maybe some day we will move to a big house, I will have a room of my own, I will live with my elder sister, but where ever we moved there were two rooms. (Line 131) (Aysun)

Aydin and Samet coped with their anxiety about not being able to continue his education and to get a career by dreaming about their wishes come true in the future. Aydin even stated that dreaming in general gave him the strength to relieve his anxieties and to get the actions that would make his wishes come true.

When I am grown up, I imagine the days when I am grown up I mean, I imagine how I will be. I am a dreamer, I dream about everything. I imagine I am a football player, that I am a policeman, I imagine those things. Sometimes I say I am going to be a football player, and when I will be, all my dreams will come true. Sometimes I dream about something, even those come true. (Line 419-425) (Aydin)

Aysun also soothed herself via dreaming and making herself find a positive thing in her life to disclose her feelings. For instance, when Aysun was asked about how she coped with the unbearable feelings induced by her grandmother's degrading behaviors and the exclusion by the members of the extended family; it was revealed that she shared everything with a pot plant in the living room. It emerged as the only one, which she deeply shared her problems and feelings with in general too. To be able to find something to which she could disburden and have a relief appeared to be very crucial and useful in Aysun's story. She also dreamt about having a distraction tool, a computer, in order to deal with the troubling situations and feelings.

And sometimes we have a flower it is a big flower sometimes I talk to it, I chat with it (she shows the flower in front of the window). Sometimes I mean when I wake up I say good morning, I talk to the flower. For example I say to it you are my best friend, my closest friend. Sometimes we chat for example I tell it about my day...For example because flowers don't talk I tell it my secrets...It soothes me. (Line 103-109) (Aysun)

For sure... you know, sometimes it happens when you feel bored or stressed you get rid of them you know by reading a book or painting a picture. At that point I wish I had a computer, then I'd sit and do my research. (Line 367-369) (Aysun)

e) Spirituality/ Religiosity

Spirituality/religiosity was also a means of coping to endure varied distressing circumstances for the four of the girls and a boy, suggesting that choosing religiosity as a way of coping was highly gendered. It is also noteworthy in the sense that the girls in the study adapted adult-like female-coping strategies by “*namaz*” and pray. This was also in line with the gendered child rearing disciplines evident in the households of these children such as indoctrinating religious principles into their daughters via sending them to the Quran courses.

For instance, Deniz was praying to God across two different anxiety provoking situations in her life. One is related to the fear of losing his father due to his chronic illness:

(...) I don't do anything else I only pray to my God. (Line 74) (Deniz)

The other was related to the fear, lack of safety and uneasiness about the incidents of drugs, guns, and red quarrels she witnessed in her neighborhood district:

Once my dad came home quite late and I was so scared, in those days there were many thieves around here and they were firing their guns. I was so frightened. My dad was out, I was looking through the window and I was praying then suddenly my dad appeared. I'm so scared, you know they might shoot someone or me, I'm so scared. (Line 272) (Deniz)

Similarly, when Aysun was asked how she was dealing with the exclusion and humiliation by her grandmother and uncle, it turned out that hymns helped her. She had a perception that involvement in hymns had a relieving effect on her.

(...) sometimes I listen to hymns, sometimes I write them down, I have hymns in my notebook, when I read the sacred book I feel better. (Line 103) (Aysun)

Sinem also seemed to relief from the distressing and depressive feelings of unjust and humiliation imposed by her extended family by means of believing in that God punished her extended family on behalf of her and her mother.

She was making fun of my mum, that your daughter is so ugly etc. Then God made such a thing that her own daughter is so dirty and horrible, you would also see if I brought her here. (Line 44) (Sinem)

However, it is doubtful for some of the children as to how they felt about whether this was a useful strategy or not. That is, besides giving them power to endure the stressful condition, it is rather a reflection of the despair that they were in. For example, when Semra was asked how she could cope with the academic failure associated with her substitute mothership (*"ikame annelik"*), she stated that she endured by praying to God, but from her accounts it was evident that she could in fact do nothing but pray to God but could not overcome the problem.

I pray, I say please God let me study like the others and pass my exams, but it doesn't work. (Line 608) (Semra)

For Sinem and Samet, it seemed that religiosity was also associated with patience (*"sabretmek"*). When they were asked how they coped with problems generally, they said that they were "patient", followed with instances of varied religious rituals. This was very parallel to keeping the problem inside, enduring the problem state quietly without making a fuss over it. For example, Sinem stated that she could do nothing but show patience in order to deal with the exclusion and humiliation by her extended family, with the leaving behind by her mother and with subsequent substitute mothership (*"ikame annelik"*).

I show patience. I always pray, I say please let my mother come back, let there be no fights. I perform the *namaz*, too. I pray to God I say please let us be doing well, bring peace to our house. I do these sorts of things. I think God doesn't turn back my prayers. When my mother leaves home, I cry a lot. It is like a crash in my heart. I cry, then I don't show it. (Line 55) (Sinem)

Similar to Sinem, Samet seemed to show patience and pray simultaneously to cope with the physical absence of his father.

Sometimes I cry. I think about the possibility of an air crash but I pray so that it won't happen. I show patience. (Line 455- 457) (Samet)

Samet also seemed to cope with his grandfather's unexpected death with the help of religious thinking. He said that he felt relief by thinking about that he would be praying for his death the first time he could go to the village.

I'll go to his grave the first time I go to the village. That's it... And also I'll pray. (238) (Samet)

Though not associated with religiosity, Aysun also said that she showed patience ("*sabretmek*") in order to cope with being treated badly by her friends.

I mean I always show patience, I feel on the verge of fighting but I again say to myself my friend does not know, she acts that way because she is selfish. (Line 73) (Aysun)

f- Downward comparison

Though the children did not explicitly mentioned that they looked at the people who were in worse conditions when asked how they coped with the hard financial conditions they were living in, downward comparison seemed to function as a means to deal with the deprivation feelings induced by their financial conditions for the three children in the study. Thinking about the people in worse conditions was emerged for Aysun, Aydın and Metin while they were reflecting on their families' financial situation and exploring whether they felt any differences as compared to their peers.

School principle, they are giving us new clothes for the festivals. Mostly they are giving to the poor, sometimes they are giving to me, too, they are choosing. (Line 500-509) (Metin)

Actually there are some people whose economic conditions are really bad, people living on the streets, I always say, if only some others helped them, if only they had a house to live in. (Line 359-361) (Aysun)

Some is bad, but ours is good. I have never worked. (Line 354-356) (Aydın)

However, it might be questionable whether this was helpful in changing the stressful condition or was just a reflection of despair where there is nothing else to

do. Accepting the fact that they had to be satisfied with little resources they actually had seemed to become useless when they saw peers who were in better circumstances. For example, Aysun seemed to continue feeling deprived and distressed when she compared herself with friends who owned a computer at home, as she explicitly indicated in her unhappiness voice bubble.

g- Identification with the oppressed

Ironically, Sinem, seemed to cope with her loneliness and exclusion in her friendships by identification with the oppressed. That is, she tried to make friendship through share of exclusion. She tended to protect some peers who were also excluded and treated badly by other children by attacking these children. However, it appeared that this did work out.

There is a boy in our class, İ., when you do something he immediately says something bad, he uses slang. He hits girls, he hits children. He behaves badly. There is a girl named H, he treats her really badly, I try to save them but they don't do anything in return. I say to them I also want to be with you but they won't accept me. (...)İ. is really a bad boy. They even hit me. They treat me badly, I hit back, but I cannot. I pull the girl and hide behind me; I don't let her go I tell her to run next to the teacher. But they don't do anything in return. At those times I really felt like crying. I went and stood still, I was going to cry, but I didn't. (Line 20) (Sinem)

Similarly, by sharing her mother's state of despair, Sinem also identified with her mother who was oppressed by the extended family in order to bear with the feelings of exclusion and humiliation. This was also evident in Sinem's use of personal pronouns when talking about the struggles her mother experienced with her in-laws. Sinem was talking as if it was her who had been through these negative experiences.

h- To set future goals

Dreaming also depicted itself in the children's accounts about future. Except Demet, none of the children explicitly indicated that they set a future goal in order to

cope with the troubling or distressing circumstances in their lives. Similarly, Metin and Aydın's happiness voice bubbles also included football, as discussed in the second research question.

However, from all the children's accounts in general and when the children were directly asked about their future dreams and goals, dreaming about their future lives seemed to help children to deal with the chronic poverty conditions in which these children were growing up. Both from the children's answers to the question about their future plans and from the whole interviews, football emerged as a crucial theme which provided the boys with the hope that they could get rid of their actual poor financial circumstances. It can be suggested that dreaming about being a footballer encompassed two facets of the children's lives. First, football would enable these children win against poverty, become rich and provide them with the means to offer a better life for their families. Second, being a famous and successful footballer would bring appreciation and admiration, which most of these children felt deprived of as a result of their families' neglect or inadequate care as was evident especially in Metin and Aydın's stories.

I wanna be a footballer. When I become a footballer, I will have matches. I love it so much (...) and when I had a profession and become a footballer, I'll be on the TV. To be famous... To defeat the other team... Like that... Let's say we won the match, and transferred to another team, they'll give me so much money and I'll be more famous. The coach also daid so! When I play well and score, then I'll be famous of course. (...) That's the only thing in my mind, I'll be a footballer. Only becoming a footballer. Ther's nothing else I dream of... (Line 197-220) (Barış)

I become happy when I play football. (...) When I fall down during playing, my friends come and help me stand up. Yesterday this happened, for example. (Line 400-405) (Samet)

I wanna be a footballer when I'm grown up. If I can't, then I wanna be a policeman. (Line 406) (Samet)

When my family's financial situation is bad, if I become a footballer, they give footballers lots of money, that's why I wanna become a footballer. I just wanna help my family. (Line 282) (Aydın)

Pursuing college education and earning a profession was generally the second plan for the boys. Professions included civil engineering, architecture, police and teacher.

I wanna be a policeman. I watch the serial "Back Streets" on the TV. We play cops sometimes. I wanna be the chief superintendent officer. (Line 408-414) (Samet)

I wanna be a footballer or policeman. If not, then an engineer or a lawyer. (Line 429) (Samet)

If I can't become a footballer, then I may become an architect. I like drawing and painting. And architecture involves so much drawing. I draw the things I imagined in my mind, I think about as if I'm an architect and then draw. (Line 286-291) (Aydın)

I'll be a successful engineer. I'll never give up. I'll not hesitate to ask for help when I need. And then when they need help, I'll help them. Then I'll take care of my family, I'll meet their needs. And one more thing... I'll visit my sister in Van. (Line 396-399) (Murat)

In contrast to boys, earning a university degree and having a profession constituted girls' future plan in the first place. The professions included architect, art, tourist guide, lawyer, and doctor. Becoming a doctor was the dream of two girls.

When I'm grown up, I'll be an architect. I gusee my mom put my umbilical cord near a wall, so I may be an architect. My mom says, I out your cord near a wall on purpose so that you can be an architect. I don't know for sure, I can be an architect or a teacher. But being a teacher is not for me, it's difficult I see from our teacher. We are 31 students in the class and our teacher has difficulty with managing all of us. (Line 309-315) (Deniz)

Maybe I become a tourist guide. My mom says to be, you can show tourists around. (Line 320) (Deniz)

A painter, an artist I can be... I feel comfortable with painting... (Line 322) (Deniz)

I expect to be a lawyer in the future. I know attorneyship is a good job. Lawyers are also brainy and informed. They are alos very talkative like me... (Line 428-431) (Aysun)

I'll study medicine. I learn foreign languages. For example, I'll be a doctor. I pretend to be a doctor since I'm a toddler. I write quickly as doctors do. I say myself that I can be doctor then. (...) Why I chose to be a doctor. To help and rescue people. When I rescue people, I become so happy. (Line 335-345) (Demet)

For some of the girls, the teachers were effective in their choices about future careers as being either role models or advisors. For instance, in addition to being an architect, modeling her beloved teacher Deniz also considers to be an art. Similarly, Aysun's teacher was encouraging her to be a lawyer by emphasizing strong sides of Aysun.

My mom says you'll be an architect due to your umbilical cord. I'd like to be an artist most. Our teacher is an artist though. She is both a teacher and an artist at the same time. She used to own a store, then she closed it. She makes paintings for each room at the school. Once we went to her house. It was so beautiful with full of paintings. (Line 316) (Deniz)

I like talking very much. When the teacher calls me at school, I talk a lot. She says then good for you. She says you talk a lot, you can be a lawyer. Everyone says the same to me. Why.. Because lawyers talk a lot, they are brainy... They call me so. (Line 198) (Aysun)

Most children seemed to make themselves stronger and more determined in believing that their future dreams would come true so that they could do and be what they want and make their families free of economic constraints. Yet, the boys were observed to be much more optimistic and believing that their future dreams and plans would come true.

For instance, in parallel to Sinem and Semra's troubling home environments and inadequate supportive relationships, they had extremely and painstakingly realistic outlook to life and their future. Their extended families' degrading behaviors and negative attitudes toward them seemed to influence these girls' self-perceptions negatively. Subsequent internalized negative perceptions they had about themselves

also seemed to diminish their sense of self-worth and self-efficacy, which might come to be obstacles impeding their goals in the future.

I wanna be very successful in the future. But if my parents go on fighting like this, I'll not be able to do so. I get confused and I can't understand anything. I wanna be a doctor, but I will not be able to. (Line 104) (Sinem)

Semra, who used the expression “nothing” the most among all the other children in the study, had a hurtfully realistic outlook regarding the impossibility of success under such circumstances. She could not even dream about future. In fact, her future plans solely included a wish for going back to the village, going to school there close to her aunts, and living with her grandmother.

I wanna stay there in Van. I'm much more hardworking there. I can answer every question I'm asked there. My best memory was there, I always dream of staying there. (Line 234) (Semra)

Among the boys, being very mindful to his families' financial constraints only Samet described being able to pursue collage education as a miracle. Yet his narrative stressed the importance of finding an opportunity to pursue college education in the lives of disadvantaged children like him rather than feelings of despair and hopelessness.

I dream of graduating from the college. I don't know if it's gonna come true. If a miracle occurs. (...) You graduate from the high school and it's a miracle if you can start studying at the college. I have faith in the possibility that I can study at the college. With the support of the school and my friends I guess... (Line 419-435) (Samet)

(...) for instance, they call it a strike (*talih kuşu*), they make national lottery. If it hit on me, but I don't like money. If I won the lottery, it would be something like a miracle. I don't want to be on the TV. I just wanna be a footballer or a policeman. (Line 485-490) (Samet)

His answer to the question about the things he worried most in life also validated his accounts on wish for “miracles”.

In the future, I worry about not becoming a policeman, footballer, lawyer or an engineer. I don't wanna be a shoe-shiner or janitor. I don't wanna sell water in the streets either. (Line 485) (Samet)

When the children were asked about their future plans, they tended to talk about their career dreams in the first place. The girls were more likely to spontaneously mention their dreams other than career as compared to the boys. These dreams generally included to have a happy life, get married and have children, well-being of the family and to have a better house and personal possessions.

I dream about being very happy. (Line 318) (Deniz)

First of all, I'll go to the village alone and then I'll take my friends with me. Maybe I buy a car for me. I'll take my family to visit around. In the future, I will use more imagination and will be a stronger girl. I'll handle everything on my own. I'll get over the household chores from my mom. My sisters maybe get married but I won't get married. I don't wanna get married and leave the house. What would I do if I got married? It's nonsense. I'll take care of my parents. I promised them that I'll never get married and I'll always look after you. I'll never leave you. (Line 324) (Deniz)

In the future, I'll have a beautiful room, pretty clothes, and shoes. Actually, I wanna be with my friends. I can't live without my family because my family supports me. I can't receive any support from people other than my family. (Line 432) (Aysun)

I also wanna be a dancer. I'll attend a dance course. I'll attend several courses such as language, dance, karate, art when I grow up. (Line 348-350) (Demet)

I wanna have a beautiful and happy life, I wanna have kids in the future. (Line 378) (Metin)

Only two boys mentioned dreams other than career. In this context, it is meaningful that these two boys were the ones who struggled with household matters and financial issues most among all the other boys in the study. For instance, possible bad hospital experiences of Murat whose mother has cancer make his dreams of a future where there will be man-like robots who serve better than humans, who treat people better, who will do whatever is necessary without the influence of

their negative emotions meaningful. Besides, considering his general focus on the positive and his effort to keep a distance from his worries throughout the interview, his dream also presented as a coping way to release the “bad” inside him and think only about the positive instead.

In the future there may be robots like human beings. It would be great advantage. They would talk like humans, and meet people’s needs. They would help patients. They wouldn’t treat people badly, they would rather treat them good. That’s why I dream of robots. Some people, for example caregivers in child community homes, beat the children. The robots wouldn’t beat. (Line 390-395) (Murat)

2. Problem-Focused Coping

It appeared that these children also demonstrated reactions that involved active steps with the intention to change the troubling situation. However, the situations where children more often engaged in active struggle included problems with friends and school. This could stem from the fact that the children might have more sense of control over social settings outside the family. Likewise, since they could feel that they could not change the situation at the household, they could only turn to extrafamilial supports. Therefore, they might not want to lose any level of support available at hand in their lives and be more active in finding ways for not to lose these social relations.

a. To find compromising solutions

Although the children usually chose to keep silent against problems they had in life, all of the girls and two of the boys tried to change the distressing situation by trying to find compromising ways. The main issue they tried to actively solve was related peer relational difficulties.

I go to their feet (*ayaklarına gidiyorum*). I say certain things I want them to forget they are mean with me. I make them forget and then they talk to me. (Line 13) (Sinem)

I don't do anything else I just go near them I want them to forget. But some of them don't forget. Then he shouts go away from me. (Line 19) (Sinem)

Sometimes when we get cross with each other, I act nobly (*büyüklik bende kalsın*) and I go near and try to make peace with her. Her doing bad things gets on my nerves. (Line 73) (Aysun)

I apologize when something wrong happens. However if it is not wrong, I expect the other person to apologize to me. (Line 369) (Demet)

Deniz and Semra, for instance, indicated that they no more shared their secrets with friends who revealed their secrets to other people, suggesting that they learnt something from their bad experiences and gave up behaving the same way.

For example this girl (talking about her uncle's daughter), when you tell her a secret she tells it to everyone. (...) That is why I don't tell it to her, I am afraid. (Line 154-160) (Deniz)

Then we promised each other that we will not reveal each other's secrets again. All our friends. (...) We said, you reveal our secrets and we get cross with you. I revealed secrets, she has, we have all revealed each other's secrets. Then we said, let us not share our secrets anymore otherwise we will get cross with each other. (Line 282) (Semra)

When Aydın was asked what he did in order to deal with his anxiety about losing his relationship with his teacher upon cheating in an examination, he said that he talked to his teacher and solved the misunderstanding among them.

We went near the teacher and talked to her and it was all resolved. I was getting 5 from the exams, and the teacher said "I am sure you haven't cheated", that is why she trusted me. She said let's talk. I said OK. We talked and the problem was solved. (Line 223-230) (Aydın)

Demet indicated how he coped with his father's decision to work abroad, she indicated that she tried to prevent him from going. From her accounts it was evident that she felt talking to her father did not work out.

I said to my dad you cannot leave. I said don't go. We will work here, we will sell water together, we will go everywhere. He left. (...). I

couldn't deal with it, he left too quickly. I told him that he could work here too. But he said he could not leave his boss (Line 211-214)

When Metin was asked what he did in order to deal with troubling events in the neighborhood, Metin's stance implied more active steps in the direction of solving the situation.

I swear I talk to myself and think inside that I should go and fix up the quarrel. Just fix up the quarrel and send each part to his way. We get in between. But the boy does not understand he says that he will fight. Then older guys come and fix the quarrel, then we call him to play football. Then gradually he calms down. (Line 280-283) (Metin)

b. To find out the necessary means

It turned out that one girl and two boys actively tried to get rid of the negative effects of the varied distressing situations in their lives. For example, Metin indicated that he coped with his anxiety about failing at school by studying harder and assuring that his teacher appreciated his efforts. Samet was saving up his pocket money in order to use for the Internet research.

Demet also coped with the fact that she did not have a separate room to study and a private closet to put her homework via putting her homework, books and notebooks somewhere high in the living room so that her siblings would not give any harm. Similarly, when she was asked what she did in order to do research, she indicated that she saved money to go to the library and Internet café.

When I do my homework in the middle of everyone my siblings rip off the pages. (...) I do my homework over there, at the table in the living room. My schoolbag is not at home; we leave it at school. That's why when I have homework I bring it with me and then I immediately hide the schoolbag... I try to protect it. I hang it on high places. ... (Line 327) (Demet)

We pay money to get them [research homework] from the Internet, encyclopedia or the library. (Line 331) (Demet)

When he was asked how he dealt with the distressing noise due to the quarrels in the neighborhood, Barış indicated that he studies in another room so that the noise did not interfere with his school success. He felt this worked out.

For example let's say I can't do my homework because there is a lot of noise around. I go to another room, lock the door and then there is no more noise. (Line 69-74) (Barış)

c. Work life

Three of the children, Demet, Barış and Metin, as noted before, actively tried to combat with poverty in their households. They found jobs in order to not only earn their own pocket money but also additional money for the family's income. For all these children, working was a tool to get access to the things they could not have otherwise and not to feel excluded with regard to varied necessities at the school.

The narratives of the children alluded to the fact that working is a complex and paradoxical issue. In contrast to the social policy and literature suggesting that working activities unexceptionally put children at significant risks, which negatively affect their physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development, and deprives them of opportunities to expand their capacities, none of the working children in the study explicitly stated working as a problem despite mentioning the long hours of work, and exhaustion for the body. In contrast, all of the working children in the study underlined positive contributions of working to their lives and tended to perceive the work as an empowering experience.

First of all, working gave the children a sense of control in their lives via being the decision-makers for working, as suggested before.

Second, working enhanced children's feelings of autonomy, and functioned as a solution to access to pocket money, which enabled them to buy the things they wanted to and to afford school-related necessities.

If I have 15 I give 14 [to my mother] and the rest is mine. (...) My pocket money is enough, when I get out of school and when I don't go to work, I'm searching on the internet, I go to the library. I want to buy a ball and I buy it. (Line 444-449) (Metin)

Working does me good. When I work, I become a better person, I get on well then. Working means getting on well and also buying something for home. There is nothing negative about it. (Line 460-466) (Barış)

My mum was buying me many things like trousers or something but now I grew up and she's not buying anymore. So, I am buying myself. Yes, I am bringing my own money but I am not giving it to my mum or now I am giving half of it and I am saving the rest and buy things for me. (Line 108-117) (Demet)

At the moment I'm going occasionally, just when it's necessary, now I'll buy a pair of shoes, I saved some money, I'm trying to buy shoes for myself. (Line 96-99) (...) And tomorrow hopefully I'll buy my shoes. You know, they sell those shoes, it's written nike on it, but it's not original, fake ones. I can't buy an original one. Perhaps my money is not enough but I have 20 millions. (Line 286-292) (Demet)

Third, Metin and Demet highlighted the importance of work for him as a social as well as an economic issue. For Metin, saving his money and buying a television for himself was an opportunity for him to proof his independence in front of his uncles with whom he and his family shared the same apartment. Therefore, working for Metin is associated with a strategy to cope with his uncles' pressure and intrusion.

It does me good, that's it. For example I bought a TV. I worked and saved. Then I gave it all to my mum. I just took 2-3 million for pocket money, that's how I saved. It was like 250-300. She saved and then she went and bought. It did really good, I bought what I wanted. So, the TV is mine, I worked and bought it with my own money. (Line 516-525) (Metin)

For Demet, working also provided her with chance to play with other children working on the streets, and socialize and meet new people from whom she received some non-monetary supports. She reported making good friends whom she was still in touch with.

Mostly Odakule, Taksim, İstiklal street, at the cafés and bus stops, I was selling at places like those. I wasn't alone of course, we had friends, there were lots of people selling paper tissues. We weren't alone and I was quite happy then. Some people were asking do you get sad when you sell, no... no I was quite happy. Sometimes people over there...selling paper tissues is no good for children like me but as our economic conditions are not good... sometimes we were selling some tissues and then we were coming and playing some games. There was a fountain over there and we dreaming of it as a ship...we were getting on the ship. We were playing different games with those friends. I was getting really happy. When you play altogether, you feel happy...I was feeling quite happy when we played altogether. (Line 46-57) (Demet)

I've never seen such places before. Then I met those people over there and I continued. (Line 102) (Demet)

When I was here I didn't have many friends then. When I was there I met a lot of friends. Then it was quite good. (Line 166) (Demet)

There are some girls I know, they bring me things. Then I become happy. I meet some people, I talk to them, just there at the bus stop. When things are big for me, I give them to my mum. (Line 300-303) (Demet)

It is important to underline that as discussed in the first research question, although the working children tended to express positive effects of work in their lives, some of their conflictual statements implied their complex and paradoxical perceptions of working: being empowered and honored due to their contributions to their families and earning pocket money for themselves, and being under pressure due to obligation of earning money. Therefore, trying to focus on positive perceptions might have helped them to deal with not only their mothers' expectation of working from them but also the possible stressful feelings of being responsible for working in order to contribute to family's income.

Social Support Resources

A general outlook at the happiness sources of the children had already indicated that availability of social support resources played an important protective

role in the lives of the children in the study. This part will be a description of to what extent children directly reported turning to their social relations in the face of a problem, and how they perceived their social relations in different domains of their lives in terms of finding support in general.

The children indicated receiving a variety of external supports across different contexts in their lives: family, school and neighborhood. These supports were critical in opening up opportunities, giving encouragement and give hope for pursuing their goals.

1. Familial Support

a. Mothers

The children's accounts revealed that mothers were perceived as the main source of social and financial support. However, when children were asked how they coped with the troubles they had mentioned throughout their interviews, only Metin indicated that he asked for help from his mother. Metin, for example, sought seek from his mother when his uncles' violence were unbearable. In terms of whether telling his mother helped or not, Metin stated that talking to his mother did help but not change the fact that he was living together with his uncles. It just helped to decrease the intensity of the violence to a certain extent. He also asked help from his mothers in terms of school necessities.

I talk to my mother. Well, they beat me... She said 'don't beat him' and they said OK. (...). It works... I tell my mom 'these guys beat me'. She goes and talks to them and asks them why they beat me. (Line 546-555) (Metin)

I tell to my mum, they want money from the school I want from her and she gives. When she doesn't have any change, she borrows money from my uncle. When I need a book or a notebook I tell her, and she buys. (Line 248-257) (Metin)

When the children were directly asked about their relationships with their mothers, however, it was also revealed that regarding their problems, especially for Barış, Murat and Aydın, the role of their mothers in their lives as sources of happiness and support was apparent.

For instance once we lost our ball and we told it to mom. Mom said “wait a minute”, then we couldn’t find it, but mom gave us money and we bought a new one. Mom said “come to me if this one deflates and I will buy you another one”. (Line 214-217) (Murat)

She makes me feel confident and gives me power. I just feel that I am not alone when I take an exam. When I go to school my mom says “May God bestow upon you clarity of mind” I go and imagine getting 5 from the exam, I imagine my mom next to me and then the exam goes all well. (Line 252-255) (Aydın)

Among the three boys, Murat also pointed out his mutually supportive relationship with his mother.

Whenever my mom has a problem she shares it with me. I think of possible solutions. When I have some problems I tell it to mom and she thinks of possible solutions. (Line 234) (Murat)

b. Fathers

As discussed in the first research question, from all the other children’s accounts it was evident that children’s discernment of their fathers except Demet, Deniz and Samet implied either barely existence or existence with negative connotations. As put before, especially Demet and Samet seemed to be longing for their fathers since they were abroad, which was also in line with the fact that Samet and Demet were the only children except Deniz in the study who spontaneously mentioned their fathers throughout the interviews and in line with their perceptions of the fathers as supportive and caring.

My dad, sometimes he says study. He says, for example we didn’t go to school, we always needed the help of other people, we always worked for other people. He says, you won’t be needing the help of other people, they might need you. He says, then you’ll help them and

receive something in return. I want to study as I really want it. My dad supports me. (Line 312) (Demet)

When I have some troubles my dad helps me. When I have a problem he says there's no cure for untold problems, I guess there's an idiom like that. And I tell him and he gives me advice. (Line 382) (Samet)

In addition, Samet and Demet were the only children who reported turning to their fathers for support, not to their mothers due to the fact that they believed their mothers would not be able to help them since they did not have any education. This also reflected the importance of education in children's perception of their parents and the role of education in choosing from whom to seek support.

I can't get along well with my mum, sometimes we quarrel. But I never say things which might hurt her. (Line 28) (Demet)

I'm not sharing mush with my mum. You know, she studied only for 5 years. When I tell her something she says I don't know, tell it to your father...hah as if he studies high school. My mum knows how to read but she can't read small letters. (Line 407) (Demet)

I don't share my problems with my mum but I do with my dad. As my mum doesn't know anything you know reading and writing, I always share with my dad. (Line 473-476) (Samet)

Samet also asked for help from his father when his mother beats him.

When I tell my dad, then my mom does whatever my dad tells her to do. And my dad says her not to beat us, and she doesn't beat us up. (Line 471) (Samet)

From Demet and Samet's accounts on their longing for their fathers and on turning to them for support rather than mothers, it seemed that Demet and Samet overvalued their fathers whereas they devalued their mothers in contrast to the other children in the study. This could stem from two factors. First, their fathers were not physically available at home and they missed them. Second, as these children valued education very much, their fathers' higher levels of education as opposed their mothers enabled them to perceive their fathers all powerful.

As stated above, similar to Demet and Samet, Deniz did also spontaneously mention his father and seemed to overvalue his father. However, Deniz seemed to differ when compared to Demet's and Samet's possible reasons for overvaluing their fathers. She described supporting relationships with both parents and reported turning to her mother for help as much as her father. Yet while she perceived her mother as more authoritative, she perceived her father friendly and understanding.

I get along well with my family, yes I get along very well with my dad, really well as if we're friends with my dad, you know I never get frightened when my dad gets angry with me, but my mum, my mum is a bit aggressive that's why I'm frightened of her, but my dad is like a friend to me. I feel myself close to him, I get along well with my mum, too but sometimes when I get naughty she gets angry with me... but my dad, for example sometimes I turn up the volume of the TV, he says please turn it down and he pats on my back and then I go and I pat his back, that's how we talk all the time. (Line 8, 225-232) (Deniz)

c. Siblings

When the children were asked about how they coped with the troubles that they had been going through, none of the children in the study indicated a turn to their siblings for help. Only two of the boys spoke about the academic support they got from their elder sisters or brothers.

Support, for example, my sister, I want my sister to help me. She goes to the 8th grade. For example, when I have a difficult homework I tell her and she helps me. (Line 385-399) (Bariş)

My brother S., and then my sister. For example when I have difficult homework and he helps me, that's good. (Line 27) (Bariş)

I had cheated at 2nd grade. About the mathematical multiplications. Then I learned all of it. I said, I have to learn this stuff. I told my sister and she taught it to me. Then I never cheated about that again. (Line 69-74) (Aydın)

2. Extended Family

Throughout the interviews, very few children talked about their relatives as important sources of support whom they could turn to solve their problems. The support from extended family members generally emerged while children were talking about the impact of poverty with regard to basic school stuff. In this context, the interview question concerning whom they could turn to if they needed some kind of support was most revealing. The children's accounts suggested that for most of the children need for support was equivalent to need for "financial assistance". It turned out that they felt more obligated to extended family members in terms of financial assistance.

For example, we want from my uncle, he gives us (the one who runs café), I call him and say something bad happened to mum, I need some pay. Then he comes immediately. (...) then we want from my uncle who has a car he gives us money too and then we give him money when he needs. For example when someone get sick, has an operation we want from him otherwise we don't want money in any other case. (Line 274-294) (Murat)

We get help from them when we have financial hardship. Mostly from my father's mother. (...) My uncles give money too. (...) (Line 373-378) (Demet)

My uncle... He isn't nervous, doesn't get angry. And he gives me money, he loves me. My uncle is closest to me. (Line 238-247) (Metin)

On that day my uncle came to us and asked do you need money support and we said no, thank you we said. My grandma is asking, too. We are close to my grandma, my uncle too. (Line 503-505) (Samet)

My uncle... Whenever I get into trouble I tell him, I will go to theatre, will you give me 3 millions, he gives. His name is a lovely one. (Line 380) (Samet)

None of the children except Aydın and Samet spontaneously spoke about seeking support from their extended family members. Also Aydın and Samet were the only children who talked about their relatives as important sources of emotional

support. They indicated that they turned to their uncles in order to deal with problems other than financial issues.

For example, when Samet was asked what he did to deal with witnessing the drug peddlers in his neighborhood, he indicated that he frequently went to the houses of his grandmother and uncle, who were residing in a different street.

I go to my grandmother's. They live across the street. They are very nice people. Sometimes I stay there. I get very happy, it is calm there. There are my relatives there too; we play football everyday, but my uncle wants us to be back home by 8 or 8:30. (Line 131-136) (Samet)

I ask for my uncle's help. He is literate, the others are not. And he is a teacher, that's why. He could help me more. If there is need to go somewhere, he goes and talks, he reads. ... I mean he understands things. (Line 272-277) (Aydın)

3. Extrafamilial Relations

The children indicated receiving a variety of extrafamilial supports, defined as helpful people in the neighborhood and school. Though the adults children perceived as supportive were few in number and did not imply continued support, the children acknowledged and valued the significance of their extrafamilial support networks and were appreciative of their help. The following extrafamilial supports were mentioned by the children: teachers, friends, neighbors and Quran hodjas in the neighborhood.

a. School

School provided an important support mechanism for all of the children. Majority of the children talked about the strengthening role of school and teachers. Majority of the children spoke about the support they got from their school friends. Some spoke about the support they got from their teachers.

Differently from all the other children school held a very special meaning for Sinem. She repeated a couple of times how she felt happy and relieved about being at

school. In her life dominated by her role as substitute mothership (*“ikame annelik”*), education played the role of a savior. School seemed to be the only place where she was allowed to be a child.

My mum...she was always going because of my aunts. There were things to do at home. Cleaning the babies, changing their diapers, and cooking...things like that. But I have to go to school at the same time. While I was staying at home I was feeling really depressed but when I went to school I was getting relaxed. But then I always had to come back home. I couldn't go anywhere. That's why I was always alone. (Line 72) (Sinem)

Going to school saves me. My mom leaves the two babies and all the housework to me. And I get so worn out. She tells me to come back from school quickly. I go to school in the morning. I go at 7 and come back at 12. (Line 102) (Sinem)

Teachers

Almost none of the children spontaneously mentioned perceiving their teachers as an adult who supported them. Yet, the majority of the children mentioned positive qualities of their teachers. They mentioned teachers' positive attitudes and behaviors towards them in the classroom. Their perceptions of a supporting teacher were the ones who are warm and friendly; and act as a guide.

For example, when asked about whether there was any adult other than the family members to whom he felt close, Aydın indicated that

My teacher... Some of my friends are not well off, so our teacher brings them clothes and shoes and t-shirts. She brings everything, that's why I love her. She helps everyone. One of my friends is very disrespectful to her but my teacher does nothing in return; my teacher has not hit anyone until now. (Line 325-327) (Aydın)

Why would I not share [my problems]? [She would help] a lot. I don't know. She would help in fact but I don't have anything particular in mind. I know she would help. Because she is a good person. (Line 330-337) (Aydın)

Furthermore, some children included the statement “I love my teacher very much” to their definition of the self. Especially the male participants had a more

explicitly positive emphasis on their teachers. For example Barış mentioned seeing his teachers as a support in addition to his family.

She lectures in class, but when I forget what it was all about I go to her and I say ‘Teacher, I forgot what I had in my mind’, and she writes it on a piece of paper and gives it to me, and I research about it. (Line 394) (Barış)

It was revealed that some children took their teachers as a role model as they were talking about their dreams of the future.

I love painters the most. Our teacher is a painter too...He is both a teacher and a painter. He used to own a store but he closed it down. He had paintings in all of the rooms. Once we had visited his home.. You know, it was so beautiful (Line 316) (Deniz)

Teacher B. has been helping us a lot from the beginning. He is our classroom teacher. He is a teacher of virtual arts and technology design. She asks us which teachers curse at us. We say it is the math teacher, he says if you behave I will make you pass this course. I like him too, but it makes me unhappy when he addresses us in slang. (...) Teacher B. said all we talked about was between us and that he would work it all out. And he told us to not tell it to anyone. I am just telling it to you right now. (Line 119-126) (Samet)

Looking at the accounts of 6th graders, the classroom teacher at the elementary school created a more positive appraisal and potential support whereas the secondary school teachers who are faced with a much higher number of students are not perceived to be as supportive. For example, one of the girls compared her elementary and secondary school teachers and voiced the difficulty of sharing her problems with her teachers at the secondary school.

Sometimes when I cannot finish my homework the teacher asks me why I didn’t do it. And I sometimes say, I cannot say I clean the house and take care of the children. I just say something. For example I say that I sleep late at night. (...) If I said that then my classmates would say that they also take care of their siblings yet they do their homework, how come I don’t do it. I used to have a teacher. I could tell everything to teacher N. She knows that my parents quarrel and she loves me very much. (Line 438-443) (Aysun)

Our classroom teacher helped us a lot. He was a very good teacher. And he was very handsome too. (Line 329) (Samet)

At the same time, though children generally indicated that their teachers had the training and dedication to help them reach their goals and solve their problems, it is understood that the children did not directly ask for their teachers' support but perceived the teacher as someone they could turn to for support when needed. Only two of the boys, Barış and Murat stated that they asked for help from their teachers in order to deal with some classmates with bad habits who were constantly disrupting the order and bothering them.

We tell it to the teacher and the teacher punishes them, they don't do it anymore. (Line 99) (Barış)

When they get close to me I tell it to the teacher (Line 101) (Murat)

Friends

Though some children stressed feelings of loneliness and disconnection, their accounts on the happiness areas in their lives and resilience capacities emphasized the importance of having close friends, whom they can count on, in coping with their problems.

When asked about friendships in general, almost all of the children responded that they had friends. Only one of the girls, Sinem, said that she had no friends. She was also the only child who named loneliness as one of the problematic and unhappy areas of her life in the very beginning of the interview, which was discussed before.

While all of the boys in the study responded as having best friends, only two of the girls indicated to have best friends. Having best friends seemed to be gendered. Rest of the girls also mentioned the availability of several friends in their lives. However, their accounts on the relations with these friends were less likely to imply mutual or deep commitments.

“Best friend” for the children meant friends with whom they could talk about very personal matters and who really listened, who reciprocated informational

support and instrumental support, who were loyal and protecting even in the face of exclusion and negative behaviors from others, and with whom they could have a good time sharing varied activities.

A. always helps me. When I am in trouble he asks me what it is about. (...) For example, when we play football the other team does not want to have me, he gets me in his team. I get sad when the other team doesn't accept me but I get very happy when this team does. I want to be on his side. (...). I support him too. When I get to be the captain I choose him. When he fights with his friends sometimes I calm them down (Line 293-305) (Samet)

When someone beats me he comes and pulls us apart. Sometimes I cannot finish half of my homework and I tell it to him and he shares his homework with me. And he sometimes asks me for my homework for the questions he couldn't answer and I give to him. (Line 334-337) (Metin)

There are 4 in the neighborhood. Because they invite me to play football. When I don't get to play sometimes, they tell to me to wait and they say that they will have me in the team. When I go outside we play against others, there may be boys whom we don't know; he sends that boy out of the team and gets me in. Like that. (...) For instance when I fight with someone the guys run for help ... (Line 337-351) (Metin)

H. and E. ... my classmates...I love them very much. Hakan knows a lot, he laughs without saying anything, and the other one is dark skinned, I love him so much. They are never cross with me. (...) Oh, there is G. too, she is good, she always likes me, when something happens she comes near me, when I cry she is always with me. (Line 181-189) (Aydın)

He loves math very much too. His mother likes me; I always go to their home. We watch TV. His father knows me. Sometimes I stay in their house and then I come home at 12. Sometimes their mother leaves me home. Sometimes we play football. I call him over and we play games. We get along well because we both like math. When he gets stuck he lets me know and when get stuck I let him know. Sometimes he comes and we study together. When our homework is finished they come downstairs, we play chasing game, then his mother calls him home and sometimes he invites me and I go with him too. Then there is his brother S. , he is exactly like his brother; he always falls when he runs. (Line 178-185) (Murat)

We never quarrel. She wants to be a doctor just like me. She likes art and dancing. We have a lot in common. She is emotional too. We are the same height. We are the same age. We are both Gemini. There is

one month difference between our birthdays. She also likes reading the Quran and *namaz*. We go to the library together. When something happens we help each other. (Line 363) (Demet)

I... yes, I love her very much, she has a very good attitude I think... I mean, I don't know, she is very sweet, she is just so close to you, even if I were with her a hundred years I would not be bored at all. For example she is very cute and likes helping others, she smiles, she is friendly, she comes and talks to me, she kisses me... (Line 143-150) (Deniz)

The question concerning what the children did to handle varied difficulties in their lives was most revealing in terms of demonstrating the difference among the boys' and girls' perceptions of access to support from friends. Almost all of the boys in the study indicated that they turned to some friends to find solutions to their problems across different domains in their lives. The examples they gave also validated that majority of the boys could receive emotional and instrumental support from their friends when they needed. For example, for academic difficulties and other school-related problems, Samet, Metin, and Aydın indicated that they asked for help from their friends. This was also in line with their statements about the areas that made them happy in their lives, as indicated in the previous section.

When someone beats me he comes and pulls us apart. Sometimes I cannot finish half of my homework and I tell it to him and he shares his homework with me. And he sometimes asks me for my homework for the questions he couldn't answer and I give to him. (Line 334-337) (Metin)

I help them out and sometimes they help me out. When I do not know the answers I ask them and they ask me too. (Line 69) (Aydın)

Even if I haven't studied for the exam my schoolmates are by my side and they help me. (Line 13) (Samet)

Similarly, when Samet was asked what he did when he was not able to afford a school trip or other school necessities, he said that he asked help from his bestfriends. Though school trips sometimes caused Samet distress, his accounts indicated the availability of support from friends and the teacher. In his classroom,

the teacher and friends try to provide funds for children who cannot afford to go on trips.

I want to go to picnic. We went to a picnic last year, I didn't give any money because we had performed a play, we charged money for the tickets to parents, and we had money. Actually we would buy a TV but since the classes got separated we didn't and we wanted to go to picnic. (Line 345-347) (Samet)

Let's say I will go make some copies and I have no money left. I ask for 500 from them, and they say that I don't need to pay it back. I help them out and that is how I pay it back. (Line 156) (Samet)

Sometimes my friends help me. On that day his friend didn't come to gang meeting. I gave the exact money to M., I gave 3 millions. I said to the boy give 500 or 1000 and he comes also. They also help me. They know as I don't go with them. I say I won't come, I didn't get money. They ask me and I say I won't come I don't like plays and they help me and we go together. (Line 356-363) (Samet)

In addition to school-related difficulties, Metin and Samet also turned to their friends to cope with the emotional burden evoked by the problems with their families. For instance, Metin felt relieved when he shared the physical violence of his uncle.

I have friends who help me, that's all... They say, why does your uncle beat you, and I tell it all to them. They say, don't mess with your uncle ... (Line 566-569) (Metin)

For example I do not want to go home, and he says, let me know if you don't want to go home, you can stay with us. (Line 293-305) (Samet)

The fact that the girls did not often report turning to friends to cope with their problems could be related to the girls' suffering from inadequate friendships as compared to the boys in the study. Reliable and trustworthy friendships were important for the girls just as it seems to be true for boys, but the girls did not have adequate friendships to seek support from or ask for help. Among the girls only Aysun indicated to turn to a friend in order to cope with her academic problems and

difficulties associated with her extended family. Sharing the disputes among her parents with a friend seemed to be helpful for Aysun to bear with the distressing feelings. She felt relieved after talking to a friend whom she trusted.

My friend Ş. that I told you about; sometimes when I do research work I share it with her and she gets it done too. She sometimes does this too. (Line 210) (Aysun)

But for instance when my parents fight, I have this friend Ş, I tell it to her (she yawns), and I tell it to D. and K. as well.. When I tell her and she says good things to me I feel good and relaxed. For example they say, your mother is a good person, she wouldn't do something like that, and your father loves your mother in fact, if your grandmother didn't live with you would be a great family. (Line 178-183) (Aysun)

b. Neighborhood

Two of the children talked about turning to some adults from the neighborhood a close relation with the neighbors in order to cope with some of the troubling areas in their lives. Both for Murat and Aysun, support from more than one adult in the neighborhood was apparent. For example, Murat could turn to varied adults in his neighborhood district in dealing with some elder children, who were harassing and bothering Murat and his friends, and in coping with the difficulties in the absence of his mother during her hospitalization.

I sometimes talked with S. [his closest friend]. S. knew that my mother is sick. Then his mother came to our home to help, to look after the kids, to cook. She was helping us (Line 358) (Murat)

Some kids run after me to hit me, some people in the neighborhood warn them. They say don't do anything to these children otherwise it'll be bad for you and they don't come again. For example, there's a man called Y., he has a coffee shop just across our home. He threatens the kids. (Line 252-255) (Murat)

It was evident that on one hand the children who bothered Murat and his friends were in the neighborhood district. On the other hand, Murat's accounts

revealed that the adults who functioned as protective and supportive figures against these elder children were also a part of the same neighborhood district.

When Aysun was asked about whether there was anyone except family members whom she could ask for help, she talked about a close relation with the neighbors. The availability of support from extrafamilial adults was important for Aysun in the sense that she lacked adequate support from her family and friends. When she was asked how she coped with the feelings evoked by her troubling friends, she indicated that she turned to a young female working at a nearby market, and shared her problems with her in general. The presence of her seemed to help Aysun a lot. Overall she mentioned three nonfamilial people whom she perceived as a source of support in the face of adversity in her life.

(...) there is someone in on the lower floor, someone called Uncle S. he is educated, an engineer, he is about 60-63 years old, he is not old but he looks young. He sometimes helps with my homework. Sometimes I have research to do, and I check it out looking at the encyclopedia he gave us. (...) He helps with my homework, he gives booklets appropriate for our age, we read those booklets, we read the books he gives us. (Line 198-204) (Aysun)

When I am feeling bad I tell her [Sister S., the shopgirl] who works at the market] what it is like.... and sometimes I feel good ... When I wake up early on Saturday and Sunday I visit her, we play ball together, well, we just spend time together. (Line 81-86) (Aysun)

My Quran hodja... She told us her bad experiences in the past and how she overcame them. Her friends had treated her badly, they always quarreled with her. But she said when she was grown up, she felt strong and she just laughed at her friends. She's such a nice, charming person. She always treats me well. (Line 43-47) (Aysun)

Our Quran hodja took us to picnic, Eyüp Sultan, and Hagia Sophia. It was very nice. We'll go to a picnic this weekend too. And sometimes the head of the Quran course comes to my house and helps us. (Line 53-58) (Aysun)

Comparing Low SES Children with Middle SES Children

In this section how the coping strategies the low SES children in this study employed seemed to differ from those of the middle SES children was evaluated.

From the analyses of the data it was evident that the low SES children mainly employed internal and emotional ways of coping, while the middle SES children employed more active steps with the intention to change the distressing situation in their lives (see Appendix I and J).

The struggles the low and middle SES children were living through seemed to differ in the sense that the distressing situations in the low SES children were more chronic whereas the distressing situations were more unexpected and temporary in the case of the middle SES children. This in turn led to the fact that majority of the low-income children used emotion-focused coping strategies in the sense that they more often did not have a sense of control over most of the problems they encountered with. Therefore, they ended up with accepting the struggles and tried to find strategies to learn to live with these struggles. The middle SES children, on the other hand, sought ways to alter the source of stress and troubling struggles they came up with.

In middle SES children's accounts, the use of emotion-focused strategies was almost nonexistent. Only one of the middle SES children indicated using self-soothing while self-soothing was a major strategy of the low SES children in order to deal with the distressing situations.

One of the areas where the low SES and middle SES differed was in terms of the number of available social support resources. The middle SES children seemed to have more access to extended family support as well as more supportive and protective extrafamilial supports. It turned out that though both low and middle SES

children viewed adults and some relatives as sources of social support significantly, the middle SES children in the study received more often problem-solving assistance in coping than did the low SES children in the study. As seen from the difference between low SES children and middle SES children in terms of the coping strategies they employed, it can be suggested that not only the childhoods of children from low SES families, growing up in chronic poverty, were shaped by the constraints of poverty but also their way of dealing with stress seemed to be influenced by the poverty due to the fact that the children's perceptions of the stressors in their lives were shaped by the circumstances they were growing up.

DISCUSSION

This study focused on the children's experiences of poverty along with their everyday adversities and their ways of coping with these adversities. The aim was to gain a better understanding of the factors that facilitate or hinder the children's development through the eyes of the children. Individual interviews with ten low SES children and four middle SES children provided the information upon which this study was built on. This section discusses the meaning and implications of the research findings.

First of all, it is crucial to note that the comparison of low SES children with middle SES children made it possible to suggest that most material explored in low-income children's interviews was by and large specific to these children's circumstances associated with chronic poverty. This does not mean that the middle-income children did not suffer from any troubling issues and that they were growing up in hassle-free environments. However, not only the nature and underlying reasons of their troubles but also the protective resources in their lives seem to make difference. For instance, in their study comparing the youth living in poverty and youth living in affluence, Luthar and Ansary (2005) found some similarities among these two groups in terms of substance use/abuse, engagements in delinquent behaviors, and interest in school or academic work. However, in contrast to youth in poverty, youth in affluence was not found to significantly suffer from immense consequences that may hinder their future choices. They suggested that the affluent youth may have available supports that help them compensate for a transient period of maladaptation without negative consequences in terms of the path their lives may take. Therefore, below the findings of the current study were discussed as implying

that the children's experiences were mediated through a diverse range of factors that were embedded within financial circumstances of these children.

First, the findings of the study were reviewed. Then the findings were integrated with the previous literature on the impact of poverty and associated disadvantage on the quality of children's lives and children's perspectives on their own experiences. Then, limitations to the study, areas for future research and policy implications were discussed.

Research Questions

Research Question 1 & 2

Taking the children's subjective experiences within their social and cultural context into account clearly pointed the intersection of risk and protective factors associated in the context of disadvantage. It has revealed how the effects of poverty and disadvantage can pervade every aspect of their lives; from the material needs to the social and emotional requirements. However, the children described their experiences of poverty in terms of social relations and dreams about future more than in terms of access to material resources, in line with another qualitative study in which children's everyday experiences of health variations were investigated from their own perspectives (Backett-Milburn et al. 2003; cited in Attree, 2006). That is, the themes that emerged as risk factors were mainly familial and extended familial difficulties, friendship, academic failure, lack of security in neighborhood, and excluding support from NGOs and governmental institutions. The themes that emerged as protective factors were the familial themes (good and supportive nuclear

family relations, and parents' support for education), inclusion and support in friendships, and to be loved and appreciated by other people.

From these findings, it was evident that family relationships, friendships and neighborhoods were very important in children's lives. While any troubling aspects in these areas negatively affected children's lives, the positive aspects in these domains were very crucial in terms of providing support and protection to the lives of the children growing up in disadvantage. The findings indicated that the absence of a certain function in a so-called protective factor could therefore turn it into a risk factor in the lives of these children. Several other qualitative research that looked at the impoverished children's subjective accounts also made a parallel conclusion, as was clearly shown in Attree's (2004) systematic review of these studies. That is, while for some young people family, friendships and neighborhood factors can reduce the impact of economic hardship and associated problems on well-being, aspects of family relationships, friendships and the neighborhood environment may themselves be undermined by the constraints of economic hardship especially when poverty is persistent.

Therefore in this part each of these factors was discussed with their risk and protective roles. While these factors were discussed separately here, it is crucial to note that they were always interacting in complex ways. When the interactions were borne out from the findings, they were underlined.

Family Environment

The protective family variables emerged repeatedly in the current study included warmth, support, good relations among parents and harmony, as extensively underlined by resilience literature across varied contexts (Masten and Coatsworth, 1998; Werner and Smith, 1992; Schoon, 2006). Different from previous studies,

support from parents regarding the education of the children was an additional finding of the current study. It was meaningful in the context of these children's lives in the sense that the children's accounts revealed constant risk for dropping out of school due to poverty.

From the children's accounts it was revealed that for most of the children in the study, mothers played the most significant role in their lives. This was in line with both the resilience and child poverty literature consistently indicating that a positive relationship with at least one parent figure was found to serve an important protective function (Werner and Smith, 1992; Luthar, 1999; Duncan, Brooks-Gunn and Klebanov, 1994; Schoon, 2006). For instance, Gribble et al (1993) studied urban children aged 10-12 who had experienced major life stresses and found that a positive parent-child relationship played an important role that helped the children to adapt under stress. In line with other studies (Ridge, 2002; Roker, 1988; Percy, 2003; cited in Attree, 2004), majority of the children in the current study were found to turn to their mothers in order to fulfill their school needs as well as to solve their problems with troubling friends. In addition, close and confiding relationships with mothers were found to provide the children with feelings of reassurance and emotional security. For some of the children in the current study whose accounts did not mirror their perception of mothers as supportive and close, even the perceived support and closeness of mother was found to be very crucial in these children's lives in line with previous studies that perceived social support, regardless of the consistency, is associated with greater resilience (Werner and Smith, 1982).

Therefore the findings of the current study indicated that positive family relations were possible within the chronic poverty context. However, the protective role of the family was found to be constrained by poverty in terms of high rates of

conflict and discord among parents, parents' lack of adequate involvement with their children, and intrusion by extended family. This finding of the current study was in line with the mounting evidence that such family processes as the quality of the marital relationship and the parent-child relationship are important mediators of the influence of economic hardship on children's emotional and social development (Conger, Ge, Elder, Lorenz and Simons, 1994; Conger, Ge, Elder, Lorenz, Simons and Whitbeck, 1992; Conger, Conger and Elder, 1997; Mistry et al., 2002). For three of the children in the current study (*Sinem*, *Aysun*, *Semra*), the parental disputes due to extended family members and financial circumstances seemed to overwhelm their mothers and diminish mothers' ability to be supportive, consistent and involved with their children, as the parental stress model of the mediating role of family functioning (McLoyd 1990; Huston et al. 1994; Conger et al. 1992). For instance, *Sinem*'s mother constantly left the house and abandoned her children, leaving all the responsibility on *Sinem*'s shoulders, which in turn affected her academic performance and opportunity to form and maintain friendships. Similar findings were also demonstrated among adolescents that family economic pressure led to unrest in the family environment and marital discords, which in turn negatively affected mothers' parenting behaviors, resulting in lower school grades, reduced emotional health, and impaired social relationships (Duncan and Brooks-Gunn, 2000).

For three of the children (*Metin*, *Aysun* and *Sinem*) on the other hand, in addition to the presence of battles and disputes among parents, the children were physically abused by the extended family members. When witnessing physical violence, being drawn into parental battles, and being themselves victimized, and the absence of adequate positive familial support were cumulated, it seemed to put these children at greater risk evident in acting-out behaviors of two of the children (*Metin*

and Semra) in the current study such as stealing, harming other people's belongings, and fighting. Similar negative outcomes were also well documented by a wide range of studies (National Institute of Mental Health Basic Behavioral Science Task Force of the NAMHC., 1996; Wallerstein and Corbin, 1996; cited in Kiser, 2007).

The findings of the current study also indicated a substantial difference between children who mentioned instrumental and emotional support from their wider family members and those who did not mention any support from their extended families but rather mentioned significant strife among their wider family and nuclear family members and those who did not. Indeed, in the current study, the children who were found not to be coping well and seemed to have more emotional and academic problems as compared to other children in the study, were the ones who did not define supportive relations of their families with any other people outside the family as well. As suggested in the literature (Aber et al, 1997; Dubow et al., 1997), the benefits of strong and positive connections with extended kin or close friends are significant and appear to be related to better outcomes in the face of poverty by increasing social capital and instrumental support in families (Dubow et al., 1997). This could be explained with the fact that mothers' problems in interpersonal relations with their relatives tend to lead neglecting and unresponsive interactions with their children as well, as suggested by the literature that when economic hardship is accompanied by social isolation, parents can become more neglectful and/or abusive (Garrett, Ng'andu and Ferron, 1994; Kiser, 2007).

Children's narratives also revealed that it is the absence of positive parenting, not just the presence of negative parenting, which linked poverty to poor child well-being, in line with Bradley and Crowyn's (2002) suggestions. For instance, other children in the current study also mentioned their mothers' infrequent physical abuse

or quarrels with their parents. However, their narratives also revealed supportive and positive sides of their relations with their mothers as well.

One of prominent findings of the current study was the psychological absence of the fathers in the children's lives as compared to the protective role of the availability of the mothers. While, the children in the current study more frequently reported turning to their mothers for any kind of support, there were only scarce instances of financial needs in the narratives of the children in the current study.

Furstenberg (1995) found that having a job was a crucial factor in defining the goodness of the father. However, given the finding of the irregular employment or unemployment of the fathers of the children in the current study and the importance of the breadwinner role in defining a good father as indicated in previous literature, it could be that fathers who bring money to home feel better about themselves and better about their children than fathers who could not. Therefore the children's fathers may be likely to avoid contact with their children if only because such contact reminds them of their failure to perform their social duty. At the same time, it is crucial to take the literature into account suggesting that gender stereotypes and intergenerational hierarchy results in the man's cultural separation from the children and the wife (Sunar, 2002).

For some of the children in the current study, on the other hand, the fathers were not absent but were found to be present with abusive behaviors, which may put the children at greater risk as compared to absence of the fathers. For example, the tradition of research established by Patterson and his colleagues pointed to developmental problems in children when fathers are explosive or highly irritable (Patterson, DeBaryshe and Ramsey, 1989; cited in Furstenberg, 1995).

The current study also found that overall crowdedness at the household could put the children at risk. The households in the current study were too crowded due to the fact that almost all of the children's parents tended to bear many children, which then puts caregiving responsibilities on the eldest daughter in the family. This finding suggested a difference among boys and girls in terms of the risks associated with negative family functioning. In contrast to resilience literature involving children growing up in poverty, which shown that during childhood years girls are less affected by family socio-economic hardship than boys and girls show more resilience than boys (Butler et al., 1986; Rutter et al., 1970; cited in Schoon, 2006; Luthar, 1995; Rutter, 1987), majority of the girls in the current study were more susceptible to the risks associated with socioeconomic disadvantage than the boys that depicted itself in the girls' substitute mothership (*"ikame annelik"*) roles, academic failure and concerns about dropping out of school.

The resilience literature generally suggested that being a female is a protective factor in the sense that girls react emotionally and behaviorally in more positive ways than boys to negative family situations (Schoon, 2006). However, these studies were quantitative and looked at resilience and protection solely in terms of school attainment and behavioral check lists which were reported by the teachers or parents. The current study, on the other hand, evaluated different domains of the children's lives via their own voices, which might have revealed the themes that would be otherwise overlooked. In addition, these girls were learning gendered patterns of self-denial and assuming the burden of protecting the other members of the family as their mothers did, as was reflected in studies of adult women from low-income families (Middleton, Ashworth and Braithwaite, 1997; Middleton, Ashworth and Walker, 1994; cited in Ridge, 2002). Though the ways it depicted itself different,

the finding of the current study that being a girl, especially the eldest daughter in the family, put the children at greater risk was validated by the qualitative study of Ridge (2002) which explored the lives and experiences of a group of children and young people from low-income families in the United Kingdom.

This is not to suggest that boys in the current study were not susceptible to negative outcomes of the family disadvantage. However, the absence of mother and/or having many siblings seemed to constitute an additional risk for girls in the current study. At the same time in contrast to the literature suggesting that boys were especially threatened by family economic problems that could limit their opportunities for educational and occupational success and thus their ability to assume the traditional male role of family breadwinner (Conger, Conger and Elder, 1997; Lalor, 1999), from the accounts of both boys and girls in the study it became evident that both girls and boys were under the risk of dropping out of schools due to the necessity to work in order to supplement the family income.

Coupled with crowdedness, other physical constraints such as residing in smaller, noisier and poorer-quality housing due to financial constraints were found to negatively affect some of the children in the current study. As suggested by many other studies with the similar results, noise, crowding, and poor housing quality constitute risk for these children in the sense that they are positively associated with children's psychological distress (Evans, 2004; Evans et al., 2005), as well as learned helplessness (Evans & Stecker, 2004; cited in Evans et al., 2005).

All in all, it can be suggested that children in poor households do not suffer directly as a result of poverty but through its effects on the family functioning. While positive aspects of family relationships were found provide the children in the current study with protection against the material and social deprivation they

encountered, the absence of positive aspects of family functioning seemed to put these children at certain risks.

Friendship

Alongside the family relationships, the friendship theme was central to the children's narratives in the current study. The importance of friendship in the children's lives in the current study was validated by the finding that majority of the children explicitly named varied aspects of friendships both in their voice bubbles as distressing and bothering, and as pleasing and making them happy.

Friendships appeared to serve a variety of supportive functions for the children in the current study. Friendships were found to provide most of the children in the current study with opportunities for intimacy and affection; provide advice and guidance in the face of familial problems; instrumental support for academic problems and financial needs; and companionship in play and activities, in line with previous studies on the friendships of maltreated children (Parker and Gottman, 1989; Furman and Robbins, 1985; Bukowski and Hoza, 1989; cited in Price, 1996). The availability of these supportive functions was suggested to be protective in the lives of high-risk children was well documented in the resilience literature (Lynch and Cicchetti, 1993).

Two forms of peer difficulties, social isolation and bullying, were held to be particularly problematic for the two girls (*Sinem and Aysun*) in the current study, who also lacked positive adequate friendships in their lives. These children were also observed to be more depressed and hopeless throughout the interviews and their definition of selves included much more negative expressions, in line with previous studies showing the deleterious effects of social isolation and bullying on children's emotional and social development. For instance, Rubin, LaMare, & Lollis (1990)

showed that inhibited and emotionally insecure children who are isolated from their peers and bullied by their peers may develop negative appraisals of self-worth and well-being (cited in Laursen et al., 2007). In addition to having friends with negative attitudes towards them, the fact that Sinem and Aysun also lacked positive friendships suggested that in their context of poverty and limited opportunities of social participation, the availability of positive friendship might serve a protective role for the children in the current study in addition to the aforementioned emotional and practical supports provided by friendships. Similarly the links between children's sense of competence and esteem and bullying/victimizing was said to be moderated by the presence of a positive and high quality friend in line with the previous literature (Hodges, Boivin, Vitaro, & Bukowski, 1999; Hodges, Malone & Perry, 1997; Bollmer, Milich, Harris & Maras, 2005; cited in Laursen et al., 2007; Ridge, 2002;). In his qualitative study of children growing up in disadvantage, Ridge (2002) indicated that children's positive relationships to other children can act as a protective factor against bullying.

The protection of availability of positive friendships against the negative effects of degrading and bullying from the peers in the current study can also be supported by the finding of the current study that while the other children also talked about being teased, bullied, being treated badly or excluded in games by several peers at school or neighborhood, their accounts on best friends mainly emphasized the protection of their best friends against these other children. Though majority of the children mentioned all of aforementioned supportive functions of their friends to varied extent, especially the boys underlined the support they received from their friends in times of being excluded in games and football at school or neighborhood.

“Best friend” definitions were also revealed to mean protecting even in the face of exclusion and negative behaviors from others.

Although it is true that close peer relationships are not devoid of conflicts regardless of socioeconomic status, the children’s abilities to form and maintain friendships seemed to be effected by the circumstances at their households associated with financial difficulties. As was discussed in the comparison among low SES and middle SES children in the current study, the friendships of children growing up in poverty and disadvantage contained more negative interactions including coercion, bullying, negative treatment and constant threat of getting cross. Their responses to these conflicts suggested that those low SES children’s forming and maintaining friendships were affected by disadvantage. For instance, as was discussed above, their accounts on friendships mostly indicated their worries and unhappiness about getting cross with friends (*“küsülmek”*). Their respond to these worries and their friends’ coercions mainly included compromising and sacrificing themselves, as would be discussed in detail the coping part below. Similarly, it was too paradoxical that despite all his poverty, *Aydın* used “money” to resolve his problems with his friends and continue his friendship with them. This demonstrated *Aydın’s* awareness that to be friendless was to be vulnerable.

Children’s ability to form and maintain supportive friendships seemed to be affected by disadvantage through family functioning in the current study. For instance, parents were revealed to play a pivotal role in determining the amount of peer contact a child receives. Parents may have unintentionally prevented their children from contacting with peers and decreased the provisions of opportunities for peer interaction, as was evident in the cases of several children who had to look after their siblings. Especially the three girls, who assumed the mothering role in their

families in the study, were found to be particularly sensitive to the potential costs of conflicts and getting cross with friends. They defined their main problems with peers as having inadequate intimacy and companionship. This then suggests that the effects of poverty on the children's ability to form and maintain friendships could be mediated through parental disputes due to extended family intrusions and crowded family structure in the current study, in line with remarkable literature on the good-parent theory suggesting a pathway through which income has an impact on children's outcomes is through parenting practices. That is, poverty is stressful and that stress diminishes parents' ability to be supportive, consistent, and involved with their children, which in turn hurts which limits their educational, emotional and social opportunities (McLoyd 1990; Huston et al. 1994; Elder 1974; Conger et al. 1992).

All in all, although some children had difficulties forming and maintaining friendships, majority of the children in the study could form and maintain at least one friendship in their lives and majority even had best friends. This suggested that the effects of maltreatment associated with poverty on children's psychosocial development may vary as a function of the type and severity of the problematic situation at the household, their relations with parents and the availability of supportive relations with the extended family. It was evident in the current study that the children whose families could receive financial help from relatives or regular aids from NGOs and who did not have difficulties associated with their extended family members could better manage to form several friendships and suffered less from peer difficulties. As it was well understood, peer relations are embedded in a group of factors that shape interpersonal and individual functioning. It is possible to reveal a more complex dynamic between parent and peer influences, as suggested by a

research indicating that positive peer relation moderate the relation between family adversity and child resilience (Criss, Pettit, Bates, Dodge, & Lapp, 2002) and that poverty influences the children's peer relationships through family functioning (Laursen et al., 2007), as discussed above as one of the noteworthy findings in the current study.

Extrafamilial Social Environment

a. Neighborhood and Community

Lack of safety in the neighborhood was found to be major a source of concern to majority of the children in the current study. All of the children's accounts on their daily lives suggested that neighborhood they were residing in expose the children to a variety of risks. They were frequently exposed to adults carrying on illicit activities within dysfunctional lifestyles (drug dealing, smoking cocaine, stealing, and gang fights), and often witnessed community violence. Two of the girls' accounts revealed deadly accidents in the street of the neighborhood district. A wide range of studies in poor urban settings also revealed fears of personal safety (Elliott et al., 1996; Marsella, Wandersman, & Cantor, 1998; Morrison, 2000; cited in Kiser, 2007; Attree, 2004) and the increased risk for childhood injuries (Huston, 1991).

Residential crowding and noise have both associated with socioemotional distress and elevated psycho-physiological stress among children. High noise levels reliably interfere with reading acquisition and academic performance (Evans, 2004), as was a source of unhappiness for the two boys in the current study.

Related to poverty, living in violent inner-city areas in which children are victims or observers of violence has also been identified as a risk factor for problem behaviors among children (Luthar, 1999). Witnessing drug-dealers and people smoking cocaine as a part of their every day lives, the boys in the current study were

found to be equally close to both the drug dealers and the police at the same time, which constitutes an additional risk for these children. The paradox in their attitude towards illegal ways of earning money was revealed in their conflictual statements about the incivilities as if they were ordinary events and in their stress on the money made by these types of activities.

Children witnessing violence, whether in the home or the neighborhood, may view violence as an approach to dealing with conflict (Lynch and Cicchetti, 1998). In addition, young people raised in violent neighborhoods are at greater risk for victimization. Victimization, in turn, has been shown to activate a set of coping responses such as defensive adaptations that often interfere with normal development (Davies, 2004). For instance, while *Metin*, who was exposed to violence at home and neighborhood, reported being extremely distressed by seeing people fighting in the street, his accounts frequently revealed acting outs and fighting.

In contrast to many research emphasizing the role of the neighborhood and community in providing a supportive context for children's social and emotional development, the findings of the current study pointed that for almost all of the children in the current study varied features of Tarlabaşı district were generally associated with risk. This finding supported Brooks-Gunn, Duncan and Aber's (1997) suggestion that neighborhoods in which poor families reside were another possible mediator through which family income affects child outcomes.

The only protective facet of the neighborhood in the current study was found to be support received from several adults in the neighborhood. For the two boys and a girl, it provided a chance to share their problems as well as to feel supervision against some dangerous youth in the neighborhood. Notably, this finding was consistent with the abundant finding in the literature that regardless of the nature or

extent of the hardship to which a person is exposed, the presence of a strong relationship with a competent, caring, and warm prosocial adult inevitably serves a protective function (Werner, 1993; Werner and Smith, 1992; Luthar, 1991; Wolkow and Ferguson, 2001).

As absence of a supportive person with whom to disclose intimate aspects of oneself gives rise to a sense of social isolation and loneliness (Luthar, 1999), the availability of supportive adults was found to be beneficial especially for the children who lacked adequate relations with friends and families given the comparison of *Aysun* to other children, all of whom lacked adequate relationships overall. That is, for *Aysun*, the availability of three nonfamilial people whom she perceived as a source of support in the face of adversity or the ability to form a positive relationship with an adult figure outside the family seemed to make a difference on her well-being in general. This was in line with the literature. For instance, Flores, Cicchetti and Rogosch (2005) and Werner (1993) found that the ability to form a positive relationship with an adult figure outside of the immediate family predicted resilience in the high-risk children in adulthood.

One final finding in terms of community was that even though seven of the children in the study indicated that their families got irregular non-monetary supports from NGOs such as Deniz Feneri and/or governmental institutions, the children did not perceive social assistance institutions as providing sufficient support to combat with the poverty circumstances they were growing up in. Rather the children defined the supports in terms of “excluding support” (“*dışlayıcı yardım*”) due to the difficulties during the application process and the perception that the state and NGOs approached them unevenly. There was evident distrust of these types of support and children lost their faith in these supports. The present study revealed that this process

of efforts for finding some financial support was rather felt as another way of humiliating and degrading for the children.

b. School

In addition to the neighborhood, the protective influences of extrafamilial adults depicted itself both in school environment. The protective role of the relations with teachers was also one of the crucial findings of the current study, as in line with the resilience literature that suggested having a strong prosocial relationship with at least one caring adult as one of the most prominent predictors of resilience throughout childhood and adolescence (Werner & Smith, 1982; Masten & Coatsworth, 1998). For example, some children in the current study took their teachers as a role model as they were talking about their dreams of the future.

Even though children in the current study generally indicated that their teachers had the training and dedication to help them reach their goals and solve their problems, it is found that majority of the children did not directly ask for their teachers' support but perceived the teacher as someone they could turn to for support when needed. As suggested by Werner (1989), students' perceptions of teachers as caring individuals contributed to resilience and positive outcomes.

At the same time, in line with the numerous researchers' suggestion that schools can be quite influential in either promoting or hindering resilience in children and youth (Rutter, 1980; Sagor, 1996; Embry, 1997; cited in Bosworth and Earthman, 2002), one girl in the current study reported hating school due to the fact that some teachers lacked training, that their instruction was dreary and disconnected from children's needs and that they physically abused the children coupled with her distress about academic failure. Though another boy seemed to have dissatisfaction in that teachers were often impatient, insensitive and uninterested in whether or not

they are learning, he did not seem to perceive school as a threat or distressing due to availability of other teacher whom he perceived as supportive and caring. This might suggest that the lack of support and care from the teachers could put the children at risk for academic failure and for developing concerns about further education.

Even the absence of a supportive relationship with a significant teacher, the schooling itself seemed to have a protective role, as was evident in Sinem's narrative. In fact, as someone who was constantly disregarded and excluded by her friends and family, her perception of school as a chance to feel that she was seen by a teacher gave her a sense of hope. Similarly, Dill and Haberman (1995) suggested that for disadvantaged children schools might provide "one last chance" to model and encourage positive social relationships. In addition, for Sinem, school functioned a protective role in the sense that it gave her the opportunity to be a child, free of her responsibilities at home.

It is also noteworthy to mention that none of the children except one mentioned any gang activities or fights in the school or around the school environment despite knowing that the schools the children were attending resided in dangerous and crime-laden districts of Tarlabaşı. It could stem from the children's efforts for perceiving their school environment in a more positive light.

One final finding with regard to teachers was that in line with previous study by Pederson et al. (1978) among adults who had grown up in an economically disadvantaged neighborhood, in which most of the adults rated their first grade teacher as having the most influence in their lives, looking at the accounts of 6th graders in the current study, the classroom teacher at the elementary school was found to create a more positive appraisal and potential support whereas the

secondary school teachers who are faced with a much higher number of students are not perceived to be as supportive.

For all of the children in the current study, schooling was also found to give hope to combat poverty. This was also in line with other studies (Bora and Üstün 2005; Garmezy, 1991). Similarly, academic performance was found to be enhancing their sense of success. The finding of the current study that the children worried about the possibility of discontinuing their education due to financial problems and academic failure supported the positive role in these children's lives. Having positive experiences in school, including achieving educational success is associated with resilience among children from disadvantaged family backgrounds in terms of increasing protectiveness (Garmezy, 1991; Rutter, 1999; Stein, 2005).

Overall, it was found that schooling itself had very positive aspects for majority of the children in the current study. The findings imply the importance of school environment in providing the children from disadvantaged homes with the opportunity to feel noticed by an adult, to feel successful and to dream about a future in which they overcame the financial struggles they have been going through.

Research question 3 & 4

In this section the coping mechanisms that the children use and how these affect their resilience capacities was discussed. In the end, the children's appraisal of their families' financial circumstances was discussed separately.

The coping strategies which emerged in the present study were categorized under two main headings as emotion- and problem-focused coping strategies, in line with the classification in the coping literature (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984).

A general outlook at the coping mechanisms that the children in the current study used revealed that majority of the children in the study did not demonstrate

reactions that involved active steps with the intention to change the situation. Therefore, coping strategies such as keeping it inside, ignorance and keeping distance from it, sacrificing oneself, self-soothing, spirituality, downward comparison, dreaming and setting future goals were defined under emotion-focused coping strategies. Though less frequent, the children in the study also employed active steps with the attempt to solve the problem and reframe the circumstances. These strategies were then defined under problem-focused coping strategies, including finding compromising solutions, finding out the necessary means, working and turning to other people for instrumental help.

As the alternative differentiation to problem-focused coping and emotion-focused coping was the approach versus avoidance coping distinction in the literature under the heading of the emotion-focused and problem-focused strategies in the study involved avoidance and approach coping respectively.

As the children in the current study employed, primary school children are said to use both active and avoidant coping strategies (Ayers, Sandler, West, & Roosa, 1996; cited in Zimmer-Gembeck and Locke, 2007). In fact, using behaviors from each category may be adaptive depending on the situation and moderate positive intercorrelations have been found between active and avoidant coping scores in children (Ayers et al., 1996). However, although having flexibility in using both emotional and problem-focused coping is said to increase the effectiveness of coping, active coping behaviors have been most often associated with higher competence, positive functioning and health (Griffith, Dubow & Ippolito, 2000), and avoidant coping behaviors have been associated with less competence, poorer adaptation, and are more common when stress levels are high (Compas et al., 2001). The literature on children's coping showed that the more passive and avoidance-

oriented coping strategies are the least effective and related to higher mental health problems in children (Compas et al., 2001; Rutter, 1988; Masten, Best and Garmezy, 1990). For example, children who report using more avoidant coping behaviors also have more depressive symptoms (Nolen-Hoeksema, Girgus, & Seligman, 1991). This was in line with the findings of the current study: the children who seemed to show less resilience due to their observed anxiety, distress and despair and poor performance at school reported using more avoidance and emotion-focused in coping with the problems in their lives.

For instance, similar to Folkman and Lazarus's (1986) conclusion, wishful-thinking and avoidance are conceived as not particularly healthy or useful, as evident in the case of *Sinem* and *Aysun* in the current study. These girls were the ones who reported ignoring and wishful thinking when they were asked what they did in order to deal with the varied problems in their lives. In addition to wishful thinking and ignorance, they reported doing nothing to deal with their problems. *Semra* also was the only child who constantly expressed their emotions related to the experiences they had been facing, without doing anything but crying. All these three girls seemed not to function well and suffer from feelings of constant distress, shame, exclusion and neglect. Moreover, the same girls also were the ones who were really worried about their families' financial situation and about their future. They were the most pessimistic and hurtfully realistic children in the study.

However, this does not suggest that the children in the current study were passive victims of the poverty situation they grow up in. As Lazarus and Folkman (1984) indicated that the way a person copes is determined both by the resources and by constraints that affect the use of them. These constraints include internalized values and beliefs as well as environmental constraints such as high levels of threat

and perception of control over the situation and as the unavailability of social support in general.

First of all, why the children mainly employed emotion-focused and avoidant ways of coping could be explained by the adult coping literature suggesting that the choice of strategies is influenced first by the extent to which stressors are seen as controllable (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). According to Band and Weisz (1988), children's choice of coping strategy also depends on how much control they have over a particular situation. In the current study, where children more often engaged in active steps to cope with the problems were the problems with academic problems. The limited research on how adolescents' perceptions of controllability over stressors differ across domains suggested that adolescents perceived school, but not peer, stressors as more controllable than family stressors (Griffith, Dubow and Ippolito, 2000). Perhaps, the children in the current study view academic stressors as more controllable than familial stressors and might have more sense of control over social settings outside the family. Griffith, Dubow and Ippolito (2000) suggested that school problems can be perceived as more controllable because school problems are seen as more clearly defined, having more predictable outcomes and being potentially less psychologically costly than poorly resolved interpersonal conflicts. Other researchers have noted that the nature of the school environment makes avoidant coping behaviors more difficult to implement (Skinner, 1990; cited in Griffith, Dubow and Ippolito, 2000). Young people may not have much opportunity to avoid stressors, as constraints on behavior may be less flexible at school than at home (Skinner & Wellborn, 1994; Fields & Prinz, 1997; cited in Zimmer-Gembeck and Locke, 2007). For example, it is very difficult to avoid a stressful examination at school. Majority of the children in the current study were found to be worried about

being successful at school. All of these children reported finding out the necessary means or supportive people in order to cope with a low grade or do an internet research for homework.

These also children perceiving their teachers as supportive, understanding and helpful, from whom they could receive extra chances for homework or examination. This was in line with Zimmer-Gembeck and Locke's (2007) finding that positive teacher–student relationships are important and associated with more active coping behaviors, especially when adolescents have problems at school.

Similarly, when stressors in friendship problems were perceived to be controllable, the children who tended to use more often emotion-focused strategies in general also used active strategies to cope with some of problems in friendships. For instance, all of the girls tried to find compromising solutions to deal with their friends getting cross with them. Since the children in the current study might feel that they could not change the situation at the household, they could only turn to extrafamilial supports. Therefore, they might not want to lose any level of support available at hand in their lives and be more active in finding ways for not to lose these social relations as was in the case of their relations with friends. Similarly, these children had a higher potential of social exclusion depending on their social, economic and ethnic backgrounds (Altuntaş, 2003; Polat, 1998, 2002; Atauz, 1998) and even if they did not since they lacked other social settings to form friendships, lacking friendships could be a risk factor for being a victim of bullying at school or in their neighborhood, which could bring further exclusion. Therefore, they tended more often to handle conflict in ways that minimize the potential for relationship loss by whatever it takes. The importance of resolving disagreements through

compromise and giving up one's own needs was also in line with the findings of Laursen (1996).

In the familial problems on the other hand it was evident that the children in the study more often did not have a sense of control over the majority of the problems they encountered with. Therefore, they ended up with accepting the struggles and finding internal and emotional ways of coping with them. As suggested by Noh et al. (1999), situations that are extremely difficult to change may prevent the use of problem-focused coping. In chronically threatening situations passive coping may be the only realistic option.

The most repeated strategies in the study were "keeping inside", "to ignore" and "self-soothing", which were mainly employed to cope with the distressing feelings induced by familial and extended familial problems.

As was stated in the results, "*to ignore*" was defined in terms of pretending either the bad event did not occur or trying not to think about it. For four of the children, ignoring the problem interlocked with distancing themselves from the problem ("*keeping distance from the problem*") and with engaging in another activity ("*distraction*") for three of the children, still enduring the problem state quietly without expressing or solving it.

Even though "to ignore" seemed not to solve the problem as well as relieve the distressing emotions with regard to the hard conditions, when "to ignore" was coupled with "keeping distance from" and "distraction", it turned to be helping the children to a certain extent. Keeping distance from the distressing event and/or using distraction seemed to be more effective than merely avoiding the situation in the sense that it provided the children with the feeling of taking active steps to attain a better state.

Actually some researchers have mentioned the protective power of adaptive distancing for children growing up in troubled families (Beardslee, 1997; Rubin, 1996; cited in Benard, 2004). Adaptive distancing involves emotionally detaching oneself, from parental, school or community dysfunction, realizing that one is not the cause and cannot control the dysfunction of others. They may have been pained, angered, frightened by the events of their lives, but they retained enough distance not to get caught in endlessly blaming themselves, as was evident in *Metin's* and *Aysun's* narratives. For example, for *Aysun*, being able to find something to which she could disburden and have a relief appeared to be very crucial and useful in the sense that she also imagined having a distraction tool, a computer, in order to deal with the troubling situations and feelings in her life.

Another finding of the current study that girls reported being more distressed by more varied problems and used more coping strategies while boys reported distressed by less varied problems and tended to use less coping strategies overall than girls, on the other hand, are consistent with previous studies (Newcomb, Huba and Bentler, 1986; cited in Griffith, Dubow and Ippolito, 2000).

When the types of the coping strategies employed by the children were looked in more detail, the findings of the current study also revealed that the use of problem-focused strategies was gendered, with boys were using problem-focused strategies more frequently as compared to girls. This is not consistent with previous studies (Griffith, Dubow and Ippolito, 2000; Eschenbeck & Kohlmann, 2002) which found that girls used more social-support seeking and problem-solving coping than boys. However, research concerning gender differences that may influence coping in children and adolescents also revealed mixed results and thus less is evident on gender differences in childhood (Compas et al., 2001) due to developmental aspects

(e.g., cognitive, affective, social), lack of experience as well as aspects of environment (e.g., dependence on adults), and gender socialization as compared to adults (Compas et al., 2001). In the current study, one boy, Metin seemed to use approach and problem-focused as much as avoidance and emotion-focused coping strategies, while in four boys' narratives using approach and problem-focused more than avoidance and emotion-focused coping strategies was apparently evident.

The gender differences in the children's coping strategies in the current study can be explained by the self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985; cited in Zimmer-Gembeck and Locke, 2007) suggesting a motivational theory of coping. Motivational theorists have considered motivational factors or wants as centrally important in the sense that they energize and direct an individual's actions (Smith, 1993; cited in Zimmer-Gembeck and Locke, 2007). Self-determination theory (SDT) is one motivational theory that has been applied to the study of children's coping (Skinner & Wellborn, 1994; Skinner, 1995). SDT posits that individuals have psychological needs for relatedness, competence and autonomy. Social contexts such as home or school support these needs by providing involvement with warm, connected relationships rather than hostility and rejection; a predictable environment rather than chaos. A motivational theory of the development of coping emphasizes that the extent to which individuals have these needs met within their environments will determine whether their coping or pattern of actions when facing stress will be engagement via effortful and active behaviors, or withdrawal via passive and avoidant behaviors (Skinner & Wellborn, 1994) (cited in Zimmer-Gembeck and Locke, 2007). In other words, social environments that include relations that are connected and warm, that are structured and predictable, and include support for personal decision-making are expected to promote active coping behaviors. Social

environments that include relationships with others that are hostile, and that are chaotic and coercive are expected to be associated with avoidant coping responses.

This might be the case in the current study in the sense that the most struggling and distressed children were the girls (*Sinem*, *Aysun*, and *Semra*) whose problems in the family environment were coupled with being a daughter along with their substitute mothership role. Among the boys only *Metin* reported being distressed by the unrest in the family environment due to the extended family. All of the children, whose family environments were mainly characterized by parental disputes, violence against the children, disputed among the parents and in-laws, humiliating, extended families' degrading, excluding and blaming attitudes toward the mother and the children, reported using coping strategies across varied problems which involved ignorance and passive behaviors. As well indicated in the results section, the three girls also were deprived of adequate supportive relationships as well as distressed by the negative attitudes in the friendship context, while *Metin* had some supportive friendships in his life. This also enhances the self-determination explanation in gender difference, given *Metin*'s use of problem-focused as much as emotion-focused coping strategies in contrast to the three girls who had similar household unrest but lacked any other consistent friendship in the school context mainly due to their substitute mothership roles at home as well.

As discussed in the first and second questions, the availability of social supports played an important protective role in the lives of the children in the current study. The importance of availability of supportive adults and/or peers also depicted itself in children's coping ways for dealing with the ongoing problems in their lives in poverty. That is, another notable finding of the current study was that the children who had available supportive adults in their lives turned to their social relations in

the face of a problem both for sharing their distress and for asking help for solving their problems. Almost all of the boys in the study and two of the girls indicated that they turned to some extended family members such as uncles and grandmothers, some friends and teachers to find solutions to their problems across different domains in their lives. They generally tended to ask for help from their relatives about financial needs such as money for school trips or other school necessities, while at the same time some children turned to them in order to deal with the problems associated with the neighborhood. This finding of the current study was supported by prior research on resilience (Werner and Smith, 1982) and Seiffge-Krenke's (1995) theoretical model of adaptation point to social support is closely linked to coping and both are highly relevant to resilience. Similarly, Seiffge-Krenke (1995) conceived social support from parents and peers as predictive of coping (cited in Markstrom, Marshall and Tryon, 2000). In his study, consistent with Folkman and Lazarus (1985), seeking social support was regarded as one form of coping. Social support and problem solving shared variability in the explanation of resilience was also displayed in Markstrom, Marshall and Tryon's (2000) study.

These children in the current study also tended to use other problem-focused strategies more often such as finding compromising solutions and finding out the necessary means in order to cope with varied problems. From the narratives of those who turned to significant people in their lives in the current study it was revealed that their mothers and teachers provided interactions that were supportive, caring and interested, which might enhance their coping with problems in a more active manner. In this context having access to supportive people in their lives might have provided the children with the means to use problem-focused coping strategies. This was also in line with the coping literature that even at points where social support does not

decrease the risk factors, the presence of social support maximizes the probability that an individual will utilize problem-solving techniques to resolve conflict and demonstrate resilience (Licitra-Kleckler and Waas, 1993; cited in Markstrom, Marshall and Tryon, 2000).

The children who did not have adequate environmental support resources in the current study (*Sinem, Semra and Aysun*), on the other hand, considered themselves as persons who were not lovable and did not have any individual in their lives to turn to for coping with hassles in their lives. For instance, the importance of a supportive relationship could be observed in her narrative of best friend as a “pot plant”. That is, the absence of a supportive relationship also clearly shaped *Aysun*’s need and thus way of coping with familial and extended familial problems. It was revealed that she shared everything with a pot plant in the living room, which she considered as a loyal and understanding friend.

It was found that for these children who did not or could not turn to other people in order to deal with their problems, the availability of even one supportive adult or friend seemed to make a difference. Among these three girls, *Aysun* seemed to be better functioning at least in the school domain and in developing some relationships. For instance, *Aysun* who was using passive and emotion-focused coping strategies among all the other children in the study and who lacked adequate support in the family and friendship context, the availability of supportive adults in the neighborhood let her employ active coping strategies in the form of asking emotional or instrumental support from these adults in the face of peer conflicts and academic need.

As indicated above “keeping the problems inside” was also common coping strategy used by the children in the current study. Three girls talked about keeping

the familial struggles and extended family-related intrusions inside frequently, while two boys kept the health-related worries inside since they believed that there is nothing to do, which was actually the actual case. From the accounts of girls, on the other hand, it can be suggested that “keeping the problem inside” was also related to inadequate and unsupportive or untrustworthy social relations. In addition, keeping the problems inside served as a preventing role for further problems with family members and friends. The representation of the woman who stands still silently in the face of any adverse condition at the expense of her own needs seems to have a cultural implication as well. The literature on the women in poverty in Turkey suggested that women tended to keep the problems inside and act in an altruistic manner (Bora and Üstün, 2005, Bora, 2002). The girls in the current study might have been raised in the same way or they might have modeled their mothers whom they felt identified with.

Furthermore, religiosity also emerged as a means of coping to endure varied distressing circumstances for the four of the girls and a boy in the current study, suggesting that choosing religiosity as a way of coping was highly gendered. However, the children seemed to draw strength from religious practices in relieving the negative feelings and enduring the chronic stressful conditions without altering their perceptions of the stressful situation or attributing the meaning of the distressing conditions to that outside of one’s control or by creating one’s own meaning. In that sense, for some of the girls, religiosity was also associated with being patient (“*sabretmek*”). Turning to religiosity even in practice or in faith was accepted to provide individuals with a personal strength that brings resilience as well (Benard, 2004). There are also a number of studies done among children who have been able to survive disadvantaged backgrounds which also indicate that spirituality

and religious commitment plays an important role in a successful outcome (Freeman and Holzer, 1986; Baldwin, Baldwin and Cole, 1990; cited in Poindexter, 2000).

Similarly, religion was found to be associated with reduced distress among individuals coping with high-loss or high-threat events (Werner and Smith, 1992).

The finding that the girls in the current study turned to religion in order to endure the problems across different domains of their lives was also noteworthy in the sense that the girls adapted adult-like female-coping strategies by “*namaz*” and pray. This could be in line with the traditional gendered child rearing disciplines evident in the households of these children such as indoctrinating religious principles into their daughters via sending them to the Quran courses.

In the current study it was found that the girls and the boys both used self-soothing, with boys reported using to a lesser extent. It was observed in three demeanors: assuring oneself via thinking the opposite of the actual experience, and dreaming and thinking about the positive. Assuring oneself was mainly used by girls in order to deal with financial constraints and anxiety about losing their father.

Among the three, dreaming turned out to be the most efficient coping both for the boys and girls in the current study. Dreaming about their good memories and the reversal of a bad condition was mainly used by two boys and three girls in order to cope with the possibility of dropping out of school. In a similar vein, dreaming also depicted itself in “setting future goals”, which was accepted as another coping way for the children mainly in order to cope with their current financial circumstances. In line with other research (Rubin, 1996; cited in Benard, 2004), dreaming and imagination might have provided a channel to a positive future for children living in stressful environments. The content of dreaming generally involved future careers, engaging in special interests and creativity in the current study. To set goals along

with dreaming and creativity were all accepted as inter-related resilience strengths in the face of multiple risks and challenges (Werner and Smith, 1992).

Vaillant (2000) described dreaming also in terms of feeling about the future going beyond cognitive planning, which seemed to be truer in the case of the children in the current study (cited in Benard, 2004). Even though the children in the current study did not imply concrete plans, their strength of their feelings about the future was apparent. For instance, the boys in the current study were all interested in football, played football with their friends and reported dreaming about a footballer in the future. Their dreams were characterized by a famous and successful life playing football. As Nakamura and Csikszentmihalyi (2002) suggested that having a special interest and being able to use one's creativity or imagination can result in self-actualizing experiences of involvement, engagement and participation. These experiences not only provide a sense of task mastery but offer a meaningful, compelling, transcendent experience, distancing one from current challenges and stresses and serving as a buffer against adversity and preventing pathology (cited in Bennard, 2002). Concentration is so intense that there is no attention left over to think about anything else or to worry about problems, as also evident in the current study. That is, the boys reported coping with several problems in their lives via keeping distance from the source of the stressor and engaging in football in the street. In their narratives this seemed to work out for them.

Children's appraisal of their financial status and its meaning in the coping context

Though not emerged from the "voice bubble" explicitly as one of the distressing areas in their lives and the children in the current study tended to imply that their financial status was good, they related the poverty context they were growing up with several materialistic deprivations such as not owning the same

possessions that their peers did, not having a private room at home, or not being able to buy adequate food and beverage at school canteen. However, their hesitation in revealing these deprivations seemed to indicate they did not wish to impose extra burden on their families and they were very well aware that they had nothing to do to change their situation. This protecting attitude towards their parents may stem from the fact that children growing up in poverty tended to be very mindful and understanding of the financial situation in their families as evident from several other qualitative research (Ridge, 2002; Attree, 2006).

Half of the children interviewed were indeed found to have developed coping strategies that enabled them to appraise their situation in a more positive light. That is, majority of the children's perceptions about their families' financial status seemed to be mediated through "positive appraisal" in terms of financial issues. They actively tried to manipulate or reframe their perception of the situation, by providing it with a positive label. In this context, the children expressed themselves in a rather grown-up manner. This could stem from the possibility that since these children could not control poverty and involve in active steps to change the fact that they grow up in a poor family, they tended to approach such a challenging situation in a more cognitive manner by means of a positive appraisal and downward comparison. This might help the children to perceive their financial status more positively as compared to the children whose perceptions and narratives were both much more negative.

Moreover, in line with this grown-up manner, some of the children sought ways to help their families. For instance, three children in the study found a job in order to contribute to the family income and alleviate their parents' financial worries (Ridge, 2002; Attree, 2006). Earning money was also a way for these children to

obtain adequate pocket money for their school or other needs so that they did feel excluded at school.

The international research on the effects of economic child labor consistently underlined its negative effects on children, suggesting that childhood is supposed to be a time spent primarily in play, family time and schoolwork rather than in labor activity (Lalor, 1999; Kombarakaran, 2004; Panter-Brick, 2002; Stein, 2005). Similar to this tendency, given that thousands of children are effectively considered as part of the labor force under conditions that were often extreme, unhealthy and dangerous (1994, 1999 and 2006, TÜİK), researchers in Turkey also extensively wrote about the negative developmental consequences of child labor (Polat, 1999).

In the current study child labor emerged as one of the situations that may be either growth-enhancing or harmful, depending on the specific conditions, as was evident the children's conflictual accounts on their working experiences. On one hand, for the working children in the study, work was found to be more often integrated with opportunities for play, socialization, support and a tool to access pocket money that brought social inclusion among friends at school, and to have positive outcomes of self-esteem, responsibility and maturity. On the other hand, more complicated concerns and issues in different domains of their lives such as being teased and excluded at the school and academic failure were also revealed.

However, along with the three working children's work experiences in the study, a close analysis of the quality of children's daily experiences in family contexts of sibling care and household work suggested another perspective to evaluate the domestic child labor and organized child employment. The narratives of the children in the current study suggests that economic child labor may also have some growth-enhancing potential while domestic labor may have detrimental effects

on children growing up in chronic poverty. Especially the three girls' narratives in the current study well suggested that working in the household could put the girls at risk for not being able to form and maintain supportive friendships and for academic failure associated with dropping out of school through their substitute mothership (*"ikame annelik"*) roles within the household. In this context of this chronic poverty without any regular support, coupled with the burden of the intrusion of the extended family members, parents who struggle to make ends meet seemed to "adultify" their daughters, as suggested by Crittenden and Ainsworth (1989; cited in Polat, 2007).

Though it should be cautiously stated from only five girls' narratives, the findings of the current study pointed to the visibility of the effect of heavy domestic labor on the impoverished children's lives, contradicting with the anthropological studies which have documented the important contribution of household chores to children in traditional communities, without making the assumption that such work may be harmful for children (Porter, 1999; cited in Edwards et al., 2006). For example, Whiting and Whiting (1971, 1975) and Weisner (1987) argue that observations of children's participation in household and sibling care offer empirical evidence of the development of social skills, including nurturance (offering care), responsibility, and prosocial dominance, which will be useful to children as they grow into maturity and need to manage their own complex households (cited in Edwards et al., 2006).

Of course, this is not suggesting that extreme cases of child labor would not have negative effects on children shown by many studies cited above. It is obvious that working is a complex and paradoxical issue. It is crucial to look carefully at the children's working context, domestic or industrial, from two sides.

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to have a better understanding of the life of children, whose families migrated involuntarily to Istanbul after 1990s living in the urban poverty context, in terms of the problem areas, and the means and coping strategies with which they enhance their resilience capacities. Exploration of the distress and happiness areas in the children's lives through their own voices was important for a more complete understanding of the effects of poverty on children. Moreover, exploration of these areas can lead to the identification of leverage points that may enable policy intervention in the absence of a change in family income.

The categories which emerged out of ten in-depth interviews with children pointed to the intersection of risk and resilience factors associated with poverty. The themes that emerged as risk factors were mainly familial and extended familial difficulties, friendship, academic failure, lack of security in neighborhood, and excluding support from NGOs and governmental institutions. The themes that emerged as protective factors also included family- and friendship-related issues. The most repeated themes were found to be good and supportive nuclear family relations, parental support for education, inclusion and support in friendships, and to be loved and appreciated by other people.

Therefore it can be concluded that while several aspects of family relationships, friendships and neighborhoods were revealed to be source of troubling areas in the low SES children's lives, other aspects of the same themes were also found to be sources of happiness as well as supportive in helping to diminish the impact of disadvantage on their well-being.

A general look at the children's ways of coping with the adverse conditions and problems in their lives, it was revealed that the children more often used emotion-focused coping strategies such as keeping it inside, ignorance and keeping distance from it, sacrificing oneself, self-soothing, spirituality, downward comparison, dreaming and setting future goals. Some of the children in the study also employed problem-focused strategies such as finding compromising solutions and finding out the necessary means, working and asking for help from other people.

The ones who used problem-focused strategies were the children who had more supportive relations in their lives and who did not suffer from familial problems due to extended family members' intrusion. Though the children did not frequently demonstrate active steps with the intention to change the problems they encountered with, the majority of the children interviewed were not just passive victims of the poverty they were growing up in. It turned out that the coping strategies varied across different situations they encountered with.

To sum up, even though all of the children belonged to families which were in chronic poverty, the children's own voices revealed that not every child was materially or socially deprived and was emotionally burdened with the familial financial problems, and they could not cope effectively with the adversities in their lives to the same extent. This finding confirms the literature suggesting that the poverty is a distal risk factor whose effects are mediated by proximal risk factors such as parenting behaviors, family structure, neighborhood and the broader social networks within which the child and his or her family are embedded (Luthar, 1999; Yates, Egeland and Sroufe, 2003; Brooks-Gunn and Duncan, 1997).

To put it more specifically, the way the children in the current study experienced the context they were growing up was found to be influenced by several

mediating factors mainly such as parent-child communication, the family's social support network, extended family and communication with peers. Hence, the interaction of mediating factors, personal experiences and coping strategies seems to determine the impact of poverty on children's lives.

Limitations

One of the limitations of this study was related to some methodological issues. First, the interviews with children had been completed in only single meeting. The content and amount of information the children shared should have depended on the level of trust and rapport that was built between the children and the researcher. Since the researcher did not know these children well, and had a limited time to build a trusting relationship with them, it is possible that the children disclosed their experiences only partially. However, the stories that were shared during the individual interviews gave crucial insights about the subjective experience of poverty, challenges, and processes of overcoming these challenges. Despite limited contact, at the end of the interviews the children said that they enjoyed participating in the interviews. Sharing their story with an adult could be inherently beneficial for children as they had a chance to talk about their personal situations. Indeed, most of the children in the study suffered from inadequate relations with friends and adults, with whom they could share their problems or feelings.

Another point with regard to methodological issues was the sampling methods employed in the study. Participants were recruited through convenience and snowball sampling methods. These methods might have created selection bias regarding the children who were invited to participate in the interviews. Convenience sampling might have limited the potential pool of participants because the suggestions given by the community partners in Tarlabası Community Center and

local craftsman in Tarlabası were relied on regarding potential participants. The snowball sampling method might also have limited the pool of potential participants and created a self-selection bias. This method recruited new participants on the nominations of those who had already been interviewed. The interviewed children were asked to nominate another friend who lived in the same district and experienced chronic poverty and who might be willing to take part in the interviews. However, the researcher trusted both the suggestions given by the community partners and local craftsman and the recommendations given by the interviewed children during the referral process. Five participants were recruited through this snowball sampling method. In addition, as with the convenience sampling method, during the snowball sampling method the nominated participants were screened prior to the individual interview to ensure they met sample inclusion criteria and wanted to participate in the study.

One last limitation could be considered as the small sample size of this study, but in the qualitative research, the intent was to understand the underlying realities and experiences of a few people rather than the broad experiences of many. Hence, collecting the narratives of fourteen children was thought to be sufficient within the scope of this qualitative study in the first place and in laying the foundations of further research in the field, as there is a scarcity in Turkish literature regarding the low SES children's perceptions of their lives, and their ways of coping and their own definitions of resilience and coping resources. Also, as resilience and coping research in Turkey was scarce, the items of varied scales were dependent on western literature, overlooking cultural dimensions of the resilience and coping constructs. The preliminary themes emerged from the study would provide very valuable data for further quantitative research.

Future research ideas

Due to the time constraints, only single interviews with each participant were conducted, which implied at least two considerations for further qualitative research. First, in a future qualitative study, it is necessary to carry out the in-depth interviews after a deep rapport is formed via several contacts. Second, it would also be helpful for the researcher to go back to the interview transcripts and her interpretations of the participants' experiences so that additional questions for data saturation could be ensured. Following this, a second interview would provide the researcher with a chance to find an answer to the possible emergent questions. In addition, the participants would be provided with an opportunity to share additional thoughts that may have emerged after the first interview.

Since the aim of this study was to hear the voices of the children and understand their subjective experiences and perspectives, it was within not the scope of this study to include perspectives that were not directly from the participants themselves. Therefore, multiple data sources were not included as part of the overall design. At the same time, however, listening to the voices of participants' parents and teachers or other significant adults in the children's lives, could add another level of understanding to the field and may be considered for future research. For instance, as was discussed in this current study, relationships participants had with their parents were critical. In future research it might be helpful to hear parents' perspectives, thoughts, and feelings about their sons' and daughters' way of dealing with problems. As important environmental supports, parents could speak about their relationships with their children, the ways these relationships developed and were sustained, and the parental elements that fostered or hindered resilience in their children.

In addition, as the resilience literature well documented that individual-level factors, family factors and support systems within the wider environment are three domains of protective factors (Luthar, 1999). The current revealed the presence of warm and caring familial relations and external support, as exemplified by a close friendships or a kindly concerned teacher, as having protective functions for the children growing up in chronic poverty. Even though their perceptions of selves were tried to assess, it was not sufficient in the current study. Therefore given that characteristics of the individual may affect the functioning of the other protective factors, individual factors should be better assessed in a future research.

There is another vital issue that needs to be mentioned as a suggestion for further research. Due to the small sample in this study only a few number of children shared their experiences. Increasing the number of children in future research might widen the understanding of the experiences of children growing up in chronic poverty. In addition, combining qualitative and quantitative research would provide a broader outlook at the themes emerged from the children's narratives. That is, since qualitative themes have been explored, a quantitative survey could be developed upon creating survey items and administering these to a greater number of low SES children.

Having a larger sample size along with a quantitative method could also allow analyses comparing differences and similarities among children as a function of gender, availability of financial resources, and availability of social and family supports. As was discussed in the current study, these factors may create differences in poverty experiences and coping strategies. However, it is not appropriate to carry out these types of analyses with a small sample. In a similar vein, comparison of a random selection of greater number of low SES children with middle SES children

would also broaden the understanding of risk and protection, contextual elements, and individual-level elements.

Further research could also be longitudinal in nature and focus on the same participants at some future time in order to evaluate whether the emergent protective factors would really function as protecting the children in the face of the emergent adversities in their lives so that presence or absence of resilience could be contextualized. A longitudinal research also may help to clarify the link between children's coping behaviors and disadvantage, and between protective factors and coping strategies in the sense that how children respond to the availability of protective factors, in the form of coping responses.

Implications for policy

Through additional research in the field, intervention programs can be developed which can provide the children with the physical and emotional support that they are lacking.

Policy concerns for these children can be discussed in two grounds: education associated with school environment, and with social services such as child centers and community centers. As several children in the study spoke about the importance of education and training programs, such as theatre courses in Tarlabası Community Center and academic support courses in Rotary Child Center, similar programs can be developed which can provide the children with means that they seem to be deprived of. A further intervention may include the collaboration between school administration and social service organizations in order to enhance the efficiency of the resources from each in terms of assessing and fulfilling the needs of the children. A collaborated program by the two agencies could involve the development of specific skills such as learning how to paint, or dance, which would enhance self-

esteem and the sense of being appreciated that can substitute for the feelings of neglect and harassment many children seemed to suffer from.

As discussed in the current study, majority of the children highlighted importance of external environmental supports. For instance, an intervention area that could enhance the resilience capacities and help alleviating the effects of distressing experiences for the children would be school districts, as evident by the narratives of the children explicitly pointing the significant role of the teachers in their lives. In a similar vein, as evident from the children's narratives, the availability of a close relationship with at least one caring, competent, and reliable adult who recognizes, values, and reward positive behavior is highly protective in the children's lives. Therefore, mentorship programs similar to the Big Brother – Big Sister programs, may be developed, which could offer a consistent relationship to the child for support and guidance.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:
Consent Form

Bilgilendirilmiş Olur Formu

Bu araştırma, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi öğretim üyesi Yrd. Doç. Dr. Serra Müderrisoğlu'nun danışmanlığında, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi yüksek lisans öğrencisi Yeşim Yaşa tarafından yürütülecek olan bir araştırmadır.

Araştırmanın amacı çocukların hayatlarındaki mutlu eden ve mutsuz eden noktaları araştırmaktır.

Görüşmeye katılım gönüllüdür. Görüşme için iki saatinizi ayırmanız istenmektedir. Öncelikle kendiniz, doğum yeriniz, aileniz, kardeşlerinizin sayısı, ve kaçınıcı sınıfta okuduğunuz gibi kısa soruları cevapladıktan sonra bir çocuk resmi üzerinde bir çalışma yapılacaktır. Daha sonra okulla ilgili düşüncelerinizi, arkadaşlarınızla ve ailenizle olan ilişkilerinizi paylaşmak istiyoruz.

Görüşmeler kasede alınacaktır. Görüşme sırasında dilediğiniz zaman kayıdın durdurulmasını isteyebilirsiniz. Görüşme başlamadan önce, görüşme sırasında veya sonrasında, dilediğiniz zaman soru sorabilirsiniz.

Paylaştığınız bilgiler gizli tutulacak, araştırma içinde sözlerinizden alıntı yapmak gerektiği yerlerde isminiz kesinlikle gizli tutulacak ve farklı isimler verilecektir. Sadece bütün görüşmelerden çıkacak ortak sonuçlar araştırmanın sonunda bir araya getirilmek suretiyle diğer araştırmacılarla paylaşılabilir.

Eğer bu araştırmaya katılmak istiyorsanız lütfen aşağıda “Bu formu okudum ve araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum” yazısının altındaki yeri imzalayın. Dilerseniz bu formun bir kopyasını saklayabilirsiniz.

Görüşme boyunca istediğiniz anda görüşmeyi kesebilir, araştırmadan çekilebilirsiniz.

Zaman ayırdığınız ve araştırmaya verdiğiniz değerli katkılarınız için teşekkür ederiz.

BU FORMU OKUDUM VE ARAŞTIRMAYA KATILMAYI KABUL EDİYORUM

Katılımcının adı:

İmzası:

Tarih:

Adres, telefon:

Araştırmacının adı:

İmzası:

Tarih:

Gerektiği zaman araştırmacıyla irtibat kurulabilecek telefon numarası:

APPENDIX B:

The Silhouette of a Child's Body with Two "Voice Bubbles" on Each Side of The
Child's Head





APPENDIX C:
Adjective and Definition List

Adjective and Definition List

Beautiful (Güzel)

Ugly (Çirkin)

Awkward/Disabled (Sakat)

Ill (Hasta)

Strong (Güçlü)

Healthy (Sağlıklı)

Thin (Zayıf)

Fat (Şişman)

Short (Kısa)

Tall (Uzun)

Charming (Hoş)

Smart (Zeki)

Stupid (Aptal)

Brave (Cesur)

Proud (Gururlu)

Fearless (Korkusuz)

Lonely (Yalnız)

Spoilt (Şımarık)

Stubborn (İnatçı)

Easy going (Uysal)

Quiet (Sessiz)

Calm (Sakin)

Canlı (Lively)

Cheerful (Neşeli)

Happy (Mutlu)
Hardworking (Çalışkan)
Sensitive (Hassas)
Edgy (Sinirli)
Hot tempered (Öfkeli)
Jealous (Kıskanç)
Anxious (Kaygılı)
Compliant/Accommodating (Uyumlu)
Uncooperative (Uyumsuz)
Cheerless (Neşesiz)
Talented (Yetenekli)
Lazy (Tembel)
Unsuccessful (Başarısız)
Naughty (Yaramaz)
Reliable (Güvenilir)
Scrappy (Kavgacı)
Helpful (Yardımsever)
Hectic (Telaşlı)
Shy (Çekingen)
Outgoing (Girişken)
Obedient (Söz dinleyen)
Sad (Üzgün)
Curious (Meraklı)
Dreamer (Hayalci)
Well-mannered (Terbiyeli)

Unlovable/Loveless (Sevilmeyen)

Lovable (Sevilen)

Ill-mannered/Coarse (Terbiyesiz)

I frequently ail (Sık sık hasta olurum)

Başkalarından farklı.

Lucky (Şanslı)

Unlucky (Şansız)

I have many friends (Arkadaşım bol)

I have few friends (Arkadaşım az)

I have no friends (Arkadaşım yok)

I am at odds with my family (Ailemle kavgalıyım)

I get on well with my family (Ailemle iyi geçinirim)

I get on well with my siblings (Kardeşlerimle aram iyidir)

I do not get on well with my siblings (Kardeşlerimle aram iyi değildir / aram kötüdür)

I get on well with my father. (Babamla iyi geçinirim)

I feel close to my father (Babama yakın hissedirim)

I get on well with my mother. (Annemle iyi geçinirim)

I feel close to my father (Anneme yakın hissedirim)

APPENDIX D:
Demographic Questionnaire

Demographic Questionnaire

Görüşülen kişi no:

1. Ad Soyad:
2. Doğum tarihi / Yaş:
3. Cinsiyet: () K () E
4. Doğum yeri:
5. İstanbul'a geldiği yıl:
6. Oturduğu semt:
7. Okul:
8. Kaçınıcı sınıf:
9. Kim ile yaşıyor?
10. Anne ve baba hayatta mı?
11. Anne ve babanın eğitim durumu?
12. Kaç kardeş?
13. Okula devam eden kaç kardeş var?
14. Evde kaç kişi birlikte yaşıyor?
15. Şu anda okul dışındaki zamanlarda para kazanmak için çalışıyor mu?
16. Kaç yaşında ilk olarak çalışmaya başladı?
17. Çalışmıyorsa ne kadar zamandır para kazanmak için çalışmıyor?
18. Şu ana kadar para kazanmak için yaptığı işler:

APPENDIX E:

The Reflections of the Children Growing Up in Chronic Poverty on the Voice
Bubbles and the Emergent Codes of These Reflections

The reflections of the children growing up in chronic poverty on the voice bubbles, as a function of distressing and happiness areas, and the emergent codes of these reflections.

| PARTICIPANT | UNHAPPINESS VOICE BUBBLE | CODING | HAPPINESS VOICE BUBBLE | CODING |
|---|--|---|--|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;">SİNEM</p> | <p>“When the teacher called my name in the classroom, I can’t express myself and tell my answer to her question. There’s a girl in the class, who always raises her hand. She tells me everyday that you never raise your hand. This makes me really unhappy”. (1.a.)</p> <p>“Everybody quarrels with me. This morning I came to the class and a friend of mine upset me. She pushed me away and told me very distressing things. Then she had trip up. I cried a lot. She said me, she doesn’t care that I cry. They always run up against me and bother me” (2.a.i & 2.a.ii)</p> | <p>1. Personal a. Shyness</p> <p>2. Relational a. Friendship i. Exclusion and Loneliness ii. To be treated badly (Peer Relational Aggression)</p> <p>b. Neighborhood i. Exclusion</p> | <p>“When my parents say well done, good girl, then I feel so happy” (1.a.i)</p> <p>“I get very happy when I talk to my grandma on the phone. She says me something good and I feel very happy” (1.a.ii)</p> <p>“When the teacher asks me to read a text in the classroom I read. It makes me feel content”. (1.b.i)</p> <p>“I always feel very happy when my friends talk to me.” (1.c.i & 1.c.ii)</p> | <p>1. Relational a. Family i. To be noticed and appreciated by the parents ii. Support from the extended family</p> <p>b. School i. To be noticed by the teacher</p> <p>c. Friendship i. Not being excluded ii. Being talked to</p> |

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|--------------|---|--|--|--|
| | <p>“The people in the neighborhood always get cross with me. I’m so unhappy about it.” (2.b.i)</p> | | | |
| DEMET | <p>“If our living conditions were good, then I’d have both my own room and my computer” (1.a.i & 1.b.i)</p> <p>“As we have middle income, I don’t want to leave school. I want to go on studying and become a powerful woman” (2.a)</p> | <p>1. Financial</p> <p>a. Limitation of available goods</p> <p>i. Limited access to computer and Internet</p> <p>b. Housing conditions</p> <p>i. Small size of the house</p> <p>2. School</p> <p>a. The possibility of discontinuing education (associated with financial constraints)</p> | <p>“When I go to the supplementary course at school or when I learn new things I feel happy. Or I feel happy when I get good Marks” (1.a)</p> <p>“ I feel so happy when my family tells me that we’ll help you study” (2.a.i)</p> <p>“Thinking a new or a good idea and making it brilliant make me feel happy” (3.a)</p> | <p>1. Akademik</p> <p>a. High academic performance and to learn new things</p> <p>2. Relational</p> <p>a. Family</p> <p>i. Parental support and encouragement for academic life</p> <p>3. Personal</p> <p>a. To be loved and appreciated by other people</p> |
| DENİZ | <p>“If someone either from my family or some other people’s gets ill or dies I</p> | <p>1. Relational</p> <p>a. Family</p> <p>i. Health-related</p> | <p>“To dream of my village...” (1.a)</p> | <p>1. Personal</p> <p>a. Dreaming about village</p> |

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| | <p>feel really sad, that's why I don't want anything happen like that to anyone." (1.a.i)</p> <p>"If our house is demolished, I don't know where we can go, you know our economic condition is not good, I'd be really sad then." (2.a)</p> <p>"For example, if a friend of mine buys something I'd love to buy it, too, but since our economic condition is not good perhaps I can't buy" (2.b)</p> | <p>issues</p> <p>2. Financial</p> <p>a. Anxieties for Future Living</p> <p>b. Deprivation when compared the self with peers</p> | <p>"The happiness of my family..." (2.a.i)</p> <p>"I don't wanna anyone to die" (1.b)</p> <p>"People who are religious and good make me happy" (1.b)</p> | <p>(associated with relational)</p> <p>b. Religiosity</p> <p>2. Relational</p> <p>a. Family</p> <p>i. Well-being of the family</p> |
| <p>AYSUN</p> | <p>"Sometimes it's my friends' treating me badly, they really get on my nerves. I have some friends and they treat me badly... how...even if I treat them well they treat me badly. They get on my nerved when they do something bad to me." (1.a.i)</p> <p>"My grandma lives in</p> | <p>1. Relational</p> <p>a. Friendship</p> <p>i. To be treated badly</p> <p>b. Extended family</p> <p>i. Humiliation and exclusion</p> <p>ii. Parental disputes due to in-laws</p> <p>iii. Physical and emotional abuse</p> | <p>"To get on well with my family. When I get on well with my family, I feel excellent. I love my family very much" (1.a.i)</p> <p>"I always feel very happy when my friends love me and treat me well, and talk to me" (1.b.i)</p> <p>"I feel really happy when I have good clothes. Yes,</p> | <p>1. Relational</p> <p>a. Family</p> <p>i. Good relations with the nuclear family</p> <p>b. Friendship</p> <p>i. To get along well with, and to be treated well</p> <p>2. Financial</p> <p>a. Material ownership</p> |

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|---------------------|--|--|--|---|
| | <p>our upper flat, they live. My grandma doesn't love us. She always loves my aunt's children, she doesn't treat us well” (1.b.i)</p> <p>“Sometimes my dad ooops sorry my grandma, she says ridiculous things to my dad, then my mum and dad quarrel with each other. Once on a fest day, my parents had a fight again and I cried so much then. Actually our mothers are our everything” (1.b.ii)</p> <p>“Sometimes my uncle, my father beats me. I feel very bad when they beat me” (1.b.iii)</p> | | <p>it pleases me greatly if I own good quality dresses, and shoes” (2.a)</p> | |
| <p>SEMRA</p> | <p>“I’ve never been happy in my life. Even if I did, it lasted for a few days”</p> <p>“My friend makes me sad. She makes me sad and sometimes I make her sad too. But I didn’t</p> | <p>1. Relational a. Friendship i. to be treated badly ii. Fear of getting cross with friends iii. Fear of getting cross with friends</p> | <p>“If my Quran hodja does not leave us, then I’m happy. When she goes, I cannot concentrate on my courses. She is such a nice and charming person” (1.b.i)</p> | <p>1. Relational a. Friendship i. To get along well with, and to be treated well b. Teachers i. to be loved by an adult</p> |

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| | <p>make her sad as much as she did me” (1.a.i)</p> <p>“I tell my secrets to another one. She says, you’ll tell all of your secrets to us. Then we tell our secrets. But we promised to each other. In the past we used to tell each other’s secrets to the others” (1.a.ii)</p> <p>“My friends always get cross with me, and make me get cross with other people. She has never been a good friend for me. She always makes friendship with others. She doesn’t like me but I like her very much. She’s my best friend. But she isn’t interested in me. Sometimes she swears at me. Even if we get cross and then make peace, she’s still my closest friend” (1.a.iii)</p> <p>“For instance, I hate school...” (2.a)</p> | <p>2. School a. Academic failure</p> | <p>“I wanna be happy with my friends” (1.a.i)</p> <p>“We can’t go to the village since we don’t have money but my mum saves money for us to go and I am looking forward to it” (2.a)</p> | <p>2. Personal a. Dreaming about village (associated with relational)</p> |
|--|--|--|--|---|

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|---|---|--|--|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;">MURAT</p> | <p>“There are naughty boys in the class. When some kids play football at school, the ball hits other kids on the face. In the neighborhood I have friends who hang over the cars. Some even smoke” (1.a.i & 1.a.ii)</p> <p>“My school is extremely dirty” (2.a)</p> | <p>1. Relational a. Friendship i. friends with bad habits</p> <p>2. School a. Pollution</p> | <p>“I get on well with my family” (1.a.i)</p> <p>“My friends at school really love me. I get along well with my friends at school.” (1.b.i)</p> <p>“There are very nice, good people in our hood. There are nice people who like me in out hood.” (1.c)</p> | <p>1. Relational a. Family i. Good and supportive relations with the nuclear family</p> <p>b. Friendship i. To get along well with, and to be treated well</p> <p>c. Neighborhood i. Availability of supportive extrafamilial adults</p> |
| <p style="text-align: center;">AYDIN</p> | <p>“The things that make me unhappy most are exams and my friends’ getting angry with me. Thinking of nobody loves me. My friends’ hating me and my mum’s hating me. It will make me sad if my teacher doesn’t like me”</p> | <p>1. Relational To lose relationships a. Family i. to lose mother’s love and affection</p> <p>b. Friendship i. Fear of getting cross with friends</p> <p>2. School a. To lose the relationship with the teacher b. academic failure</p> | <p>“It makes me so happy when I am with my family. My family loving me” (1.a.i & 1.a.ii)</p> <p>“(…) what makes me happy is that my friends love me” (1.b.i & 1.b.ii)</p> <p>“I love football very, very much” (2.a.i)</p> <p>“(…) and I love my teachers very much” (1.c.i)</p> | <p>1. Relational a. Family i. Good and supportive relations with the nuclear family ii. To be loved by the family</p> <p>b. Friendship i. To be loved ii. Support</p> <p>c. Teachers i. To be noticed</p> <p>2. Personal a. Football (associated with relational)</p> |

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|--------------|--|--|---|--|
| | | | | i. To be appreciated by other people |
| SAMET | “The drug dealers in my neighborhood make me unhappy most. I’ m really distressed about it. And there are many fights happening everyday. I’m so unhappy about it” | 1. Neighborhood a. Lack of safety i. Drug-dealers ii. Fights | “My friends and my family. My classmates support me for exams, there are always by my side. And when they come to my birthday celebration, I become very happy” (1.a.i & 1.a.ii) | 1. Relational a. Friendship i. support ii. share of activities b. Family |
| METİN | “They send me somewhere and I get very tired. They always say go there but I don't want to go. My uncle says I don't want to go too. While I am sitting, they say go to your uncle's. I don't want to go and then I get angry” (1.a.i) “[my uncle] as I watch Tv at home he comes and beats me and it hurts very much” (1.a.ii) “To see other people | 1. Relational a. Extended Family i. Psychological abuse ii. Physical abuse b. To see people fighting | “When I feel like, I go out to play football when my friends call on me. Sometimes when my friends at school don’t let me play with them, they come afterwards and ask me to play with them, and this makes me quite happy” (1.a.i & 1.a.ii & 2.a.i) | 1. Relational a. Friendship i. Share of activities ii. To be treated well 2. Personal a. Football i. To be loved and appreciated by others |

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|--------------|---|---|---|--|
| | fighting in front of me” (1.b) | | | |
| BARIŞ | <p>1. “My friends from the neighborhood always talk and shout...” (1.a)</p> <p>“People from other neighborhoods come and fight with the people from our hood” (1.b)</p> <p>2. “What makes me unhappy is that I’ve never had a bike.” (2.a.i)</p> | <p>1. Neighborhood a. Noise b. Lack of Safety</p> <p>2. Financial a. Limitation of available goods i. Deprivation when compared the self with peers</p> | <p>“What make me happy are my family, mom and my teacher, my sister” (1.c)</p> <p>“When I get 5 from my exams I become very happy, each time I feel very happy. (...) My teacher for example makes me quite happy when I get 5 from my exam. Yes and also when I get 4 or 5 from my performance homework she makes me very happy” (1.a & 2.a)</p> <p>“I feel happy when nobody fights with each other” (3.a)</p> | <p>1. Relational a. Teachers b. Friendship c. Family i. Sister, father, and mother</p> <p>2. School a. High academic performance</p> <p>3. Neighborhood a. Secure and peaceful environment</p> |

APPENDIX F:

Distressing domains and problems in the lives of the children growing up in
poverty

Distressing domains and problems in the lives of the children growing up in poverty

Normal: Explicitly stated by the participants within their voice bubbles

Italics: Emerged within the interview

A. PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH FINANCIAL STATUS

1. Limitation of Available Goods:

a. Limited access to computer and Internet: Demet, *Aysun, Samet, Barış, Sinem*

b. Deprivation when compared the self with peers: *Aysun, Deniz, Samet*

2. Inadequate Pocket Money

Semra, Aysun, Metin, Demet, Barış

3. Housing Conditions:

a. Physical constraints

Small Size of the House, and Deprivation of Goods and Furniture: *Demet, Aysun*

b. Anxieties for Future Living: Deniz

4. Spatial Immobility

Semra

B. PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH FAMILY

1. Nuclear Family Related

a. Difficulties in the Relationship with Mothers

The strain of changing Roles for the Eldest Girl in the family: “Substitute Mother”

(İkame Annelik): Aysun, Sinem, Semra

b. Difficulties in the Relationship with Fathers

The Physical and/or Psychological Absence of the father: *Demet & Samet (physical absence); Aydın, Murat, Metin, Semra, Barış & Sinem (psychological absence)*

c. Chronic Illness of the family members

Health-related issues of the parents: *Deniz, Murat*

Health-related issues of the siblings: *Sinem, Semra, Aysun*

d. Physical Abuse by the Parents: *Aysun, Sinem*

2. Extended Family Related

a. Disputes between Parents and In-laws: *Aysun, Metin, Sinem*

b. Physical and Emotional Abuse: *Aysun, Metin, Sinem*

c. Parental Dispute: *Aysun, Sinem*

d. Humiliation and Exclusion: *Aysun, Sinem*

e. Blame: *Metin, Aysun*

C. PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH FRIENDSHIPS

1. Fear of getting cross with friends ("*Küsülmek*"): *Semra, Sinem, Aydın, Deniz*

2. Betrayal Associated with Revealing Secrets Without one Party's Consent

("Sırların Tutulmaması"): *Semra, Deniz*

3. To be treated badly ("*Kötü Davranılmak*"): *Aysun, Semra, Samet*

4. Social Isolation and Loneliness: *Sinem*

5. Friends with Bad Habits: *Barış, Murat*

D. PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH SCHOOL

1. Academic Failure: *Aydın, Semra, Murat, Sinem, Aysun*

2. The Possibility of Discontinuing Their Education: *Semra, Demet, Aydın*

3. Concern about losing relationship with teacher: *Aydın*

E. PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH NEIGHBORHOOD

1. Lack of Safety: Samet, Aydın, *Deniz* (drugs and violence), Barış & *Aysun* (violence)
2. Physical Pollution and Noise: Murat, Barış
3. Social Isolation and Loneliness: Sinem
4. Some youths causing troubles: *Murat*

F. PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH SUPPORTS FROM INSTITUTIONS and ORGANISATIONS

1. Material support
 - a. Excluding Support (“*Dışlayıcı Yardım*”): *Sinem, Aysun, Barış*

APPENDIX G:

Happiness areas in the lives of the children growing up in poverty

Happiness areas in the lives of the children growing up in poverty

A. FAMILY

1. Nuclear Family Related

a. Good and supportive relations with the nuclear family: Murat, Aydın, Samet, Barış, Demet, Deniz, Sinem, Aysun

i. To be seen and appreciated by the parents: Sinem

ii. Good parental relations: Sinem

b. Good Relationship with Mothers: Barış, Murat and Aydın

c. Support and Encouragement for Academic Life: Barış, Demet

2. Extended Family Related

a. Support from the grandmother: Sinem, Semra

B. FRIENDSHIPS

1. To get along well with, be Treated Good and not be excluded: Murat, Aydın, Aysun, Sinem, Semra

2. Share activities: Metin, Samet

3. “To be there”... (Support from friends): Aydın, Samet

C. SELF-RELATED

1. To be loved and appreciated by others: Demet, Deniz,

Metin, Aydın (via Football)

2. To dream about being in the Village (associated with support from the extended family): Deniz, Semra

3. Religiosity: Deniz

D. SCHOOL and EDUCATION

1. High Academic Performance: Demet, Barış
2. To be seen by the teacher: Sinem, Barış
3. School: Sinem
4. Making Friendships: Samet

E. NEIGHBORHOOD

1. Availability of Supportive Extrafamilial Adults: Murat, Barış

F. FINANCIAL

1. Material ownership: Aysun

APPENDIX H:

The reflections of the middle SES children on the voice bubbles and the emergent codes of these reflections

The reflections of the middle SES children on the voice bubbles, as a function of distressing and happiness areas, and the emergent codes of these reflections.

| PARTICIPANT | UNHAPPINESS VOICE BUBBLE | CODING | HAPPINESS VOICE BUBBLE | CODING |
|--------------------|---|---|--|---|
| GÜLDEN | <p>“My brother’s making me unhappy” “My parents don’t let go anywhere alone”</p> | <p>1. Relational a. Family i. disputes with the sibling ii. strict supervision of the parents</p> | <p>“That my friends and my family trust me and support me all the time” “To receive positive feedbacks from everyone” “That I’m happy with my family” “To be healthy”</p> | <p>1. Relational a. Friendship i. Support and Trust b. To be appreciated by other people c. Family i. Good relations 2. Personal a. Health</p> |
| İREM | <p>“To be sick..” “Not to be able to go to the school and thus I skip homework requirements”</p> | <p>1. Personal a. Health 2. School a. To fail and to be unsuccessful</p> | <p>“That I paint very well, I’m good at math and science” “That everyone gets along well with me”</p> | <p>1. School a. To able to paint well b. High academic performance 2. Relational a. To be loved and appreciated by other people</p> |
| KEMAL | <p>“I sometimes have difficulty with my exams at school” “That my dog’s gone” “I’m struggling with painting course” “I fear that something</p> | <p>1. Relational a. Family i. the anxiety about sibling’s well-being b. School Academic failure</p> | <p>“I love my dog. My dog loves me.” “I love my family too. And to be loved by them makes me happy” “I love my friends and to play with them” “I love</p> | <p>1. Relational a. Family i. Good relations and to be loved ii. Good relations with the sibling b. Friendship</p> |

| | | | | |
|--------------|---|---|--|---|
| | bad's gonna happen to my brother whenever he's not with me" | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. To have difficulty in painting ii. To difficulty in exams | my brother very much and he loves me too" "To be loved by my teachers" | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Good relations, to be loved ii. companionship c. To separate from the dog d. School <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. To be loved by the teacher |
| ALPER | "First of all, I'd like to talk about my neighborhood. The hood we're living in isn't secure enough. Even a 10-year-old child smokes and I hate this" | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Neighborhood <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Lack of safety ii. Youth with bad habits | "First of all, I'd like to talk about my school. The fact that my teachers and friends are smiling and cheerful makes me so happy" "I get on well with my mom and dad. And this makes me very happy" "I feel very comfortable and content at my uncle's house because I can play playstation there and there's computer as well" | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Relational <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. School <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. To have cheerful teachers and friends b. Family <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Good relations ii. The availability of positive relations with the extended family |

APPENDIX I:

List of Problem areas, happiness areas and coping mechanisms of the participants

List of Problem areas, happiness areas and coping mechanisms of the participants.

Normal: Explicitly stated by the participants within their voice bubbles

Italics: Emerged within the interview

| Unhappiness Areas | Happiness Areas | Coping |
|---|---|---|
| <p><u>SİNEM</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited access to computer and Internet - Substitute Mothership - Psychological Absence of the father - Chronic Illness of the sibling (a mentally retarded brother) - Physical Abuse by the father - Disputes between Parents and In-laws - Physical and Emotional Abuse by the extended family - Parental Dispute - Humiliation and Exclusion by the extended family - Academic Failure - <i>Fear of getting cross with friends (“Küsülmek”)</i> - <i>Social Isolation and Loneliness among family, friends and people in the neighborhood district</i> - <i>Institutions: Excluding Support</i> | <p><u>SİNEM</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Good and supportive relations with the family <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Being seen and appreciated by the parents o Good relations among parents - Support from the grandmother - To be seen by the teacher - Friendliness, warmth, not to be excluded by the friends - School | <p><u>SİNEM</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - identification with the oppressed ** - to keep inside** - religiosity (praying and namaz kılmak)** <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o patience - to find compromising solutions |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| <p><u>DEMET</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Physical Absence of the father - Inadequate Pocket Money - Small Size of the House, and Deprivation of Goods and Furniture - <i>Limited access to computer and Internet</i> - <i>The Possibility of Discontinuing Education</i> | <p><u>DEMET</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Good and supportive relations with the family - Parental support and encouragement for her education - High academic performance/to be successful - To be loved and appreciated by others - High Academic Performance - To learn new things at school | <p><u>DEMET</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Set future goals - To engage in labor activities (working) - Self-soothing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o To assure oneself - To find compromising solutions* - To find out the necessary means* - Working - To seek support from the father |
| <p><u>DENİZ</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Arkadaşlarla kendini karşılaştırma - Chronic Illness of the father - Fear of getting cross with friends (“Küsülmek”) - Betrayal by friend Associated with Revealing Secrets Without one Party’s Consent (“Sırların Tutulmaması”) - Lack of Safety (“Güvensizlik”) in Tarlabası - <i>Fear of losing the house</i> | <p><u>DENİZ</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The happiness of the household - The well-being of the household (health of the father) - To dream about being in the Village - Religiosity - To be loved and appreciated by others | <p><u>DENİZ</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to ignore <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o to keep distance from - religiosity** (dua etmek) - self-soothing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o dreaming o to assure oneself *** o Set future goals - to find compromising solutions |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| <p><u>AYSUN</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited access to computer and Internet - Arkadaşlarla kendini karşılaştırma - Inadequate Pocket Money - Small Size of the House, and Deprivation of Goods and Furniture - Substitute Mothership - Chronic Illness of the sibling (the drug addiction of the brother) - Blame by the grandmother - Academic Failure - Lack of Safety (“Güvensizlik”) in Tarlabası - <i>Physical Abuse by the father</i> - <i>Disputes between Parents and In-laws</i> - <i>Physical and Emotional Abuse by the extended family</i> - <i>Parental Dispute</i> - <i>Humiliation and Exclusion by the extended family</i> - <i>To be Treated Badly by the friends</i> - <i>Institutions: Excluding Support</i> | <p><u>AYSUN</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Good and supportive relations with the family - Friendliness, warmth, not to be excluded by the friends - Material ownership (clothes etc) | <p><u>AYSUN</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to keep inside <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o nothing / ağlamak *** - religiosity (ilahi yazmak, dinlemek)** <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o patience - sacrifice oneself** - downward comparison - to ignore** <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o distraction o keeping distance from the source of distress** - self-soothing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o dreaming** o to assure oneself** o to set future goals - to find compromising solutions - to seek support from a friend - to seek support from extrafamilial adults in the neighborhood** |
| <p><u>SEMRA</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inadequate Pocket Money - Substitute Mothership - Psychological Absence of the father - Chronic Illness of the sibling | <p><u>SEMRA</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Friendliness, warmth, not to be excluded by the friends - To dream about being in the Village (associated with support from her extended | <p><u>SEMRA</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To keep inside <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Nothing (11 times) - Self-soothing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Dreaming* |

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To be Treated Badly by the friends - <i>Spatial Immobility</i> - <i>Fear of getting cross with friends (“Küsülmek”)</i> - <i>Betrayal by friend Associated with Revealing Secrets Without one Party’s Consent (“Sırların Tutulmaması”)</i> - <i>Academic Failure</i> - <i>The Possibility of Discontinuing Education</i> | <p>family)</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Religiosity (praying) - to find compromising solutions |
| <p><u>MURAT</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Psychological Absence of the father - Chronic Illness of the mother (cancer) - Academic Failure - Troublemaker youths in Tarlabası - <i>Friends with Bad Habits</i> - <i>Physical Pollution and Noise in Tarlabası</i> | <p><u>MURAT</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Good and supportive relations with the family - Friendliness, warmth, not to be excluded by the friends - Availability of Prosocial Adults in the neighborhood | <p><u>MURAT</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self-soothing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o To assure oneself* o Dreaming - to keep inside - to ignore <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o to keep distance from - to seek instrumental support from the mother - to seek support from the uncle - to seek support from a teacher - to seek support from a friend - to seek support from extrafamilial adults in the neighborhood |

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| <p><u>AYDIN</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Psychological Absence of the father - <i>Fear of getting cross with friends (“Küsülmek”)</i> - <i>Academic Failure</i> - <i>The Possibility of Discontinuing Education</i> - <i>Losing relationship with teacher</i> - <i>Lack of Safety (“Güvensizlik”) in the neighborhood</i> | <p><u>AYDIN</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Good and supportive relations with the family - “To be there”... (Support from friends) - Football (To be loved and appreciated by others) | <p><u>AYDIN</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self-soothing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Dreaming o to set future goals (football) - downward comparison - to sacrifice oneself <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o use of money - To find compromising solutions - to seek academic support from an elder sister - to seek support from the uncle - to seek support from a friend |
| <p><u>SAMET</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited access to computer and Internet - Arkadaşlarla kendini karşılaştırma - The Physical Absence of the father - To be Treated Badly by the friends - <i>Lack of Safety (“Güvensizlik”) in the neighborhood</i> | <p><u>SAMET</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Good and supportive relations with the family - “To be there”... (Support from friends) - Share activities with friends - Making Friendships at school | <p><u>SAMET</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to ignore <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Distraction - to keep inside <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Nothing - Religiosity* <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Patience - Self-soothing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Dreaming o to set future goals (football) - to find out the necessary means - to seek support from the father - to seek support from the uncle - to seek support from the grandmother - to seek support from the friends* |

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p><u>METİN</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inadequate Pocket Money - Psychological Absence of the father - Blame by the grandmother - <i>Disputes between Parents and In-laws</i> - <i>Physical and Emotional Abuse by the extended family</i> | <p><u>METİN</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Football (To be loved and appreciated by others) - Friendliness, warmth, not to be excluded by the friends, share activities | <p><u>METİN</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to keep inside - downward comparison - to avoid <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Distraction** o to keep distance from - dreaming: to set future goals (football) - To find compromising solutions - To find out the necessary means - Working - Seek support from the mother - to seek support from the best friend* - Seek support from the uncle |
| <p><u>BARİŞ</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited access to computer and Internet - Inadequate Pocket Money - Psychological Absence of the father - <i>Friends with Bad Habits</i> - <i>Lack of Safety in Tarlaşaşı</i> - <i>Physical Pollution and Noise in Tarlaşaşı</i> - <i>Institutions: Excluding Support</i> | <p><u>BARİŞ</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Good and supportive relations with the family - Parental support and encouragement for her education - High Academic Performance - To be seen by the teacher - Availability of supportive adults in the neighborhood - Peaceful environment/ neighborhood | <p><u>BARİŞ</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dreaming <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o to set future goals (football) - Working - to find compromising solutions - to seek support from the teacher - to seek academic support from the elder siblings |

APPENDIX J:

List of Problem areas, happiness areas and coping of the middle-income participants

List of Problem areas, happiness areas and coping of the middle-income participants

Normal: Explicitly stated by the participants within their voice bubbles

Italics: Emerged within the interview

| Unhappiness Areas | Happiness Areas | Coping |
|--|---|--|
| <p><u>GÜLDEN</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Disputes with the sibling - Parent's control and prohibitions - <i>Physical appearance</i> - <i>The strict and authoritative style of the mother</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o <i>Unpredictable mood of the mother</i> <p><u>İREM</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Academic failure <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Not being able to go to the school o To skip the courses o To fall behind the homework and courses - Physical illness - The problems with the elder sister | <p><u>GÜLDEN</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Good and supportive relations with the family - Good and supportive relations with the friends - Physical well-being/health - To be loved and appreciated by others <p><u>İREM</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To be loved and appreciated by others <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o To get on well with other people - High academic performance/to be successful - To be successful at painting | <p><u>GÜLDEN</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Problem-focused strategies*** <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Talking to the mother, behaving in a way to inspire confidence in the mother o Use cream for the pimples - Ask for the parents' support <p><u>İREM</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Problem-focused strategies*** <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o To call the classmates or to go to friends' houses in order to learn the skipped homework and courses o To be vaccinated against varied virus, take medications, to take care of oneself |

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| <p><u>KEMAL</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Worries about the sibling's well-being (that something bad will going to happen to the sibling) - Academic failure <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Difficulties with the exams o Difficulties with painting course - To be separated from the dog | <p><u>KEMAL</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Good and supportive relations with the family - Good relations with the sibling - Good and supportive relations with the friends <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o To share activities, to play together - To be loved by the teacher | <p><u>KEMAL</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Problem-focused strategies**** <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Do not leave the sibling alone o Warn the mother to take care of the sibling when away from the sibling o To make a deal with the father to visit the dog every weekend o To study harder o To focus on the areas where the teacher emphasized o To try new learning techniques - Self-soothing |
| <p><u>ALPER</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of Safety in the neighborhood <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Prohibited to play in the street o Ribbed and teased by the friends (since he did not want to spend time around the neighborhood) - Friends with Bad Habits in the neighborhood - <i>Sibling rivalry: Jealous of the younger brother</i> - <i>Deprivation of several expensive possessions (laptop, branded clothes, mp3 player)</i> - <i>Fights with friends</i> | <p><u>ALPER</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Good and supportive relations with the family - Good and supportive relations with the extended family <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o To spend time at the uncle's house - Closeness and warmth by the friends and the teacher | <p><u>ALPER</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Problem-focused strategies** <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Not to spend time in the street in the neighborhood o To follow the mother's advice o To disregard friends' teasings and go on taking precautions - Self-soothing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Dreaming |

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