EXPLORING THE EXPERIENCES OF MIDDLE SCHOOL STUDENTS COMBINING WORK AND SCHOOL: A CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

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ABSTRACT

EXPLORING THE EXPERIENCES OF MIDDLE SCHOOL STUDENTS COMBINING WORK AND SCHOOL: A CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

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The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore experiences of the students working on the farm in and the role of school in their lives from the perspectives of students, parents, and teachers. A middle school was chosen in a district of Şanlıurfa. Critical ethnography was used to conduct the study as it gives voice to the participants to describe their situation and to bring consciousness to them. For the data collection, semi-structured interviews, observation, and field journals were used. The participants consisted of 12 7th grade students, 6 parents and 5 teachers. The data were analysed through content analysis by utilizing MAXQDA.

The results of the study indicated that students working on the farm are disadvantaged since they combine work and school resulting from living in families with low socioeconomic status and high fertility. Being disadvantaged leads these students to live in poor conditions, consequently increasing inequalities in society. The study has revealed that schools reproduce these inequalities instead of eliminating them. On the other hand, the role of the school was revealed to be only a

pragmatic institution that provides certificates for the students. In conclusion, the results of the study aver that student working on the farm had fewer chances to be successful at school and the inequalities which make them disadvantaged are reproduced through schooling. Furthermore, the study set forth the need for acts related to elimination of child labour in education and society
Keywords: Child labour, School experience, Role of school, Critical Ethnography

ÖZ

ELEŞTİREL ETNOGRAFİK BİR ÇALIŞMA: OKURKEN ÇALIŞAN ORTAOKUL ÖĞRENCİLERİNİN DENEYİMLERİ

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Bu nitel araştırmanın amacı, tarlada çalışan öğrencilerin okul deneyimlerini ve okulun günlük yaşamlarındaki rolünü öğrenciler, ebeveynler ve öğretmenler açısından incelemektir. Çalışma için Şanlıurfa'nın Birecik ilçesindeki bir ortaokul seçilmiştir. Çalışmayı yürütmek için, deneyimleri araştırılan grubun durumlarını aydınlatma ve onların sesi olma amacıyla nitel bir yöntem olan eleştirel etnografi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Veri toplama için yarı-yapılandırılmış görüşmeler, gözlem ve saha defteri kullanılmıştır. Araştırmanın örneklemini 7. sınıf öğrencilerinden 12 öğrenci, 6 veli ve 5 öğretmen oluşturmuştur. Veriler, MAXQDA kullanılarak içerik analizi yoluyla analiz edilmiştir.

Çalışmanın sonuçları, tarlada çalışan öğrencilerin sosyoekonomik düzeyi düşük ve doğurganlığı yüksek ailelerde yaşayan öğrenciler olduğunu ve bir taraftan okula devam ederken bir taraftan da tarlada çalıştıklarını, dolayısıyla bunun onları dezavantajlı bir konuma soktuğunu göstermiştir. Dezavantajlı olmak bu öğrencilerin kötü koşullarda yaşamasına neden olmakta dolayısıyla toplumdaki eşitsizliği daha da arttırmaktadır. Araştırma göstermiştir ki okullar bu eşitsizliği ortadan kaldırmak

yerine yeniden üretmektedir. Okulun çocukların hayatındaki rolü öğrencilere sertifika sağlayan pragmatik bir kurum olarak belirtilmektedir. Bu çalışmanın sonuçları, tarlada çalışan öğrencilerin okulda başarılı olma şanslarının daha az olduğunu ve okullaşma yoluyla sınıf konumlarını koruduklarını ortaya koymuştur. Ayrıca bu çalışma, eğitimde ve toplumda çocuk işçiliği ile ilgili alınması gereken önlemlerin ihtiyacını da ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çocuk işçiliği, Okul deneyimi, Okulun rolü, Eleştirel etnografi

To all who still have hope

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides background information on the study and a statement of the problem. The purpose and the significance of the study are also presented here.

1.1. Background of the Study

Throughout the world, many children have to work to get by. International Labour Organization and United Nations Children's Fund (2021) claim that the number of child labourers worldwide is around 160 million. The majority, with 97 million of them, consists of boys while the other is girls. The number of child labourers has been increasing for four years and is expected to increase by more than 9 million because of the Covid-19 pandemic (ILO & UNICEF, 2021).

Child labour is defined by the International Labour Organization (2018) as work that harms or has an adversary impact on the development and well-being of children and their education. In other words, the children deprived of their childhood due to working are called child labourers. In Turkey, a child labourer is accepted as a child who is 14 and completed primary education and is allowed to do light work in a non-hazardous work environment that does not affect their education, health, and development (Çocuk ve Genç İşçilerin, 2004). However, some, who have to combine work and school, cannot experience their 'childhood' and have to work on farms to provide income for their family; thus, they are stated as the most disadvantaged group in Turkey (Akça & Arslan, 2021). Inevitably, students come across various problems at school such as low attendance and achievement, adaptation problems, and even school drop-out while they experience long working hours, heavy workload, and physical, psychological, and sanitary problems on the farm; therefore, combining work and school make them alienate to society (Cangür et al., 2013;

Goulart and Bedi, 2008; Guarcello et al., 2008; Hamenoo et al., 2018; Khanam, 2005; Kim, 2011; Lordoğlu & Etiler, 2014; Martinez & Cranston-Gingras, 1996).

When we back on their experiences at the school and the farm, it is seen that the students have to work for various reasons. When the literature on the reasons of students for working is analysed, it can be seen that some studies are exploring the main factor for their work. The reasons for child labour are divided into two categories demand-side and supply-side; thus, Chatterjee and Ray (2019) put forward that demand-side reasons have a significant impact on it since it means lower wages for children, while the supply-side reasons for child labour are poverty, migration, unemployment, gender differences, inequalities, family education, educational costs and being able to access to schooling (Adonteng-Kissi, 2021; Bilgili, 2018; Edmonds, 2007, Lieten, 2000; Tzannatos, 1998).

Notwithstanding that there are diverse reasons to work, children work in all sectors: agriculture, service, and industry. Nevertheless, agriculture is the most common sector where child labour happens worldwide (Kaur & Byard, 2021). Chatterjee and Ray (2019) state that more than 70% of child labourers work in agriculture. Besides, the statistics in 2017 on child labour claim that the agriculture sector has the most significant part –more than 100 million children compared to other sectors (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations [FAO], 2020). On the other hand, according to Taneri and Engin-Demir (2011), schools in rural areas where agriculture sector takes place most are the majority compared to those in urban areas; thus, they are essential components of the education system in Turkey. Dur and Öztürk (2017) argue that adult role taken by the children began in early ages in rural areas; therefore, most boys begin to work as their fathers while girls do chores at home like their mothers.

Additionally, in Turkey, by regions, Southeast Anatolia's rural areas are the places where child labour incidence in the agriculture sector is seen the most, which is related to the lower socioeconomic status of the child labourers (Batır, 2020). As a district in a rural area of Southeast Anatolia, Birecik, where the study is conducted, is overcrowded with child labourers working primarily in agriculture and service. The abundance of child labour in these areas creates a problem since the students engaged in labour have attendance and success problems at school and are exposed to adverse

conditions. Therefore, enough importance is not given to education in these areas since the school's curriculum is inconsistent with the needs of the area and the families (FAO, 2020).

Attempting to solve child labour incidence through education is a problematic issue. In fact, as a helpful tool, school is utilised to deal with the problem; yet the role of the school in society and its effect on students' lives must be investigated primarily. The school is defined as a place where the students maintain the heritage they have taken from their families, thus, social and cultural inequalities are kept alive, which harms school experiences of the students. (Göktürk & Ağın, 2020). The school concept has been redefined in accordance with the new social structures (Elmacı, 2009). However, according to Green et al. (2007), education has served the dominant classes throughout history. In fact, Weber argues that schools are the places for qualified labour production for the capitalist system (Ballantine et al., 2017). On the other hand, one of the roles of school is indicated by Marx as a continuum of inequalities through ideology for the good of the bourgeoisie; therefore, students are taught false consciousness, which prevents people from seeing the power relations among classes (Ballantine et al., 2017). Moreover, Omer and Jabeen (2016) argue that schools help to sustain inequalities created by the capitalist system and are used as a means for reproduction. Marx (1866, as cited in Green et al., 2007, p. 44) states that unless the working class takes control of the state, education cannot work for the profit of the students but instead for the profit of the capitalists..

1.2. Statement of the Problem

As stated above, the number of child labourers is still increasing, and the solutions offered are not enough to solve the problem. The estimations by the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey and Public Services Employees Union of Turkey expose that the number of working children in Turkey is around two million when the apprentices and seasonal workers are taken into account (DİSK/Genel-İş Sendikası, 2017). As a matter of fact, the number of child labourers is assumed to increase in Turkey due to COVID-19 spreading worldwide (Health and Safety Labour Watch, 2021).

Because child labour is seen as dangerous for both countries and people, there is a need to investigate the experiences of child labourers. In addition to economic recession for countries and health risks for people, students combining work and school face hazardous situations on their education. These students tend to skip classes or school-related tasks such as homework, therefore their bond with school decreases. This decrease leads to low school achievement, which causes them to have a negative attitude towards school and even to drop-out of school. For this reason, the primary concern of this study is to explore the school experiences resulting, as well as the role of school in their lives since they have to combine school with work. Consequently, this study may well have bearing on the design of the action taken by policymakers to increase the educational opportunities and the school participation of the students who combine work and school. Besides, the study reveals the conditions and the reasons for the students working on the farm; therefore, it indicates the disadvantaged children suffer educational deficiencies resulting from working.

1.3. Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this study is to explore the school experiences of the students working on the farm and the role of school in their lives from their perspectives, parents, and teachers. In addition, the study aims to investigate the working reasons and conditions of the students working on the farm and the problems they face affecting their school attendance and achievement. The school's role in the society related to the students working on the farm is also explored in this research's range.

1.4. Research Questions

Based on the purpose of the study, the following research questions have been developed to be answered:

1. What are the experiences of the students working on the farm?
2. What is the role of school in students' lives from the perspectives of students, parents, and teachers?

1.5. Significance of the Study

Child labour is at severe levels worldwide, and many associations aim to abolish it (FAO, 2020; ILO & UNICEF, 2020). However, the precautions are neither efficient nor sufficient to deal with the problem. The severity of the problem is assumed to rise because of the troubled times as the economic crisis or the school closures resulting from the Covid-19 pandemic that increased inequalities and affected the disadvantaged the most (Cesuroglu & Kolemen, 2021; Daly et al.,2021; Işık-Erol, 2021). In addition to school closures, distance education has also affected students' lives drastically. While some could not access education due to technological inadequacies, some began to work for the above reasons. Regarding their ages, many of them engage in labour as child labourers.

There have been many studies on child labour, especially the ones combining work and school and how to eliminate it, yet there has not been a definitive solution. Besides, despite much research conducted previously, there have been no specific studies focusing on the experiences of students in Şanlıurfa combining work on the farm and school (Goulart & Bedi, 2008; Hamenoo et al., 2018; Jijon, 2020; Kim, 2011; Togunde & Weber, 2007; Weiner, 1991; Zhang et al., 2019, as cited in Hoque, 2021, p. 41). In this regard, this study is intended to significantly contribute to the literature by including unique data from participants' life stories. The study's findings are expected to contribute to the educational policies taken by the ministry and other relevant institutions and organisations such as ILO and UNICEF on child labour and ways to eliminate it.

To resolve the existing problem, the first thing to do is to understand it thoroughly. Therefore, this study is an attempt to scrutinise the problem of child labour by revealing the experiences of the students working on the farm since child labour is seen as both reason and the result of poverty, which causes the children not to have better education and living conditions in the future (Mwamadi & Seiffert, 2012). This study also investigates the role of schools in their students' lives from the perspectives of students, parents and teachers. The conducive factors must be examined to propose a solution to provide opportunity for students to be more successful at school and clear off child labour since the study aims to provide valuable data to deal with the problem.

1.6. Definitions of Terms

Child labour consists of the work done by young children, which may affect their well-being, security, and manners (ILO & UNICEF, 2021).

Light work ILO and UNICEF (2021) define the work done by children in the age range of 0 to 14 (12 for underdeveloped countries) years old who can attend school while working in jobs that do not interrupt their attendance and do not affect their health in a negative way.

1.7. Limitations of the Study

1. The study was conducted in the school year of 2021-2022 with 7th grade students working on the farm in Birecik, Şanlıurfa, as well as their parents and teachers. Therefore, the context of the study must be considered while evaluating the study.

2. Parent participants of the study consist of only fathers since no mother have accepted to participate.

3. Observation is conducted only at school, not at the farm or at home.

4. The data gathered consists of the interviews of students, parents and teachers, observation, and field notes. Therefore, it is assumed that the answers of the participants are sincere.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter consists of the theoretical framework and empirical studies related to child labour, its definition, statistics, reasons, reflections on the world and Turkey, working students on the farm, and their experiences. The role of school in their lives from the perspectives of those students, their parents, and teachers are also discussed in this chapter.

2.1. Child Labour

According to Edmonds et al. (2008), harmful work for children was explained in various forms in more than 150 studies; however, child labour at the beginning of 2000 was defined as child engagement in works that impoverished the children. To understand better what child labour is, it would be good to start with the definition of child. Medical science defines the child as people aged between 0 and 14 (Bilgili, 2018). As one of the state parties to the convention on the child's rights, the child is defined in Turkey as a person in the range of 0 to 18 years old (*Convention on the Rights of the Child*, 1990). The experiences of the people related to their social class has an impact on the perception of child and adult; therefore, Lareau (2002) claims that child rearing practices vary in accordance with their socioeconomic status. While in some families, children spend quality time by playing games with toys and watching a movie at the movie theatre with their family members, children are sent to work in the others.

Regarding the age of the child, the work type, the working hours, and the conditions, ILO (2018) defines child labour as work that robs children of their childhood, their potential, and their dignity and is detrimental to their physical and

mental development. The responses to the definition of child labour vary; however, Turkish law defines child labour as the child who is a 14-year-old primary education graduate who is permitted to work in light work that is not detrimental in terms of development, health, education, as stated before in the first chapter (Çocuk ve Genç İşçilerin, 2004).

2.2. Reasons for Child Labour

According to the FAO (2020), many reasons are put forth for child labour. Participation in children's work life has resulted from various elements such as economic or cultural; however, the main factor is usually poverty (Adonteng-Kissi, 2021).

2.2.1. Poverty

The reasons of child labour can be both cause and result, for instance, cycle of poverty functions as the following: poverty hinders students' engagement in education, leading students to be unskilled worker working for a low wage in the future that makes them poor again. Children are sent to work at very early ages to deal with the economic obstacles their families face (Dep & Rosati, 2002; Doftori, 2004; FAO, 2020; Masudi et al., 2001). Many scholars advocate that economic reasons are the determinants of child labour (Ahmad, 2012; Aykaç, 2016; Bilgili, 2018; Edmonds, 2007; Sevinç et al., 2015). On the other hand, Fallon and Tzannatos (1998) and Batır (2020) argue that child labour is mainly driven by poverty. Previous research shows that family income and child labour negatively correlate (Dehejia and Gatti, 2002; Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005; Fallon & Tzannatos, 1997; Fares & Raju, 2007; Gunnarsson et al., 2005; Kim, 2011). Besides, Anker and Melkas (1996) claim that child labor impacts families' poverty in the long run since it pushes families to send their children to work instead of school, hindering their education and making the students poor again. Sharma and Dangal (2019) aver that many families give importance to their children's education; however, they want their children to work due to their family's economic needs. The study conducted in Ethiopia by Cockburn (2001) found that the more families gain income, the more parents will prefer schooling for their children instead of working. In addition to contributing to family

income, working is obligatory for children (Ahmad, 2012; Mishra, 2000; Weiner, 1991).

Economic crises in the family or throughout the country also lead children to work (Thevenon & Edmonds, 2019). Parents losing their jobs because of unexpected problems such as illness, death, or even a pandemic like Covid-19 or increases in the cost of living due to the economic crisis triggered by it can also be regarded as an outstanding factor (FAO, 2020). It is also claimed that income from child labour is saved for compensation for financial hardship (Anker & Melkas, 1996).

2.2.2. Socio-cultural Reasons

As a supply factor, poverty precedes other factors, and cultural traditions follow it as the second factor. In other words, the child labour issue is not only driven by economic conditions but also socio-cultural ones. Child labour is averred to be formed by society's cultural principles, which affects the perspective on school and child labour of families (Adonteng-Kissi, 2021; Lancy, 2018). Doftori (2004) claims that social terms of gender, race, class, and cultural obstacles prevent students from reaching school.

While schools are given more importance in some societies than the involvement of children in work life, they are not seen in others because of socio-cultural concerns such as gender. A reason for the difference originated from gender roles in society. Bequele and Boyden (1988) claim that the opportunities to be given to girls are lower than boys because society argues that girls do not want to fulfil gender roles assigned by society, such as marrying and raising a child when they get educated. As in every other situation, gender roles are influential on which work will be carried out by the child. A study conducted in Bangladesh claims that there is little negative correlation between girls' school attendance and child labour (Orazem & Gunnarsson, 2004; Ravallion & Wodon, 2000). A study in Zambia by Jensen and Nielsen (1997) examines the incidence of child labour, claiming that compared to boys, girls leave school earlier than boys due to work done at home, marrying early, and becoming pregnant. In a similar vein, the study conducted in Tanzania by Dachi & Garrett (2003) argues that the work done by boys and girls differs. For instance, girls' tasks require intellectual capacity and variety while boys work in physical work

with less variety (Dachi & Garrett, 2003). In the example of Bangladesh by Edmonds (2007), the data reveals that industrial work is mainly associated with boys. Moreover, girls primarily work in the service sector or in jobs entailing less muscle force, while boys primarily work in production, such as construction (Edmonds, 2007).

Another need for child labour is stated to be a preparation period for the children into work life in the future by shaping their characters and gaining features, thus being an influential contributor to the socialization process of the children (Adonteng-Kissi, 2021). Child labour is seen as a cultural necessity in rural areas. Tor (2010) claims that families in rural areas consider child labour as a cultural norm. For that matter, Adonteng-Kissi (2021) argues that some students in rural areas work not because they are in need but to prove they are accountable to their families. Lefebvre (1970) also claims that rural areas adhere strictly to the norms and traditions of rural life, thus making child labour necessary to be a part of a social group. On the other hand, even some nonpoor families want their children to go to farms to learn the job requirements and acquire the skills before fully engaging in work-life (Adonteng-Kissi, 2021). That pre-work life is also seen as a stage for preparing to become a responsible person (Nukunya, 2003).

2.2.3. Family Characteristics

While poverty and socio-cultural reasons are usually accepted as the main factors for child labour, family characteristics and background are also essential. Among family characteristics, education level and fertility rate are determiners of child labour. Illiteracy is considered one of the main factors for child labour (Ahmad, 2012; Gangrade & Gandhi, 1983; Khan, 1980). It is also asserted that the education level of parents has a negative correlation with child labour (Çırak & Çivitçi, 2004; Goulart & Bedi, 2008; Khanam, 2008;). In addition, the study of Gibbons et al. (2005), especially mothers' education, has a massive impact on failing a grade; however, it does not have a negative correlation with the school success of children directly.

The incidence of child labour may occur in crowded families more frequently since poverty generally causes increases in family size (Mamdani, 1972; Sevinç et

al., 2015). A study conducted in Malatya, a city in Turkey, by Çırak and Çivitçi (2004) reveals that parents in families where the fertility rate is high cannot meet the needs of their children; therefore, children engage in labour on the streets. Crowded families of tribalist structures, as in South-eastern Anatolia, are also seen as a reason for child labour (Anker & Melkasi, 1996; Sevinç et al., 2015).

2.2.4. Other Reasons

There are other reasons for child labour, such as migration, laws gaps, high education costs, self-actualization and mistreatment at home, unqualified education and lack of an organised working class. Some studies reveal that one of the reasons for child labour is migration (Aykaç, 2016; ÇGSB, 2017; Bilgili, 2018; Chatterjee & Ray, 2019). Some immigrant and migrant families who both moved from the rural to the urban prefer farmwork since they are mostly unqualified workers and have insufficient family income. Moreover, Syrian refugee children in Turkey have to work since their families live in poor conditions. In addition to shelter, food, health, and social adaptation problems, these children experience educational problems since they cannot attend school regularly; rather, they work to support their families; therefore, they give up on their dreams and education (Harunoğulları, 2016). Besides, insufficient laws and inadequacy in monitoring and preventing children from working in agriculture aggravate child labour. It is claimed that children are preferred to be employed since the laws are neglected easily (Bekdaş, 2009; Chatterjee & Ray, 2019). On the other hand, Jensen and Nielsen (1997) claim that school expenses are also an indicator of child labour since they are a heavy burden for some families (Sevinç et al., 2015). Another reason is claimed by Kaur and Byard (2021) that children also work to be in a constructive condition for self-actualization and to escape mistreatment at home. Also, Çöpoğlu (2018) claims that students drift away from education and engage in labour since schools cannot provide them abilities; instead, they produce many educated unemployed people Besides, the lack of a powerful labour movement is considered an essential factor since its absence causes a space for exploitative incidences, such as child labour (Lieten, 2000). Chatterjee and Ray (2019) state that not having a syndicate to support children's rights is another reason for child labour.

2.3. Students Working in Agriculture

It is interesting that the number of children working on the farm is increasing while the agriculture sector's share is decreasing in some countries (Lordoğlu & Etiler, 2014). According to agricultural work, the working conditions and work done on the farm by students vary. Therefore, it is crucial to discuss them briefly for an in-depth understanding of the context.

2.3.1. Types of Agriculture

Types of agricultural work are categorized as seasonal, informal, hazardous, and under-regulated. Seasonal is when labour is required, such as sowing and harvest time. Second, informal is the type that has no validation by any authority figures' control, and many data verify that child labour is widespread in the informal sector (ILO & UNICEF, 2020). Third, hazardous is when agricultural workers are exposed to severe conditions such as inhaling dangerous chemicals like pesticides, using potentially harmful equipment, and long work hours (FAO, 2020). Last, under-regulated, in which enforcing the law is challenging because of the location or being hidden for criminal purposes.

2.3.1.1. Seasonal Farm Workers

Working students in agriculture are considered primarily seasonal farm workers since they combine their work and school. Whitener (1985) defines them as people who do the most terrible work among the paid workers by working in scorching, muggy weather on a farm field as well as having limited shelter, food, and sanitary (Helsinki Commission, 1993, p.100 as cited in Martinez & Cranston-Gingras, 1996). It is expected that a seasonal farm worker's child will most probably be a migrant farm worker, too, due to the vicious cycle resulting from poor conditions (Lordoğlu & Etiler, 2014). Moreover, the families who have to move from one city to another or from a rural area to another mostly have to bring their children with them, thus making it impossible to reach educational opportunities for their children (Akça & Arslan, 2021). It is averred that seasonal works interrupt children's class participation by creating an educational void in their school years since

sometimes they have to move from one location to another (Martinez & Cranston-Gingras, 1996).

2.3.2. Work Life

The work life of the student participants including works and the conditions on the farm differs regarding the product to be harvested, season, location, and even gender.

2.3.2.1. Works on the Farm

The works done by children on the farm are depicted as harvesting and carrying sacks and buckets (Lordoğlu & Etiler, 2014). The responsibilities of the children who move with their parents may differ depending upon the characteristics of the destination; in fact, they take responsibility for childcare by looking after their siblings as well as an economic contribution (Akça & Arslan, 2021). Working conditions on the farm are predominantly depicted as harsh. Akça and Arslan (2021) argue that children who work in seasonal farmwork are exposed to psychological, physiological, and sanitary threats. Children working on the farm may experience some health issues such as sting and pediculosis due to lack of a hygienic living environment as well as malnourishment which can also be resulted from poverty (Sütoluk et al., 2004; Şimşek & Koruk, 2009, 2011). Children at an early age, who work to contribute to their family income, have heavy burdens that may cause psychological and physical health problems in the future (Yildiz, 2006). It may even lead to permanent damage that interrupts their development, such as shortness and defect in body ratio, as seen in Sanliurfa (Duyar, 2017; Şimşek & Koruk, 2011)

2.4. School Attendance

There are several studies investigating the correlation between child labour and school attendance and achievement. The studies (Khanam, 2004, 2008) examining the school attendance and achievement of working children among the students of Bangladesh reveal that child labour has a negative impact on them. Bekdaş (2009) claims that working while studying forces the children to decide between weariness and boredom, thus mostly choosing the work to survive and

dropping out of school. According to the data, almost one-third of child labourers do not continue their education, while those who attend school are also economically disadvantaged (Chatterjee & Ray, 2019). Another study conducted in Ghana argues that school attendance is affected by children's engagement in labour (Boozer & Suri, 2001). Nevertheless, Lieten (2000) states that enrolling in a school does not mean attending it. Moreover, school attendance of the students is adversely affected by poverty (Anker & Melkas, 1996). The above-mentioned literature shows that the school's quality and access to it can be a decision maker for families to send their children to school despite the requirement of more data about the association among them (Guarcello & Rosati, 2008). Besides, skipping classes is reported to cause students to fail grades and even quit school (Doftori, 2004). Sharma & Dangal (2019) also assert that skipping classes has an irreversible impact on their learning progress in the classroom, even though it is one or two times a month.

The reasons for drop-out of students engaging in labour vary. The previous studies (Martinez and Cranston-Gingras, 1996; Guarcello et al., 2005) indicate that drop-out possibilities are mainly derived from the students' work. The study conducted in Cambodia by Kim (2011) claims that even if the children are registered students, their engagement in work may result in inadequate learning and leaving school. On the other hand, a study on leaving school is described as the expensiveness of schooling (Anker & Melkas, 1996). In addition to high educational costs, Khanam (2005) state that reasons for leaving school are unwillingness to attend school, family work or family farm, and religious credence. Also, the children have work-related problems leading them to lack the right to education, experience fatigue, tardiness, and health issues, and drop out of school (Hamenoo et al., 2018).

On the other hand, quitting school is a more robust result than failing grades (Gibbons et al., 2005). Ahmad (2012) also claims that the number of students leaving school is also high due to working jobs to contribute to family income. Moreover, drop-out rates of child labourers are stated as high, while their academic success is low (Çırak & Çivitçi, 2004). Although the study of Cangür et al. (2013) claims that children who participated in the study do not have the idea of quitting school, working life causes the children to become distanced from education or to combine work and school, resulting from their insecurity toward school.

2.5. School Achievement

Child labour generally has an adverse effect on school achievement (Heady, 2000; Hamenoo et al., 2018). Engin-Demir (2009) avers that children's social, economic, and cultural surroundings significantly impact their school performances in conjunction with the parents' socioeconomic status. Besides, Guarcello and Rosati (2008) state that being able to make it through school and getting educational assets are deteriorated by child labour.

According to the study of Guarcello et al. (2005), many children who work and study in Turkey perform worse than their nonworking counterparts. It is stated that school achievement is influenced by working since it is too long or when it is more than fifteen hours a week for middle school students, and it has an adverse effect on their grades and homework as well as on their mathematics, science, and reading competency (Anumaka, 2012; Heady, 2003; Orazem & Gunnarsson, 2004; Singh, 1998; Stern, 1997). Moreover, the younger working students are, the worse their school performance is (Orazem & Gunnarsson, 2004).

2.6. Effect of Covid-19 on Working Children

Due to the pandemic of Covid-19, schools were closed many times, and the teachers have executed distance education practices. According to the statistics published by the Ministry of National Education (MoNE), there are more than 18 million students in Turkey (Ministry of National Education, 2020). However, the recent statistics by the Ministry of National Education (2021) show that 12.667.855 students used EBA, the network for distance education. It means that around 30% of the students cannot actively use the system. Although the participation rate is low and many students do not have stable access to the system, schools are quickly closed due to the Covid-19 precautions, and many children are devoid of their right to education. Providing this right to the students is the responsibility of a social state.

The report about the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on child labour by ILO and UNICEF (2020) argues that some results are already observable as economic recession due to restricted production, which brings about unemployment and loss of family income. Unfortunately, an increase in these factors can be compensated by child labour enforcing the children work in severe conditions. It is

also stated that temporary closure of the schools can be an accelerator for families to find more ways to increase family income by sending their children to work (ILO & UNICEF, 2020). The report also states that more than half of the world's population does not have insurance, making them vulnerable to incoming crises (ILO & UNICEF, 2020). Therefore, the crisis gaining speed with the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic and lockdowns is estimated to increase poverty in the world. ILO and UNICEF (2020) estimate that the number of people surviving in extreme poverty may reach 60 million from 40 million. The data reveals that school closure significantly impacts education, affecting billions of students. ILO & UNICEF (2020) state that nearly half of the world does not have internet access, leaving behind many students.

Since the day when the first case was seen in Turkey, schools have been closed due to the coronavirus pandemic. Some countries have suspended education while the schools in some remain open. As stated by Cesuroglu and Kolemen (2021), UNICEF and WHO recommended that schools, especially primary schools, remain open. Closing schools brings about lots of problems in society. To illustrate, drop-out rates and child labour will increase during the closure (Cesuroglu & Kolemen, 2021). The ones affected by this closure are seen as the poorest ones living in poor conditions; therefore, it is expected that this situation will increase social inequalities, too (Cesuroglu & Kolemen, 2021).

Crunch times trigger inequalities among students; consequently, the coronavirus pandemic has the most destructive effect on the ones who take place at the bottom in society since they are the most vulnerable group to reach the basic needs in terms of social and economic conditions (Daly et al., 2021). Therefore, shutdowns and restrictions to prevent the spread of the virus are stated to have devastating impacts on poor children (Daly et al., 2021). The report of UNICEF claims that the pandemic affects children badly by decreasing family income, resulting in an economic crisis; thus, it induces many children to engage in work life to gain money to meet their families' needs (Işık Erol, 2021). Concerning this, Kaur and Byard (2021) also argue that lockdowns and school closings force more students to work in farmlands.

2.7. Eliminating Child Labour

Some ways are offered to deal with child labour. While schooling of children is accepted as a way to combat child labour, some scholars claim that it cannot diminish child labour but can reduce it through compulsory, accessible, high quality and free education for all (Chatterjee & Ray, 2019; Fallon & Tzannatos, 1998; Hazarika & Bedi,2003; Thevenon & Edmonds, 2019). Increases in adult wages are also seen as a way to struggle against child labour (Akça & Arslan, 2021; Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005). However, some studies state that the only way to eliminate child labour is to exterminate poverty since the incidence of child labour happens in places where crowded people face economic difficulties, joblessness, and deficiencies in terms of basic needs, which causes them to send their children to work (Ahmad, 2012; Weiner, 1996).

2.8. Critical Ethnography as a Research Method

In line with the objectives of the study, qualitative research method is adopted, and critical ethnography is utilized in this research.

2.8.1. Critical Research

Hammersley (2012) claims that the origins of critical paradigms are primarily associated with the work of Hegel and Marx. It is stated that criticality is distinguished from positivism and interpretivism since it focuses on explaining patterns and criticizing them (Hammersley, 2012). The primary reason for critical researchers to do it results from their political positions with some aims to maintain freedom and remove exploitation and oppression (Hammersley, 2012).

2.8.2. Critical Ethnography

Critical ethnography is a critical version of ethnographic research dealing with the culture; it is essential to define what culture is. Culture is everything of a community's learned and taught social behaviour, including norms, beliefs, rituals, activities, and conversation (Thomas, 1992). As Thomas (1992) states, culture is reproduced and established by the material world and transmitted through

generations according to the mode of production, in the words of Marx. Thomas (1992) states that culture is a mix of various social processes such as ideology, rituals, and practical activities; therefore, it is associated with the prevailing political situation. Marx and Engels used cultural anthropology based on a Marxist paradigm to look for new social systems which are non-capitalist (Bloch, 2013).

Some researchers as Hammersley (2006) and Harding (1995), claim that objectivity cannot be maintained as long as it has a political side; however, others such as Benjamin (1998), Carspecken (2013), Tummons and Beach (2020) argue that both intellectual and political acts are required to conduct ethnographic research (Beach, 2022). Critical ethnographers aver that the research must aim to change the conditions of the researched and their political involvement by revealing the hidden structures among people (Denzin, 2018). It is argued that it should go beyond depicting the situation to transforming it (Batsleer, 2016; Habermas, 1986). Therefore, critical ethnography is beneficial for challenging the educational status quo (Beach, 2010; Bright & Smyth, 2016). To use it for people's good, unity of theory and practice by giving voice to the oppressed is necessary (Benjamin, 1998).

It is argued that critical ethnography is based on a phenomenon bearing society consisting of various classes and groups with the power struggle between them and the inequalities and reproduction (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Besides, critical researchers must reveal the hidden ideologies that create conditions for the subjects (Levinson et al., 2014). Therefore, the data gathered through critical ethnographic research must expose the participants' social conditions and the reasons for creating those conditions through their own stories (McLaren & Giarelli, 1995). As one of the aims of critical research, people must gain a critical awareness to recognize that they have the opportunities and conditions to change the status quo (Dziemianowicz-Bąk, 2017; Freire, 1970, 1972). Therefore, Cole (2011) claims that conscientization and counter-hegemonic practices are obligatory in education to realize capitalism's oppressive and exploitative aspects. As a critical methodology, the study must bring about an awareness among the participants for their empowerment. Freire (1972) argues that the process of empowerment is possible through critical pedagogy reflecting real-life problems for students to find solutions.

2.8.3. Critical Researcher

The role of the critical researcher based on the aims of critical research is vital for the research. Madison (2019) claims that since critical ethnographers investigate interactions between people in a social setting, they are partly interested in understanding how these settings and interactions are created. Critical ethnographers are primarily interested in contributing to the group studied by changing the conditions instead of only depicting the group itself (Madison, 2019). For example, Grollios (2017) claims that Marxists must support free, compulsory, and public education for all for a better society, and the curriculum of it must be designed around critical life matters in a collaborative setting. However, in most countries, European hegemonic forces use education to suppress critical views (Grollios, 2017). Therefore, an intended change in society is only possible through the commitment that only the organised working class with developed class consciousness can change the course of history in a capitalist regime (Hill, 2017).

The role of the critical researcher or organic socialist intellectual, in the words of Hill (2017), is vital since the researcher must have a good sense and active role in an organization. Teachers also belong to the working class since they must sell their labour power. Therefore, Green et al. (2007) claim that educational research, researchers, and teachers must deal with the studies to overthrow the bourgeoisie and alter educational currents instead of looking for solutions in the capitalist system (Hill, 2017).

2.9. Summary of Literature Review

Existing body of literature on child labour, the underlying reasons behind this phenomenon are usually resulted from poverty and socio-cultural and family-related issues. Students working on the farm mostly come from low-income families with low educational backgrounds and work in severe conditions that may adversely affect their development. Therefore, school attendance and school achievement are deteriorated by the children's engagement in labour on the farm. The situation in Turkey is not much different from other studies throughout the world. With the impact of Covid-19, the severity of child labour is expected to expand in the near future; therefore, urgent precautions are also required in Turkey.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methodology of the study. The study aims to explore the school experiences of the students working on the farm as well as the role of the school in working children's life. Critical ethnography, as a qualitative method, is used in the study to have a rich and in-depth analysis. Ethnographic research is a deep analysis including the experiences of a group of people (Fraenkel et al., 2019). On the other hand, critical ethnography examines this analysis based on a critical aspect (Masemann, 1982). Masemann (1982) avers that the origin of the critical approaches, which grounds the method itself, comes from the conflicts and interests of the classes. Therefore, unlike ethnographers, critical ethnography researchers focus on the action more than the description (Cohen et al., 2017). Carspecken (2013) argues that social inequalities are a significant worry for critical researchers. Therefore, it is stated that critical researchers focus their efforts on bringing meaningful social change. Anderson (1989) defines the critical ethnographer's role as the revealer of dominant power relations within society.

Based on the methodology, the following questions guided this study's data collection and analysis.

1. What are the school experiences of the students working on the farm?
2. What is the role of school in students' lives from the perspectives of students, parents, and teachers?

Describing the school concept of children brings acknowledgement about the effects of the policies in education. Therefore, even a description of the situation can force policymakers and implementers to act against child labour. However, since the

action is essential, the description goes toward acknowledging, scrutinising, and acting (Cohen et al., 2017). Since I have been working as an English language teacher in a district of Şanlıurfa called Birecik, this study was conducted in one of the middle schools in the district. The study was carried out with 12 students working in agriculture, six parents, and five teachers. Semi-structured interviews were used to gather the data to help participants feel comfortable (Fraenkel et al., 2019). After clarifying the questions, instruments and methodology, the interviews were piloted for the data collection process (Cohen et al., 2017). Content analysis was used to analyse the data.

3.1. Design

The theoretical framework for this study was based upon a critical perspective. To better understand what ethnography, critical, and critical ethnography are, it is essential to look at the definitions and roots of critical ethnography.

3.1.1. Ethnography

Marshall and Rossman (2014) state that ethnography combines two words – ethnos as culture and graph as drawn etymologically, thus making it the study of culture. Although a native of a method in social anthropology which investigates tribal cultures, ethnography depicts groups of people with common characteristics and their culture (Ary et al., 2018; Denscombe, 2017). Madison (2019) states that ethnography is frequently defined as engaging and interpreting a social world and has almost the same meaning as qualitative research for some. Ethnography is also an in-depth analysis of a social group's habitual actions that the researcher observes and interprets (Ary et al., 2018). Therefore, ethnography aims to deduce the culture of a group of people through their perspectives of them. Denscombe (2017) argues that ethnographical studies require the testimony of the researcher in the area, thus making the study in-depth. The aim of ethnography is an elaborate depiction of the authentic lives of people as well as a trial-error process of the theories.

3.1.2. What is Critical?

Critical is described as both political acts to make some changes and ideology providing common assumptions (Thomas, 1992). Political notions of knowledge and research are the primary source of critical paradigm since it goes beyond interpretation by taking it to the emancipation level (Lukenchuk, 2013). Moreover, Hammersley (2012) claims that critical researchers and some positivists argue that situations unconsciously affect and even determine the attitudes and behaviours of people. Choosing to be critical is stated to have some reasons that include self-satisfaction, intellectual responsibility, being the potentially emancipatory and ethical commitment of the researcher (Thomas, 1992):

> First, the recreation of social concepts to overcome societal obstacles is fulfilling for some. Precious allegories surrounding people are scrutinised, providing joy for the researchers. Second, Lynd (1939) claims that revealing or describing should not be enough for the aims of science (Cited in Thomas 1992, p. 69). It is stated that critical ethnography is responsible research since it deals with the lives of people by recreating the conflicts in society. Third, it is asserted that being critical has the potential to emancipate people from the dominant cultural setting since it brings about scrutinising the supreme one. Lastly, aiming for good instead of not good is ethically better; therefore, critical researchers are committed to contributing such goodness. Thus, it aims to reach – or try to reach a condition better than the current one. (p.69-71)

3.1.3. Critical Ethnography

Critical ethnography is mostly stated as a critical version of ethnographic research:

> Critical ethnography is seen as a combination of culture, knowledge, and action; thus, the advocate researchers conduct depiction, analysis and disclosure of power relations. Although critical ethnography is seen as the intervening version of conventional ethnography, ascertainment of concealed relations among social groups is intended in this critical research. The distinction between conventional and critical ethnography is stated that the former focus on the description of human activity while the latter focuses on adjustment, change, and removal because the critical one is based on a political purpose. (Thomas, 1992, p. 13-26)

It is argued that critical ethnography is based on a phenomenon bearing society consisting of various classes and groups with a power struggle to maintain order (Marshall & Rossman, 2014). Inequalities and reproduction resulting from

policy preferences and power relations among various strata are subjects of critical ethnography (Marshall & Rossman, 2014).

Kinchloe and McLaren (1994, p. 139-140, as cited in Carspecken, 2013, p. 4) assert that critical researchers are the ones who aim to turn upside-down oppression resulting from the constructed relations between various groups in terms of class, race and gender, holding power in their hands and the others. Moreover, Carspecken (2013) states that oppression is not only testified by the critical researchers but also by them. The critical researchers clarify the oppression process effort, which aims to change the given conditions (Carspecken, 2013).

Critical theory, embodied in social theory, is utilised to depict hidden forces, make precise assessments, focus on critical aspects within the society, reveal power relations, provide sagacity about justice and examine instinctively (Madison, 2019). Instead of speaking for the informants, critical ethnographers aim to be their voice of them (Thomas, 1992). Unlike conventional ethnographers, critical ones have a political base to cause a change in the informants' life. Critical ethnographers start with the assumption that cultural activity is constantly teetering between control and resistance (Thomas, 1992). The researcher's role in the study is an *observer as a participant* (Ary et al., 2018)*;* since the students know me as their teacher, I was not a participant observer in this study. However, as a teacher working in the school where the study was conducted, I always have a chance to observe the students working on farms in my classes and the school setting. This situation also allows me to talk with the students during the breaks and after school.

3.2. Procedures

Critical ethnography as a research methodology was used in this study. Carspecken's (2013) five-stage approach to "doing" critical ethnography was employed in designing, collecting and analysing the data. In this part of the methodology, chapters stages and the rationale behind them are explained briefly.

Before describing the stages, there are some pre-stages to be clarified. After deciding on the social site which would be studied, a list of broad research questions was created. In this study, the site was farmlands, and the group was child labourers working on farms and attending school simultaneously. These preliminary questions

consist of the following: What are the conditions of farm workers? What are the conditions of children working on farmlands? What are the reasons for children working in agriculture? Why do students work instead of only attending school or combine work and school? What are the reasons for parents sending their children to work?

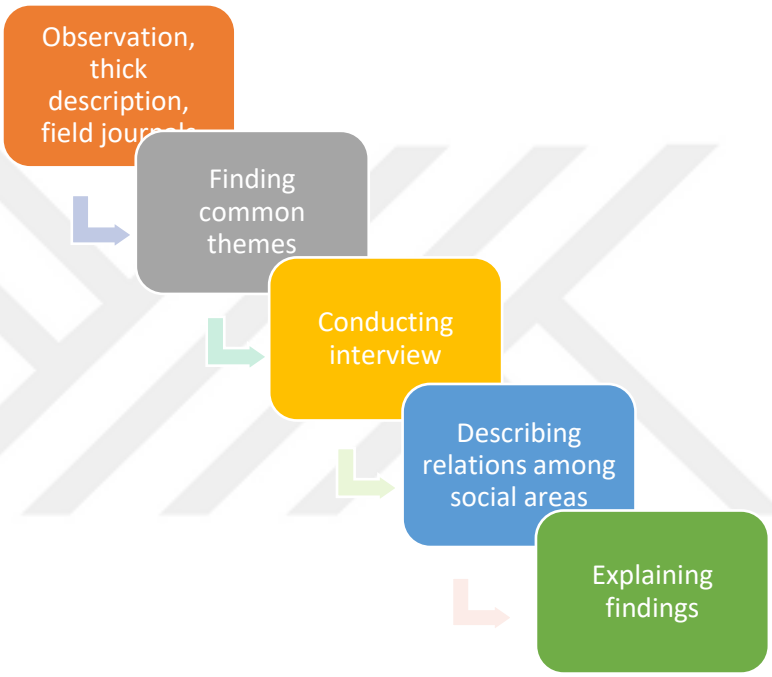
In the next step, a study plan was made, including the data to be collected, such as laws, documents and news, the study's method and the participants. After that, as a researcher, I came out and declared my biases to be more explicit in depicting my stance in the study. For the study, I, as a researcher, take an apostle stance for the group studied since they are a group of children oppressed due to power relations between the social classes. It is hoped that the study will be an opportunity for the working children to be heard by understanding their situations, conditions, and thoughts on school (Ary et al., 2018).

3.2.1. Five stages

Critical ethnography consists of 5 stages. They are recommended to be used in a qualitative study. Since these stages apply to this study, they are all used with slight changes, as Carspecken (2013) recommended. The five stages suggested by Carspecken and Apple (1992) were summarised in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Five Stages for Critical Qualitative Research



Note. This model was adopted From Carspecken (2013, pp. 40-43)

3.2.1.1. Stage One

Subsequently, the first stage began with the observation by jotting down some notes and describing the situation to the readers. Thick descriptions and field journals were taken in the process. Thick descriptions consist of speech acts, gestures, and normative sentences, while the field journals are general notes to write down. The rationale behind the passive observation is asserted to reduce the unintended effects of the researcher's participation in the study since it is unobtrusive (Carspecken, 2013). It is averred that starting with passive observation has some benefits as it

precedes the reconstruction stage, the focus of which is the studied groups' cultural norms, values, and beliefs. Therefore, Carspecken (2013) argues that the Hawthorn effect must be controlled by being nonobtrusive to the group since the presence of the researcher may affect the actions and conditions of the group, which can change the results of a qualitative study and damage its validity.

3.2.1.2. Stage Two

In the second stage, the record gathered in the first stage was reviewed to find some common themes and elements that had not been evident before; therefore, Carspecken (2013) claims this stage is reconstructive. In this stage, meanings were attempted to be inferred through reading the data collected in the first stage. Carspecken (2013) suggests that meaning fields, from the unspoken to the conversation based, must be expressed. Also, it is stated that the researchers' being more aware of the culture of the studied group increases the validity of the study; therefore, the focus was on their culture while doing the literature research as well as member checks and peer debriefing to enhance the trustworthiness of the research (Carspecken, 2013). Actions are voiced by translating gestures, vocal tone, and body postures (Carspecken, 2013). The rationale behind the meaning reconstruction stage is to acknowledge hidden meanings in the settings, to balance the study by removing the biases thanks to a peer debriefer as an outsider, to include the selected writings in the study's final form, and to prepare the study for validation and horizon analysis.

3.2.1.3. Stage Three

In stage three, the dialogical data collection was conducted through semi-structured interviews. Therefore, the study became more democratic since a collective process occurs between the informant and the researcher (Carspecken, 2013).

3.2.1.4. Stage Four

In stage four, close examination of the associations between the group studied and other related social sites was conducted. Relationships between school experiences, family background, and farm based on the empirical data gathered in

the previous stages are exhibited in this stage. Central themes are explored through the analysis of the dialogical data.

3.2.1.5 Stage Five

In stage five, whether the data gathered correspond to macro-social theories was discovered (Carspecken, 2013). Since macro theories are a must to comprehend the culture reconstructed, Marxism–dialectical materialism was used to conduct the correspondence process.

To begin with the discussion, declaring my position as a researcher on how the history of society emerges is a must. Marx (2013) declares that the history of different societies stands for different class struggles as the oppressor and the oppressed. Mode of production, which is a combination of means of production – labour, raw materials and so on and relations of production – how people engage in the production process is the way to explain how the system works (Coser, 2003). In the capitalist mode of production, the characteristics of the classes become more distinguished, and two opposite classes – bourgeoisie and proletariat, continuously conflicting with each other, exist (Marx, 2013). The prerequisites of the class struggles are derived from the conflicts resulting from Marx's economic base or infrastructure (Hekimoglu, 1989). While base determines the superstructure, the superstructure attempts to hide societal conflicts by stating it is the natural order. However, Engels (1894, as cited in Hekimoglu, 1989, para. 20-25) argues that the base is not the sole actor determining the other; instead, he asserts that there is a mutual relationship between the base and superstructure as they affect and cause each other to change. Engels also claims that he and Marx had never stated that the sole actor is the economic base; instead, there is a mutual interaction between base and structure, thus affecting each other (Marx, Engels & Lenin, 2015). To avoid a lack of information about the terms, Carspecken (2013) summarises this relationship as the determination of cultural, social, political, and legal areas by economic foundations.

As it is stated before, the capitalist system has two main classes: the ones who have wage workers and who have wages (Carspecken, 2013). The former makes a living on payoff thanks to the other's labour. He defines Marxism's most

straightforward notion as the cooperation of people by completing the requirements to produce something and being joyful to use it since it is helpful for them. However, it is stated that the capitalist system conceals this cooperative form; therefore, the inequalities cannot be removed easily or are not even intended (Carspecken, 2013). Moreover, the laws, categorised into the superstructure above, attempt to cover these inequalities resulting from the base of the capitalist mode of production. To exemplify, Michael Apple (1994) claims that money and private property conceal human rights since it does not allow human cooperation. The ones who seize money and property most are declared as the ones whose contribution to the production process is least; therefore, Carspecken (2013) claims that this process is ultimately exploitative because the others who actively contribute to the process mostly do not have the money and property. It is argued that capitalism's exploitative "nature" is reproduced, enhanced and covered by the superstructure (Carspecken, 2013). Otherwise, the system's destruction is inevitable, as Marx argues (Althusser, 2014).

Moreover, Althusser (2014) avers that reproduction is obligatory for the production itself. Not only reproduction of the means but also reproduction of labour-power; thus, workers are paid, and they try to get by. However, it is insufficient since it requires the labourer to be skilled. Schooling succours the system to equip the labourers with the intended skills such as register, morals, culture, and ability to perform intended tasks. By doing so, people are not only furnished with various qualifications but also taught the importance of obeying the dominant ideology (Althusser, 2014). This teaching process is sometimes not explicit, thus making it implicit – hidden. Bowles and Gintis (2011) assert that students from the working-class get values and necessary skills through the hidden curriculum to carry out their tasks in work life. Willis (2017) also argues that the hidden curriculum equips them indirectly by maintaining authority in school to correspond to the needs of the society and to obey the rules of the dominant class. Besides, Althusser (2014) argues that reproduction is maintained by both Repressive State Apparatus and Ideological State Apparatus hand in hand:

> The role of state apparatuses – either repressive or ideological is for the persistence of reproduction of the exploitative social system. As an ideological state apparatus, schooling or education does its share to maintain the system, not in a forceful way. Althusser (2014) exemplifies this situation historically. According to him French revolution overthrew the feudal system

> and attempted to destroy its relations with society by replacing it with bourgeois institutions. Schools were to remove the effect of the church on society, thus making the school an essential ideological state apparatus. It is the dominant ideological state apparatus since it affects all in their most sensitive ages to be shaped by teaching necessary linguistic, socio-cultural, and science skills, citizenship, and moral values. (p. 232-252)

In addition, the ideological state apparatus conceals the exploitative relationships of production and reproduction of dominant ideology; thus, children are taught not to criticise the system's "natural process", which claims that failure of any kind is associated with a person's lack of ability or effort (Althusser, 2014; Carspecken, 2013). Most people are unaware of these relations and what is going on behind the curtain, and the schools have always been represented as natural, unbiased and nonideological places (Althusser, 2014). Moreover, Carspecken (2013) claims that the schools of a capitalist society cause inequality by placing lower classes at lower wages and higher classes at higher. Therefore, a student from a working-class family has almost no opportunity to have a good profession or an excellent wage to get by.

3.3. Trustworthiness

The dependability of inferences generated from qualitative data is commonly defined as trustworthiness (Eisenhart & Howe, 1992). Carspecken (2013) states that trustworthiness, instead of statement truth, is the firmness of cases in traditional philosophy. Trustworthiness is about correctly gathered and conducted data and are included in a research report (Carspecken, 2013). In terms of trustworthiness, flexible schedules for observation, low-inference vocabulary, prolonged engagement to reduce Hawthorne effect and peer-debriefing, consistency checks, non-leading questions, letting them describe their experiences in their own words, matching among researchers' data analysis and participants' comments are utilised (Carspecken, 2013).

Since I was a teacher at the same school as the participants, I had to observe the students eliminate biases at various times. More objective vocabulary items were used to remove subjective judgements. To overcome Hawthorn effects, I selected a broad sample of all 7th-grade students working on the farm. In fact, for two months, I have observed the students and talked with their teachers about them. The only time

they were aware of being researched was during the interview and after getting approval from their parents. In all stages, I have checked biases with my advisor by sharing my notes and words I chose while writing. Consistency checks were conducted to check whether there was a match among each participant's sayings; I asked them to explain some unfamiliar words and sentences thanks to member checks. Lead-off questions were used not to lead them to a point, such as "Can you describe an ordinary day for you?". Consistency between the gathered data and the literature was checked during the analysis. Moreover, the participants' experiences were compared in various settings such as school and farm.

3.4. Participants of the Study

Various elements such as funding and time may inconvenience conducting a study with all parts of a group of the intended research; therefore, sampling is a crucial procedure for research (Ary et al., 2018). Even though this study aims to understand the experiences and opinions on the school of child labourers working in agriculture, it is not possible or pragmatic to reach them all. Therefore, nonprobability sampling is selected from an accessible population of all seventh-grade students working on farms from the school where the study was conducted. Seventh-grade students are thought to be easier to reach because they are both more mature than lower-grade students and are not in their exam preparation year. The purposive sampling method is used in the study to choose a representative group. That is, the participants were selected among the students working on farms. In addition, snowball sampling, which is a variation of purposive sampling, is also used to reveal common characteristics and make the study more participatory.

As a broadly used technique in various areas of social sciences, snowball sampling is a repetitious process in which the researcher attempts to reach the informants of a study by getting names referred by the other informants (Noy, 2008). In this sampling type, the participant is wanted to suggest another person that can be useful for the study. Then, the new one gives another name, a possible candidate informant. Since the group studied is one of the groups that cannot be reached easily, snowball sampling has been used.

To meet the purpose of critical ethnography, this study explores the experience of students working on the farm and the school's role in the students' lives. The research was conducted in the same school with students, parents and teachers. The school is a middle school located in Birecik, Şanlıurfa. The student participants of the study were the 7th-grade students of the 2021-2022 school year. Among them, 14 students were asked to join the study, 13 agreed, and one was a pilot study. However, one of them wanted to end the interview since she felt uncomfortable with her responses about her family's situation despite getting permission from her parents to participate. Therefore, 12 students were chosen for the study, including four girls. Since it is a voluntary study, consent and permission forms were given to students (Appendix B). All the student interviews were conducted in the school's conference room at a time decided by each participant themselves. All of the parents were asked to participate in the study; however, only six of them became attendants, and all of them were males. Besides, five voluntary teachers of 7th graders attended the study. The main reasons for selecting the school are that the researcher is an English language teacher at the same school and has witnessed many students engaging in labour.

3.4.1. Student participants

Students' brief life stories are depicted in alphabetical order to better understand their background.

3.4.1.1. Ali

Ali is a 13-year-old boy who is a 7th grader. He has lived in the district since he was born, and his family has a house in a village where they sometimes stay. He has six siblings, and five of them are females. His brother does his military service. His eldest sister works for an institution and teaches literacy. Another one works as a substitute teacher. Another one works in the bakery where his father works. The other one studies for the university entrance exams. Lastly, the youngest one is too little to go to school yet. His father is a primary school graduate baker, while his mother is a night school graduate homemaker. He states that he does not have a private room but a desk to study at home. There are around 200-300 books at his

home. He describes his responsibilities as going to the market or bakery and helping his parents when necessary. He works on the farm weekly, but the frequency changes related to the season.

3.4.1.2. Baran

Baran is a 12-year-old boy who is a 7th grader. He had lived in a village before he lived in the district. He has five siblings, and three of them are females. One of his brothers is too young; the other and one of his sisters are nursery students, while the other sisters are 6th and 8th-grade students. His father is a primary school graduate house painter, while his mother has not completed her primary school education and is a homemaker. He does not have a private room or desk to study at home. There are around 30-40 books at home. He describes his responsibilities at home as running errands. His home is 5 minutes from school, so he walks there every morning. He typically works on the farm at the weekend, but every day in summer.

3.4.1.3. Cemal

Cemal is a 12-year-old boy who is a 7th grader. He has two sisters; one is a 5th grader, and the other will be a preschool student the following year. He lives in the district. His father is an accountant working for the same company for ten years, while his mother is a high school graduate tailor. However, Cemal describes his mother's job as a hobby. He has a private room and a desk to study at home. There are around 150 books at his home. He describes his responsibilities at home as helping his parents and setting the table, while his responsibilities are studying, reading, and tidying up his room. He usually works on the farm in summer and sometimes at the weekend in other seasons.

3.4.1.4. Diyar

Diyar is a 12-year-old boy who is a 7th grader. He has lived in the village for three years but has been living in the district for nine years. He has two sisters and a brother. One is three years old, and the others are 1st and 4th graders. His father is a middle school graduate bus driver, while his mother is a secondary school graduate homemaker. He does not have a private room or a desk, but he wants to have a

private room since he uses his room with his younger brother. Diyar also wants a private site at home, like a desk. There are 3-4 books at home. He describes his responsibilities as helping his mother, buying bread, running errands outside, and looking after his siblings when his mother was not home. He walks to the school since his home is near it. He works on the farm at the weekend in winter and almost every day in summer.

3.4.1.5. Enes

Enes is a 13-year-old boy who is a 7th-grade student. He lives in the district. He has two brothers and a sister. His sister is a 6th grader, his brother is a 4th grader, and his youngest brother is almost two years old. He is the oldest one. His father is a high school graduate shoe seller, while his mother is a middle school graduate homemaker. He does not have his private room but a desk to study. There are around 150 books at home. He describes his responsibilities at home as setting and clearing the table and buying bread. He only works on the farm in the summer.

3.4.1.6. Fırat

Fırat is a 13-year-old boy who is a 7th-grade student. He lives in the village and district. He has three siblings, and two of them are girls. One is a 5th grader, a 2nd grader, and the other is two years old. His father is a high school graduate farmer, while his mother is a primary school graduate homemaker. He does not have his room, but he has a desk to study at home. There are 50-100 books at his home. He describes his responsibilities as only helping his mom. He generally works in summer, but in other seasons at the weekend and on school days when he is needed in someone's stead.

3.4.1.7. Gamzenur

Gamzenur is a 13-year-old girl who is a 7th grader. She lives in the district. She has two brothers who are 3rd and 1st graders. Her parents are middle school graduates and do not have a job. She has her room and desk to study. There are around 150 books at her home. She describes her responsibilities as helping her

mother clean the house and do her homework. She only works on the farm in the summer.

3.4.1.8. Helin

Helin is a 13-year-old girl who is a 7th grader. She lives in the district. She has two brothers; one of her brothers is a 5th grader, while the other is a nursery student in the school where her mother works. Her mother is a primary school graduate janitor at a school, while her father is a middle school graduate peddler selling vegetables and fruits. She does not have her room and desk to study at home. There are around 20 books at her home. She describes her responsibilities as looking after her siblings, helping her mother, running errands outside, helping her siblings with homework and helping her father since he has some problems. She primarily works on the farm in the summer; however, she could not start school on time last year because of working on the farm.

3.4.1.9. Irmak

Irmak is a 14-year-old girl who is a 7th grader. She begins at school later than usual since she cries a lot in the first grade. She lives in the district. She has two sisters and two brothers, and she is the eldest one. Her siblings are a 6th grader, 1st grader, four years old and 6-month-old. Her father is a middle school graduate seller who owns a shop in the wholesale market hall, while her mother is a middle school graduate homemaker. She does not have a private room or a desk to study at home. There are around 20 books at home. She works on the farm in both winter and summer.

3.4.1.10. Kerim

Kerim is a 12-year-old boy who is a 7th grader. He stays in the village only when it is harvesting time; otherwise, he lives in the district. He has three brothers. His eldest brother is a university-level student, the younger one is a four grader, and the other is three years old. His father is a primary school graduate manager at a gas station, while his mother is a primary school graduate homemaker. He has his private room and desk at home. There are around 50 books at their home. He describes his

responsibilities as studying, making the bed, and helping her mother set the table. He only works on the farm in summer, especially in August.

3.4.1.11. Leyla

She is a 13-year-old girl who is a 7th grader. She lives in the district. She has an elder sister and brother. One is an engineer waiting to be appointed, and the other is about to finish her nursing education. Her father is a middle school graduate greengrocer, while her mother is a high school graduate needlecraft instructor. She does not have a private room but a desk to study at home. There are around 60 books at their home. She describes her responsibilities as shopping for food. She works on the farm at the weekend, sometimes throughout the year and most days of the week in summer.

3.4.1.12. Mahmut

Mahmut is a 15-year-old boy who is a 7th grader. He is older than his peers since he is registered to school later than them. He states that the reason behind it is some personal problems in the family. He lived in the city 6-7 years ago, then moved to the district. He has three brothers. His elder brother is 1 or 2 years older than him but is also in the 7th grade. His younger brother is a 5th grader, and the youngest is a 1st grader. He is not sure, but his father is a primary school graduate tea vendor at a tea shop, while his mother is a primary school graduate and works as a supporter for the disabled to accompany them during school time. He shares his bedroom with his all-family members and has a computer desk at home. There are almost ten books at his home. He describes his responsibilities as making his bed but reflects that he does not like doing it. He only puts his shoes on the shoe cabinet and buys bread. He worked on the farm last summer and may work again this year.

In Table 1, the participants' demographic characteristics are shown in age, number of siblings, parents' education and jobs. Pseudonyms are given to the participants alphabetically in chronological order.

Table 1

Student participants

Name	Age	Siblings	Mother	Father
Ali	13	6	Homemaker – evening high school	Baker – primary school
Baran	12	5	Homemaker-none	House painter – primary school
Cemal	12	3	Homemaker – high school	Accountant – associate degree
Diyar	12	3	Homemaker – middle school	Bus driver – middle school
Enes	13	3	Homemaker – middle school	Shoe seller – high school
Fırat	13	3	Homemaker – primary school	Farmer – high school
Gamzenur	13	2	Homemaker – middle school	None – middle school
Helin	13	2	Janitor – primary school	Peddler – middle school
Irmak	14	4	Homemaker – middle school	Wholesaler – middle school
Kerim	12	3	Homemaker – primary school	Manager – primary school
Leyla	13	2	Needlecraft Instructor – high school	Greengrocer – middle school
Mahmut	15	3	School bus attendant – primary school	Tea vendor – primary school

3.4.2. Parent participants

All of the parents of the participant students were asked to join the study; however, only six accepted to participate. Furthermore, there is no female participant

among the parents, which may be resulted from cultural gender roles. Since patriarchy is dominant in the area, women become of secondary importance, and they are mostly engaged in domestic labour which make them invisible among the society. All the interviews with the parents took place where they worked, such as shoe shop, office, street, greengrocer, tea shop, and bakery. In Table 2, the parent participants' short descriptions are shown. Parents were given names as Parent A, B, and C chronologically.

Table 2
Parent participants

Name	Jobs	Description
Parent A	Shoe seller, builder, and receiver seller	He has been selling shoes for ten years. Nevertheless, he worked as a builder and receiver seller before.
Parent B	Baker and greengrocer	He has been working as a greengrocer for eight years. Yet, he worked as a baker for 30 years.
Parent C	Tea seller, house painter, diemaker, farmer, greengrocer, and peddler	He has been working as a peddler selling vegetables.
Parent D	Farmer and bus driver	He has been working as a farmer growing pistachios.
Parent E	Manager at a bakery, farmer, waiter	He worked as a waiter for 23 years. He has been working as a manager at a bakery for 19 years.
Parent F	Accountant and salesperson	He worked as a salesperson for five years. He has worked as an accountant for ten years at the same company.

3.4.3. Teacher participants

For teacher participants five teachers were selected who were teaching 7th graders at that time. Four of them were male, while one of them was female. The teacher interviews were conducted in an available classroom accessible all the time.

In table 3, teachers' brief descriptions are shown. Teachers were given names as Teacher A and Teacher B chronologically.

Table 3
Teacher participants

Name	Speciality
Teacher A	Turkish teacher and vice-principal for nine years
Teacher B	Math teacher for five years
Teacher C	Math teacher for 13 years
Teacher D	Technology and design teacher for two years
Teacher E	Turkish teacher and vice-principal for eight years

The data were collected through observation, interviews, field journals and thick descriptions in May 2022, Birecik/Sanliurfa. Since all participants' experiences are unique and the critical ethnography aims to give a voice to an oppressed group, which is students working on the farm for this study, detailed information from their own eyes is the core of the study; therefore, each life story of the participants is essential for this study.

3.5. Study Context

To meet the purpose of the study, the social context of the students working on the farm must be depicted. Beginning from the numbers related to the educational situation in the area, the district and the school where the study was conducted are described in this section. The number of schools in Turkey is announced as 67,124, while the number of students is 18,085,943 (Ministry of National Education (MoNE), 2022). Among these schools and students, Sanliurfa has 2470 schools and 707,018 students. According to the statistics by MoNE (2022), the average number of students in a school should be less than 300 and the number of students should be around 30 with 22166 classrooms; however, the fact is not as it is expected. Due to many unsatisfying schools, the number of students is sometimes more than 40 or even 50 per classroom.

The statistics released by Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (TÜİK, 2020) state that the number of working children is more than 720,000 while the number of students

working is around 470,000 and 140,000 of them are females. Among working children, more than 221,000 are working in agriculture. With 455,000 children working with regular pay take place on the top, then unpaid family workers with 261,000, self-employed with 4,000 as the last. The student participants of this study consist of students aged 12-14; therefore, the focus is on this age group. There are around 114,000 working children aged between 12 and 14 and 105,000 working students aged between 5 and 14. In Turkey, there are around 146,000 working children in this age group, 94,000 working in agriculture, and 110,000 working for their families without getting paid. Moreover, the majority of the working children are working in order to contribute to family income. The reasons for the students who work are to help their family's financial activity, learn a profession, contribute to family income, and meet/her own needs (TÜİK, 2020). Benek and Baydemir (2021) argue that the area where child labour in agriculture is top is Şanlıurfa:

> The data gathered from the Provincial Directorate of National Education in 2019 shows that the number of children who work as seasonal farm worker is more than 15.000 while the Monitoring Group for Seasonal Agricultural Workers argue that the number is more than 22.000. The reasons why the students working in agriculture are not sent to school or are stated as for girls, being a substitute of the mother in terms of households, marrying and being a mother in early age while for all, undereducated parents, crowded families. Furthermore, the problems these students face are low literacy rates, not having a private room to study, crowded classes, lack of self-confidence due to the attitudes occurring in the family and the school environments, and psychological and physical disorders. (p. 52-55)

This study was conducted in a southeast district of Turkey where most of its population works in the agriculture and service sector. As the seventh most crowded city in Turkey, almost 45% of the dwellers of Sanliurfa settle in rural areas (*Genel Bilgiler*, n.d.). Since it is founded by the Euphrates (Fırat) River, agricultural areas consist mainly of fertile soil (*Birecik*, 2017). Its population is around one hundred thousand, and it has an ethnical variety such as Turkish, Kurdish, and Arab. Because it is near Syria, the refugee population is also considerably large. The young population is too high, and according to schooling rates, the city where the town in the study takes place has the lowest rates (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2022). The middle school chosen for the study is located in the centre of Birecik. The school is one of the oldest, and many families prefer it; in fact, they change their address to meet their

needs. Therefore, the social dynamic of it is complicated, and there are more than 750 students from various socioeconomic statuses. There are more than 40 teachers at the school, most of whom are experienced teachers compared to other schools. The students at the school combine school and work even at younger ages. Most of them work in the agriculture or service sector as waiters, bakers, barbers, and so on.

3.6. Data Collection

Various data collection methods are used in the study for the purpose of the study. Integration of various data collection tools and sources is intended to prepare a trustworthy study and to have an extensive study in terms of variety. To enhance the validity of the study, triangulation which uses various data sources, observers and methods, can be used; thus, the researcher checks for the consistency between them by using different data collection instruments such as observation, field journals and thick description, and interviews were used to consolidate the study (Ary et al., 2018).

3.6.1. Observation

Observation as a data collection method is used for a month to collect data on the school atmosphere, attitudes, and encounters to comprehend them in the natural habitats of informants-child labourers working in agriculture (Ary et al., 2018).

3.6.2. Field Journals and Thick Descriptions

As stated in stage one, field journals were taken during the observation as general notes taken whenever something is learned by an informant or by seeing or hearing. On the other hand, thick descriptions have some principles stated by Carspecken (2013), such as jotting down speech acts and body movements and using nominative inferences as much as possible. Each of these journals is kept separately and saved electronically.

3.6.3. Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in May, 2022 to collect data from the students, teachers and parents. The interview schedule was prepared by the

researcher based on the literature and opinions of two academicians. During the interviews, open-ended questions like “What kind of a place is school?” and “Can you describe an ordinary day of you?” were asked to the informants, and their responses were transcribed and typed into a word document to be. The researcher wanted the informants to decide on the time and the location of the interviews. All the interviews were recorded with the participants' permission and compiled through audio recording device put on the desk where the interview conducted.

3.6.4. Data Analysis

Creswell (2007) depicts the data analysis process as a spiral. After data has been gathered, organising and managing the data through reading are conducted. After that, the data's depiction, classification, and interpretation are demanded (Creswell, 2007). Lastly, the researcher conducts the visualisation and representation of the data. Ary et al. (2018) divert them into three stages organising and familiarising, coding and reducing, and interpreting and representing, based on the definitions of Creswell (2007), Marshall and Rosman (2014), Maxwell (2005), and Wolcott (1994):

> In earlier steps of a qualitative, familiarisation and organisation are essential to reacquire the data. All the materials used to retrieve the data are put together and organised by reading, listening, or watching. It is also suggested to transcribe the data directly without making corrections to inhibit false notions in the intention of the informants. After doing it, reading and re-reading of data as well as notes are strongly recommended. After the familiarisation process, the organisation of the data is suggested. The second step consists of *coding* – concept creation by creating themes and *reducing* – decreasing the number of the codes to organise them more efficiently. The third step is *interpreting*, providing new perceptions, eliminating delusions and *representing* and presenting the study to other people. (p. 481-482)

For the purposes of this study, the data analysis process was conducted according to three stages organised by Ary et al. (2018). Initially, the interviews conducted with the students working in agriculture were transcribed, and notes taken

during observations depicting the informants' mimics and gestures were included. Afterwards, the data gathered was organised by using MAXQDA 2020. In the software, open coding was used to define the main themes. In the second stage, categories and themes were discovered and organised by eliminating some unnecessary ones by re-reading the transcriptions of the audio recordings. The codes were searched for the second time to find out sub-themes. In the last stage, confirmation of the new data was conducted, and it was presented in the discussion part.

CHAPTER 4

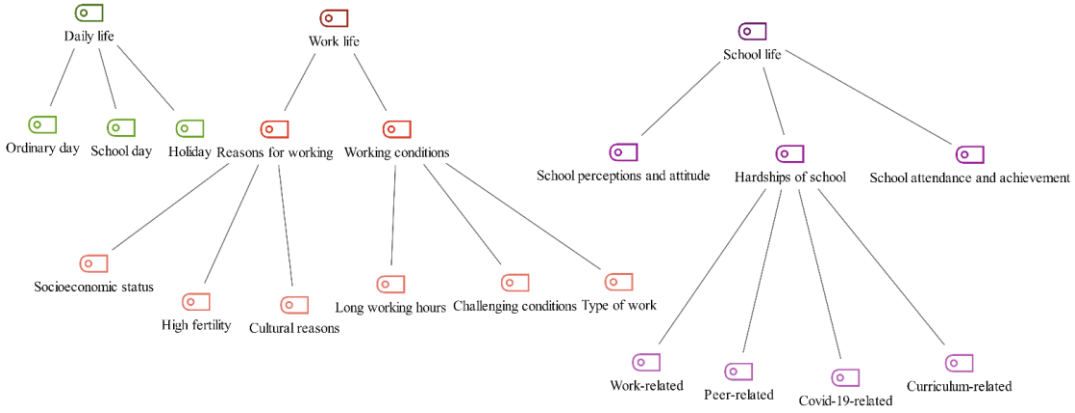
FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the findings of this study initially. The data in the study is driven by observation of students, thick descriptions, field journals, and interviews conducted with students, parents and teachers in May 2022. This chapter also discusses the main themes of the study related to other studies in the literature.

In the generation of dialogical data, the analysis and interpretation of the qualitative data are required to be conducted. Taylor and Gibbs (2010, as cited in Cohen et al., 2017, p. 655) state that qualitative data analysis is a transition from data gathering to recognising, defining, and illustrating. Carspecken (2013) claims that this stage is necessary for democratising the study by giving the interviewees a voice. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to create an illustration of the participants and generate dialogical data by giving voice to them. Research questions are focused on while analysing the data to meet the purpose of the study. In this chapter, the backgrounds and unique experiences of the participants, which make them students both studying and working on the farm, are concentrated. In this study, I, as a researcher, explore the experiences of students working on the farm and the role of school in their lives from the perspectives of students, parents, and teachers.
The main themes are chosen in this section through the data analysed using codes. The findings of students are discussed in three main themes: daily life, work life, and school life. In Figure 2 the main themes and subthemes are shown.

Figure 2

Main themes and subthemes



4.1. Daily Life Experiences

To understand the students' daily life experiences, they are asked to describe their ordinary day, school day, holiday, and workday on the farm. The results of the students' responses, thick descriptions, and observations are presented together below. It is vital to look at what the students working on the farm do on different days to reveal the interactions among the various dimensions of life as daily, work, and school.

4.1.1. Ali

On an ordinary day, he rests while watching TV. Then, he does his homework. During the school day, he plays games with his friends and cousins. He goes to the village or helps his father in the bakery on weekends and holidays. Ali's workday begins around 8 o'clock and finishes at 5 o'clock. He goes 30 kilometres to reach the farm. He states they carry the food there, but water is available there. During his work time on the farm, he fertilizes the land, applies pesticides to the trees, and drives the tractor and ploughing since it is his family's farm. After coming home from the farm, he has a shower and rests while watching TV.

As far as I have observed Ali, and having talked to his teachers about him, he is a successful student and has no problems at school. When he began speaking during the interview, he was a bit shy initially; however, he overcame it quickly. While describing his dreams, he is so excited that he depicts them vividly. After the

interview, he thanked me several times when he saw me in the hallway. Interestingly, he thanked me for listening to and choosing him. He smiled while describing his school day since he felt ashamed for saying he did not have much interest in school. Working on the farm affects his perception and attitude towards school but not his attendance. Regarding his positive answers about school, I assume Ali has a positive attitude towards school, but the reason behind it is that he sees it as a place to play with friends. He performs dangerous tasks on the farm; therefore, his work is beyond the limit of light work.

4.1.2. Baran

On an ordinary day, he picks up roses in the orchard when he is bored too much. In the evening, his mother prepares dinner. He watches a movie, goes to the mosque for prayer, and then comes home. During the school day, he attends classes and plays with his friend during breaktime. At weekends, he goes for a trip with his father or to his grandfather's house, which has a pistachio orchard. He works on others' farms to make money, but his family has a farm too. He primarily works with his grandfather and aunt. He sometimes breeds the goats of his grandfather. He feeds goats while his grandfather is milking them. Starting time to work is not stable since it changes with the type of the pistachio tree, but he states that mostly it is 6 or 7 o'clock. He brings his food with him there. The finishing time is also not stable since it changes accordingly to dexterity and the number of people working that day. He works in all seasons – weekends in most seasons and during the pandemic, but his work is mainly on summer days when working is more intense under the sun. After returning from the farm, he has a shower and then plays with his phone before reading a book. He says that he generally does not have the motivation to study after these working days.

During the interview, Baran always played with some pieces of paper to relax. As it can be understood through his words, his depictions of the farm are more detailed than others. To me, he is not a favourable student, and his teachers indicate that he is not a successful student. He is aware of that, and he does not want to change the situation at all. His dreams are not related to his dream job but primarily to animal hobbies. His attitude towards school is negative in some ways since he

does not want to do his homework and he looks indifferent to school; however, he prefers school to work on the farm since he reflects that school is a better place than the farm:

> *(…) school is better when a man once worked under the sun… (laughing)*
> [(…) okul daha iyi, güneşin içinde adam çalıştı mı ... (gülüyor)] (Baran)

Although Baran performs safe tasks, his working hours exceed the hours restricted by ILO and UNICEF (2021) for light work.

4.1.3. Cemal

On an ordinary day, according to the topic studied at school, he revises the information by practising from easy to difficult to enhance the topic. After he does it, he picks a book about a scientist and reads it. After that, he watches TV, but he does it carefully since his teacher informs him about the dangers of watching too much TV. Then, he plays games and studies again and goes to bed. He arrives at school at 8 o'clock. On a school day, he commutes to school early since his lessons begin at 8.30. He attends supplementary school courses after school. At the weekends, he visits his cousins or plays games and football. Sometimes, he goes to the village to help their grandparents by weeding. For the day of working, he wakes up at 6. His grandmother prepares breakfast and lunch for them, and his grandfather takes them. Then, he has breakfast on a tractor. They weed or pick up the pistachios. Sometimes, they eat some of them there. They work as teams on the farm: Adults pick up the pistachios from the tree while the teens mostly pick them up on the ground. They collect them on a large cloth. He has his lunch at 12. When Cemal returns from the farm, his grandmother prepares dinner for them. After having dinner, he has a rest. Sometimes he prays with his grandparents. The other times, he feels tired; therefore, he watches TV or takes a nap for 2 hours. Then, he drinks a cup of tea with his family, or he has some snacks or a toasted sandwich with his cousins. Cemal only works on his grandfather's farm but has never worked on somebody else’s farm to make money. However, he states that he would work after high school during summers to earn money on someone's farm. Pistachio's harvest time is summer; thus, they pick them in summer. In other seasons, Cemal picks up tomatoes, cucumbers, and olives. His grandfather shares those products with them too.

Usually, I was not teaching him because I am a teacher of 5th graders; however, two weeks before the interview, I began teaching them for after-school courses. His participation was satisfying, and he showed great enthusiasm for the course. He was also really good at it. During the interview, his answers were so clear that I could easily imagine his experiences. He was reluctant to answer when I asked him about his dreams. I think he was scared of having a piece of bad luck by expressing it. He seemed more confident than other participants while giving concrete examples. His attitude towards school is highly positive since he perceives it as a very beneficial place. Since he only works on safe tasks at the weekend, he can be regarded as a child labourer doing light work. However, sometimes his work can also exceed the light work limit.

4.1.4. Diyar

Diyar told me about a day on the farm for an ordinary day. He wakes up at 6 o'clock. His grandfather brings the farm workers from the district, and they all go to the farm to pick the pistachios, then go to another farm to do it. After that, they weed out the pistachios and bag them in a pistachio factory; then, they sell them. Diyar states that he drives the tractor sometimes and goes to apply pesticides to the trees. After coming home, he changes his clothes when he comes to the house in the village after farming. Then, they come to their house in the district as a family. He works between 6 a.m. and 3 p.m. First, he picks the pistachios and bags them. He works on his family's farm, but once, he helps his grandfather's brother as well. He works both in summer and other seasons. On a school day, he arrives at school at 8.15. He attends the lessons and plays with his friends during break times. After school, he goes home with friends and spends time outside. At the weekends, he attends school courses, then he comes home and watches TV for some time and studies for a while on Saturday while he hangs out with his friends on Sunday.

As far as I observed, Diyar is not a mischievous student. I have known him since he was a school football team member. He is such a kind boy that he always greets me when he sees me. However, he seems slightly introverted since he turns his eyes away frequently. His attitude towards school is positive because he perceives it as a beneficial institution, but he only cares about school to get a diploma. He

engages in hazardous tasks on the farm for long hours; thus, his work is beyond light work.

4.1.5. Enes

On an ordinary day, he wears his school uniform and goes to school on foot. After school, he arrives home, changes his clothes and has a rest. He studies a little bit and watches TV. During the school day, he plays with his friends during break times. He plays games at home, goes to his father's shop to help, or goes out with his friends. At the weekends, he goes to the city to visit his grandparents. When harvesting time is in summer, his grandfather calls him to work on the farm. He begins working at 6 a.m., lunch at noon and works until 5 or 6 o'clock. After working on the farm, he comes home and has a rest after having a shower.

One of the prominent observations of Enes was his smiley face most of the time at school and during the interview. Most of the time, he smiled while giving answers and stated that he was satisfied with the education at school. Therefore, I think he is happy to be there even though he says he does not have any happy memories at school. Although his father was also cheerful, his attitude towards school was negative since he did not think that school could get anything for the students' future; thus, students experience pressure and future anxiety. His working time changes following the season, but he generally does light work.

4.1.6. Fırat

On an ordinary day, he washes his hands and face, prepares his school bag, changes his clothes, has breakfast, and then goes to school on foot. After school, he does his homework, studies a little, and then watches TV. He studies in the evenings. He goes to the village on holiday to work on the farm and orchard. He works on both his family's and relatives' farms. He works both on school days to replace his relative and on weekends to apply pesticides during winter or spring and summer. He goes to the farm with his father at 5 o'clock and brings farm workers with them. The work is done by 4.15 p.m. He states that they have food and cold-water during worktime and enough shelter to rest in the shade. He drives the tractor while the others apply

pesticides to the trees, and he weeds and separates the pistachios to process them in the machine.

His shyness could be understood in his voice while giving answers; however, his answers are clear, which may show his active participation in farmwork. He depicts what he does on the farm picturesquely. Interestingly, his work on the farm might be dangerous for his health; however, he does not consider it like that. When I talk to his father, he confirms that his son does some hazardous tasks, such as driving a tractor and applying pesticides to the trees; however, he says he does not let him drive on the motorway. Even so, I am not sure whether he uses a mask or protective equipment while applying pesticides in the sun's full glare. Fırat engages in more dangerous work than other students in the study, and he is only 13. Therefore, his work cannot be considered light work; it can even be considered hazardous work regarding the type of work and hours he works.

4.1.7. Gamzenur

On an ordinary day, she goes home and has dinner, then does her homework before she sleeps. She goes to the parks on holiday, wanders in the evenings and studies sometimes. During an ordinary day, she walks to school, studies, goes out during the break and reads books in idle classes. She works on her grandmother's farm in the summer. She brings the food and water there. She begins to work at 5 o'clock, and the work mostly finishes at 5 or 6 p.m. After working on the farm, she has a shower and then makes bed sleep early.

To my interest, she states that her parents do not have a job since she does not consider working on the farm as a job, which may be resulted from the limited harvesting time of pistachio, which is the summer season. She may be thinking that having a job means working for someone. I assume that her work does not affect her school attendance and achievement directly as much as others since she works only in the summer. She performs easy and safe tasks on the farm despite working long hours; however, she can be considered child labour doing light work. Nevertheless, she works more hours in some seasons that may exceed the limit of light work.

4.1.8. Helin

On an ordinary day, she goes to school on foot and comes back home or goes to the school where her mother works to help her clean the school:

> *İlkin okula geliyorum, okuldan sonra eve gidiyorum. Eğer iş olmazsa annemin yanına gidiyorum. Anneme yardım ediyorum geri de eve geliyorum.* [First, I go to school; then I come home. If I do not have any work, I go to the school where my mother works, help my mom and come home.] (Helin)

She hangs out with her friends during the school day, wanders during break times, attends classes, and then comes home. At the weekends, she stays at home and plays with her siblings in front of her house. During the pandemic, she begins to work on the farm for the first time. She begins to work with his grandmother. She works on other people's farms to earn money since her grandmother works at an employment agency for farm workers. She works on the farm in all seasons, but she states that she does not go anymore due to school, but she might do it in summer. She harvests pistachios, weeds and picks plums and cherries. She wakes up at 4:30, waits for the car to pick her up until 6:00 and works on the farm until 5:00 or 5:30. She has breakfast at 9:00 and lunch at 11 o'clock. After coming from the farm, Helin has a shower immediately; then, she has dinner with her family. After that, she reads a book and sleeps after putting her siblings to sleep since she would wake up early the following morning.

She wants to pursue her education in an open high school since the people around her say she would have a job and work. She states that if the school did not exist, she would work on the farm with her grandmother to earn her family's keep. She states that her father has an innate physical disability in his foot and arm; therefore, she reflects that her family is poor. She states that she would do whatever her family might want her to do. At first, she states that she wants to pursue her education in an open high school, but later she says that people around her push her to do it like that several times. When I first asked Helin to participate in the study, she was eager to do it. Then, I realized that she was probably the study's most prominent participant since her conditions differed from other student participants. When I talked to her teachers, they said they pity her due to her family's condition. During the interview, she was also unhappy while expressing what her parents do since their income does not meet the needs of her family. Her facial expressions

clearly explained her determination to attend school; however, she had to work on the farm to help her family's income. When I interviewed her father, he was also dissatisfied with the family's current condition; however, he was trying to do whatever he could. Helin, who is 13 years old, works more in various jobs than others since her family's economic situation is worse than that of other students. Although her family needs her contribution to the family income, her working conditions are beyond the light work defined by ILO and UNICEF (2021).

4.1.9. Irmak

On an ordinary day, she comes home and has a rest, prepares her bag, changes her clothes, and then helps her mother prepare dinner. During a school day, Irmak walks to school, sits at her desk and studies at school. She describes the education at school as good. On holiday, she does her homework. She describes her working season as winter for olives and summer for pistachios. She works only on her family's farm. Irmak begins to work around 6 a.m., has breakfast at 8-9 a.m., and comes home around 6 p.m. She states that they, as children, mostly pick pistachios fallen from the trees. After coming from the farm, she has a shower, changes her clothes, and then helps her mother prepare dinner. Since she works on the farm only on weekends, she states that her lessons are not affected much.

She has so much confidence while answering the questions, which may be resulted from the fact that she realizes her family's continuous support of her education. She seems to have a good relationship with others. She argues that she has excellent relationships with her teachers too. The tasks she does on the farm seem easy and safe; thus, she can be considered child labour doing light work.

4.1.10. Kerim

On an ordinary day, he wears his uniform around 8 o'clock and walks to school. After school, he revises the topic he learns that day before dinner. Then, he studies and reads a book before sleeping. During a school day, he just attends the lessons and spends time with his friends. On holiday, he wakes up around 10 o'clock. After having breakfast, he studies and then goes out. In the evenings, he spends time with his family and sleeps after reading. He has been working since he was 6 or 7

years old. He works on his family's farm. He goes to the village before the day they would work and wakes up at 5 or 6 a.m. He has lunch around 12; then the work finishes at 5. He picks the pistachios, waters the trees, stays in the village for some days, and sells them with his father in summer, mainly in August. After coming home from the farm, Kerim has a shower, goes to his room to study for an hour and plays with his phone before sleeping.

If the study participants have two different edges in terms of economic status, Kerim is on the one side while Helin is on the other. Their families' educational backgrounds are similar, while their economic statuses differ. Before the interview, I noted in my field journal that Kerim ranked 2nd among 7th graders two times in a practice test the previous month. As far as I know from my colleagues, his family's income was high compared to other participants. Because of that, I thought he would be a snobbish kid; however, I was wrong. His manner is modest. He uses his hands too much while describing his dreams, making me think he is eager to reach them. As much as I hear from other teachers, he is self-disciplined in terms of studying, and the expectation of teachers is high for him. His work is mostly helping his father in a safe environment; therefore, I can say that he is child labour doing light work.

4.1.11. Leyla

On an ordinary day, she washes her hands and face, changes clothes, and goes to school on foot. She goes to school, stays there for extra school courses and comes home after 3 o'clock. Then she does her homework. After dinner with her family, she reads a book before sleeping. During the school day, she has fun with her friends during the break and listens to the teachers during class. On holiday, she wakes up late for an hour and then does her homework. She helps her mom to do chores and goes wherever her mother sends her. She generally works at the weekends and in summer on the farm. In spring, she only goes to pick green vegetables like peppermint and parsley. She works on her father's farm and helps her aunt. She mostly goes to pick pistachios, but it was not the time when the study was conducted. Even so, she goes to pick up peppers, tomatoes and cucumbers. She goes to the farm around noon in winter and returns at 5. In pistachios' time, she is there at 10:00 and

comes back at 7. After coming home from the farm, she has a shower. Then, she does not want to do anything but read while having a rest.

During the interview, she was really relaxed regarding her body gestures, which made me think she had good social skills. While describing her siblings' education levels, she was so sure about her future education that she would just have to choose a job. She expressed her enthusiasm for Mathematics while using her hands as if solving a problem, which can be a hint for us to think that she likes it and has mathematical intelligence. She engages in safe tasks on the farm; thus, she can be regarded as child labour doing light work.

4.1.12. Mahmut

He describes his ordinary day as the day before the interview was conducted. He goes to school in the morning but stays home in the afternoon since he is fasting. However, after school time - around 3, he goes to the barber's where he works and dozes off at the shop since he is tired. Then, he comes home around 1 a.m.:

> *Mahmut: An ordinary day… Which day should I tell you, sir?*
> *Researcher: Whatever you wish.*
> *Mahmut: For instance, I was at home yesterday. I went to school in the morning but stayed home in the afternoon. I rested at home until 2:40; I was fasting, then went to work. Since the Ramadan festival, the barber's shop is open until 12-1 a.m. On the eve, we are open all day. When I went to the shop, I dozed off until 11 p.m. After that, I came home night ward.*
> [Mahmut: Sıradan bir günüm... Hangi günümü anlatayım hocam?
> Researcher: Istediğin gibi sıradan bir gün.
> Mahmut: Hocam dün mesela evdeydim hocam. Okula geldim, öğle arası geri gelmedim. Ben saat iki kırka kadar evde yattım hocam oruçluydum, ondan sonra iki kırık oldu hocam şeye gittim, işe gittim. Ondan sonra gece bayram haftası olduğu için hocam gece 12-1'e kadar açığız. Arefe günü tam gün açığız hocam. Bir gün boyunca. İşte hocam kaldım. Saat 11 olmuş. Ben gözümü kapatıp yatmışım hocam. Arkaya geçip. Ondan sonra hocam gece 12-1 gibi de eve geldim.]

He comes to school and listens to the teachers during the day. Sometimes he takes a nap while he solves problems if he can get other times. He spends time with his friends during breaktime. Mahmut works as a barber's apprentice. On both school days and holidays, he works there. On Saturdays, he goes to the barber shop to work around 8 o'clock and goes home around 12-1. On Sundays, he cleans the shop and works until 2 p.m. He worked on the farm last year and reflected that he would

probably work this year too. He goes to the village before the day they work on the farm. His grandfather picks him and his cousins up after 8, then all pick pistachios from the trees and on the ground, and then bag them. At around 6, he comes home to dinner. Then, he climbs up to the roof and watches the stars since they look beautiful.

He is the oldest participant among the students since he has had some family problems during his education. Due to his family's problems, they have moved to another district. During those times, he always worked in various jobs. As far as I know, he is studying with his older brother in the same grade, and his younger brother is a student of mine. They are all known as mischievous boys at the school except for Mahmut. He is the only one working among his siblings. However, Mahmut works to earn money since his family needs it. His work affects his school experience badly because he performs tiring tasks on the farm and at other workplaces where he works.

Moreover, he perceives school as only a place to get necessary documents such as diplomas and certificates. In other words, he sees school as a beneficial institution, but he is aware that his conditions do not let him continue his education. Since both he works very much and does not think he can succeed, his attitude towards school, in the end, is negative. Lastly, he usually works as a barber's apprentice and a seasonal farm worker in summer. Even though his tasks are not dangerous, his working hours exceed the limit for light work, which is 14 hours a week (ILO, 2018).

4.2. Work Life

The students' work life is arranged into three topics: reasons for working, work types, and working conditions.

4.2.1. Reasons for Working

Based on the literature, the reasons for working students vary from general reasons such as poverty to specific as gaining responsibility. The findings related to the working reasons of the students are analysed here to check whether there is consistency with the literature.

4.2.1.1. Socioeconomic Status of the Family

The study found that one of the reasons for working on the farm is low socioeconomic status of families. Education of children of poor families with low educational level is neglected since the important thing is increase in family income for these families (Dur & Öztürk, 2017). In addition to income, socioeconomic status also includes financial stability, educational accomplishment, and individual judgments of social standing and class (APA, 2017). The data gathered showed that the families' income, parents' level of education and social status are low, and the parents of the participant students are working in nonsecure jobs. The students mostly come from working-class families. As stated previously in the section on participants, none of the student participants' parents has bachelor's degrees. Among the fathers, four of them are primary school graduates, six are middle school graduates, one is a high school graduate, and only one has an associate degree. The fathers' jobs are not favoured, and even if their contributions to family income are not low, they cannot maintain their families since they live in crowded families. On the other hand, among the mothers, one is uneducated, four are primary school graduates, four are middle school graduates, and three are high school graduates. Only three mothers have jobs: janitor, needlecraft instructor, and school bus attendant, while the others are homemakers. Besides, these jobs do not have many financial benefits for the family income. Therefore, most students' families have low socioeconomic status when the elements creating the status are considered.

Low socioeconomic status is associated with the literature about child labour (Batır, 2020). As stated in the literature, poverty is one of the leading indicators of child labour (Fallon & Tzannatos, 1997; Levinson et al., 2014). As well as the impoverishment of the family, the education level of the family, especially the mother's, is a crucial indicator (Baker & Stevenson, 1986; Stevenson and Baker, 1987). Khanam's study (2008) revealed that the parents' job security, especially the father's, is an essential factor in child labour.

Helin states that her family's poverty is the reason for her working, and the economic situation of her family is a decisionmaker for her future education as well:

> *My family says if we have the budget, sir, they work anyway; my father's foot is disabled, and he has a handicapped arm too. I mean, the cause is natal.*

You know, we have financial straits. So, if they say study, I will; if they say do not, I mean, I will make some effort.
[Ailem der durumumuz olursa hocam çalışırlar zaten babamın şeyi ayağı sakat, bir kolu da sakat. Doğuştan olduğu için yani. Fazla durumumuz yok yani. Oku derlerse okurum, okuma derlerse de yani biraz da çabalarım yani.] (Helin)

Parent A states that students could not live their childhood since they are struggling with economic problems like the economic crisis and mostly talks about the prices and incoming price increases of the products:

Lifestyle in Turkey hinders a students' getting healthy education very much. The biggest problem in Turkey is the economy, which concerns everybody from A to Z, both the old and young. You see, little children come here and says they will buy this, but they keep their hands off since it is expensive.
[Şu an Türkiye'deki yaşam biçimi bir öğrencinin sağlıklı bir eğitim almasını çok engelliyor. En büyük sorun ekonomik. Ekonomi de A'dan Z'ye herkesi ilgilendiriyor. Küçüğü de büyüğü de. Şimdi küçük çocuk gelip bana işte ben bunu alacaktım, çok pahalı diye mesela vazgeçiyor.] (Parent A)

Parent C states that his family is in financial trouble, and the economic crisis has aggravated their financial situation:

For instance, this area is troublesome. The state… big wholesalers, supermarkets like BIM, ŞOK… they increased the prices too much. A sack of sugar is 1500 TL. We cannot afford it anymore.
[Mesela bu çevre yönünden şey yönünden çok sıkıntılıyız. Devletimiz... büyük toptancılar, marketler BİM, ŞOK. Onlar her şeyi abarttılar. Bir çuval şeker olmuş 1.5 milyar. Bizim artık almaya gücümüz yok.] (Parent C)

Teacher interviews also indicate that students work since they have low socioeconomic status. Teacher A states that students work because the priority of their families who come from low socioeconomic status is to meet the physical needs of the family and security:

Since the priority of the people, whose socioeconomic status is low, is security and physical need, they cannot get through it.
[Çünkü sosyo ekonomik düzeyi alt düzeyde olan insanların birinci önceliği güvenlik. Fiziksel ihtiyaç olduğu için bu kısımdan çıkamıyorlar bir türlü.] (Teacher A)

Teacher B states that the students primarily work on the farms except for the students who have a better economic status:

There were very few students, and they were the ones whose financial situation was good or the ones who work in their village, the ones who do not go to distant places, but others… Generally, it is like that.

[Çok az öğrenci kalıyordu onlar da zaten ya ailesinin durumu biraz daha iyi hani köydeki işlerle uğraşanlar uzağa gitmiyordu ama diğer… genel olarak hep böyle.] (Teacher B)

Teacher D claims that students have to work since their families need family income:

Students have to work in agriculture since they have financial troubles. They have to earn money since every family does not have the opportunity to work. Because their family does not have any job to do, our students necessarily work in agriculture or seasonal farmwork.
[Öğrencilerin şu an şöyle bir yani maddi olarak bu sıkıntıları yaşadığımız için ister istemez çiftçilikle uğraşmak zorunda kalıyorlar. Bir yerden para kazanmak zorunda kalıyorlar. Bütün ailelerin çalışma imkanları olmadığı için. Yani ailesinin getirdiği bir iş olmadığı için ister istemez çiftçiliklen mevsimlik işçiliklen uğraşmak zorunda kalıyorlar öğrencilerimiz.] (Teacher D)

4.2.1.2. High Fertility

In addition to socioeconomic status, high fertility in families is another indicator of child labour. Crowded families tend to send their children to work because they need to meet the families' needs (Çırak & Çivitçi, 2004). Leyla states that she lives in a crowded family:

Our home is crowded since we do not live in our own house and care for my grandparents. My aunts visit us, and I cannot study in the two-roomed house because it is crowded.
[Ev kalabalık oluyor. Biz kendi evimizde olmadığımız için anneanneme dedeme bakıyoruz biz onun için. Halamgil geliyor, yengem geliyor, çok kalabalık oluyor ve iki odada çalışamıyorum.] (Leyla)

Teacher B also claims that high fertility is a problem for the area, and the number of children is generally more than 8:

The students compulsorily work since they are overcrowded.
[Yani o kadar çok çocuğa bakmak için… mecburen çalışmak zorundalar. Çok kalabalıklar.] (Teacher B)

4.2.1.3. Cultural Reasons

Some studies claim that students are sent to work for a cultural necessity to learn about the hardships of life (Adonteng-Kissi, 2021). In rural areas, child labour is desired even for nonpoor families (Lefebvre, 1970). Families perceive the process of children engaging in labour as a preparation stage for adult life since they learn

new abilities and gain responsibilities when they work. Parent F brings his son to the farm:

> *My aim, my main aim, is that my children understand the difficulties I faced when I was a child and the fact that nothing can be acquired easily. Does not a person want his children to exhaust, does he? We all do it for them. Currently, there are some trees I have planted. I probably will not see their crops, but they will benefit from it since our grandfathers did that for us. My biggest aim is that my children realise the hardships, learn how a person earns one's keep and appreciate the place where they are. Therefore, I bring them to the farm.*
> [Çocukken görmüş olduğum zorlukları yani bir şeyin kolay elde edilemeyeceğini… Onları şey yapıyorum bir amacım, en fazla amacım da o. Insan tabii çocuklarının yorulmasını istemez değil mi? Hani biz hepimiz onlar için yapıyoruz. Şu anda mesela ektiğim şeyler var. Onları belki ben göremeyeceğim ne diyorsun işte gelecekte onlara kalsın diye. Çünkü dedelerimiz de bize ekmiş. En büyük amacım zorlukları görsün, ekmeğin nasıl kazanıldığını bilsin ve olduğu yerin kıymetini bilsin. Onun için özellikle götürüyorum.] (Parent F)

4.2.2. Working Conditions

Working conditions on the farm are harsh, even for an adult. The work on the farm takes too much time and needs to be conducted in challenging conditions as it is physically demanding.

4.2.2.1. Long Working Hours

The study results showed that the conditions of students working on the farm are unpleasant. Most of them are exposed to long working hours and begin working in the early hours of the day. For instance, Gamzenur states that they leave home early and come back in the evening:

> *On Saturday and Sunday, for instance, we go to harvest pistachios. In the mornings, we go there around 5:00 and rest there, then we get up and begin harvesting. It finishes around 5 and 6 since we go there early. Then we idle around there and come back home.*
> [Cumartesi, pazar mesela. Gidiyoruz öyle fıstık toplamaya falan. Sabahları mesela saat 5'te gidiyoruz, orada dinleniyoruz falan. Sonra kalkıp fıstık topluyoruz. Akşam beş altıda bitiyor. Sabah erken gittiğimiz için. Sonra öyle orada oyalanıyoruz, eve geliyoruz.] (Gamzenur)

All students claim they begin working early to protect themselves from the sun's harmful rays:

Yes, at six. We get up in the morning lest the weather may be hot. Then, we bring the food after 12 and eat it with the workers under a tree or shade a tree. After that, we continue working on the farm until 5 or 6. Then, we go home.

[Evet altıda. Sabah kalkıyoruz ki şey sıcak olmasın. Ondan sonra öğlen 12 gibi bir iki gibi yemek getiriyoruz. Bir ağacın altında, gölgesinde yemek yiyoruz, işçilerle filan yemek yiyoruz. Ondan sonra yine çalışmaya devam ediyoruz. Altıya, beşe kadar çalışıyoruz yine. Ondan sonra eve gidiyoruz.] (Enes)

Student participants claim that they primarily work 8 to 12 hours a day. Table 5 shows the time the students spend on the farm.

Table 5

Working hours per day on the farm

Names	Work duration
Ali	9
Baran	9
Cemal	10
Diyar	9
Enes	9
Fırat	10
Gamzenur	12
Helin	11
Irmak	11
Kerim	11
Leyla	9
Mahmut	10

In line with the following studies below mentioned, the findings reveal that the working hours of students working on the farm are too long (FAO,2020). Another study by Lordoğlu and Etiler (2014) revealed that students engage in labour work for more than 12 hours. Moreover, Sevinç et al. (2015) argue that the work duration exceeds 12 hours, and it may reach 14 sometimes.

4.2.2.2. Challenging Conditions

The results showed that students work in bad conditions on the farm for lower prices. The weather in Birecik is more than 38 degrees Celsius during summer, which is the harvesting time and when students work most. Teacher A states that students mostly begin working before summer:

> *The students go to other places to work as a seasonal farm worker with the high temperatures beginning in May.*
> [Mayıs ayının yani sıcakların başlamasıyla tekrar yine mevsimlik işçi olarak başka yerlere gidiyorlar] (Teacher A)

The high temperature worsens the conditions of the farm workers since they have to work under the sun. Baran states that the conditions are harsher in summer:

> *You are under the sun in summer; thus, working conditions are worse.*
> [Yazın daha yoğun oluyor, güneş üstünde ya.] (Baran)

As stated previously, this study also reveals that as a demand factor, children are preferred to be employed since they are seen as cheap labour (Bekdaş, 2009; Chatterjee & Ray, 2019). Okçabol (2014) claims that children work for cheaper wages, thus reducing the costs for the employers. Teacher C states that the daily wages are also lower compared to adults:

> *Researcher: Do the employers pay the same amount of money to the children as they pay adults?*
> *Teacher C: Of course, there is labour exploitation here; no, the money is lower than adults. What does the child do? They help the adult. Sometimes, they are paid for the weight they bagged instead of a daily wage. The child helps that. Sometimes their weight is considered. Of course, the employers also pay them, but not the same amount. Definitely, it is labour exploitation. There is undoubtedly labour exploitation everywhere this system takes place.*
> *[Researcher: Yetişkine verdiği parayı veriyor mu?*
> *Teacher C: Tabi tabi emek sömürüsü var, yok daha az. Çocuk ne olur? Yetişkine yardım eder. Bazen ağırlığa göre çalışıyor. Yani günlük yevmiye değil de işte diyor, sen bu kadar ton toplarsan bu kadar para. O ona yardım ediyor. Bazen yüküne bakıyorlar. Hani gün değil de tabi ki ona da para veriyor ama aynı ücreti vermiyor. Tabii bir emek sömürüsü muhakkak o şimdi diyemeyiz. Bu sistemin olduğu her yerde muhakkak bir emek sömürüsü vardır yani.]*

4.2.2.3. Type of Work

The children working on the farm perform various tasks. The students' tasks on the farm were fertilising, applying pesticides, driving a tractor, ploughing, hoeing, harvesting, and weeding. The study's results argue that students mostly work on less physically demanding tasks on the farm, but some perform tasks that may harm them since they are exposed to diverse chemicals. Ali claims that he performs various dangerous tasks:

> *Ali: We do something… For instance, we fertilise and apply pesticides.*
> *Researcher: Do you do them?*
> *Ali: Yes, sir. Driving tractor, ploughing with ninefold, hoeing.*
> [Ali: Biz şeyi yapıyoruz. Mesela gübre, ilaçlama yapıyoruz.
> Researcher: Sen de yapıyor musun?
> Ali: Evet hocam, traktör falan, dokuzluyla çift sürüyoruz demir vuruyoruz.]

Fırat describes what he does on the farm:

> *We get rid of the weed around the trees.*
> [Tarlada ağaçların kökünde ot varsa otları toplu... temizliyoruz.]
> *I drive the tractor while my father and my cousin apply pesticides.*
> [Traktör sürüyorum. Babamla kuzenim de ilaçları ağaca atıyor.] (Fırat)

Parent F claims that he just wants his son to understand the hardships of life and wants him to perform easy tasks:

> *We are working with Cemal. For instance, he weeds. I tell him to pick the stones at the farm's border if I cannot find anything. He complains and asks me what I want him to do. I want him to realise the importance of school and labour. Well, we used to go harvesting wheat even when we were 7 or 8. We were struggling. To us, the school was like somewhere we go get a break.*
> [Cemal ile çalışıyoruz. Ot çekiyor mesela. Atıyorum hiçbir şey bulamazsam diyorum, şu taşları al diyorum. Sınırda şeyler var ya, taşlar yığılı, onları temizle diyorum. Bazen böyle işte diyor baba. Ne yapacaksın yani? Bunu niye şey yaptırıyorsun? Ben Hani biraz yormaktan öte, yani biraz da okulun kıymetini bilsin istiyorum. Bir de emeğin ne olduğunu bilsin istiyorum. Gerçekten istiyorum diyorum ya, hani 7 8 yaşlarındayken bile biz buğday biçmeye gidiyorduk. Çok zorlanıyorduk. Okul bize böyle şey geliyordu. Bir kaçacak yer geliyordu.] (Parent F)

Teacher C claims that sometimes his students go to work on the farm:

> *Now, I know it from my students. Where were you? I went to the village. What did you do there? We hoed, grubbed, and applied pesticides. The pistachio tree needs much labour, like a babysitter. Each month, they do an aspect such as pruning and adding iron powder as a fertiliser. It is very wearing, not easy. Thus, the child does not want to go there. We perceive the village as a*

place of relaxation; however, the children do not want to go there since it means work for them. Then, they are affected in terms of school subjects.
[Şimdi ben öğrencilerimden biliyorum. Neredeydin, köye gittim, ne yaptın köyde işte. Eee şey vurduk, çapa vurduk, toprağı eştik, ilaçlama yaptık, fıstığın da fıstık ağacının zaten şeyi çok, uğraşı çok. Bir çocuğa bakar gibi bakıyor. Her ay bir şeyini yapıyor işte. Gidiyor fıstığı kesiyor buduyor, demir tozunu koyuyor, bilmem ne yapıyor. O da çok yıpratıcı, kolay bir iş değil. Çocuk gitmek istemiyor. Mesela köy dediği zaman biz diyoruz ki öyle dinlenme gibi hadi gidelim o çocuklar köy dediğin zaman iş hadi diyor hemen gidelim, onlar gitmek istemiyor yani. Gittiği zaman da etkileniyor. Ders yönünden ister istemez bir kayıp oluyor.] (Teacher C)

Parent E states that he brings his son to the farm, and they perform various tasks there:

We plough and hoe the root of trees and apply pesticides.
[Çift sürüyoruz işte köküne belleme yapıyoruz, çapa yapıyoruz, ilacını veriyoruz.] (Parent E)

Moreover, in accord with the result of the study by Dachi & Garrett (2003), the results showed that the diversity of the tasks differs according to gender. Primarily boys drive the tractor and apply pesticides to the trees while girls harvest, and sometimes, they take care of their siblings on the farm or at home. Teacher B states that:

Even if they do not bring girls to the farm, parents want them to take of the young children. Unavoidably, they end up working. When the children take care of younger children, even if they are not her siblings, the girls babysit their nieces and nephews. Once, our landlord brought his baby, who is not yet one year old. While her mother worked there, she cared for her sibling there.
[Şöyle yapıyorlar orada kızları genelde hadi tamam tarlaya götürmeseler bile küçük çocukları falan onlara baktırıyorlar. İster istemez hani aslında onlar da çalışmış gibi oluyor yani. Çocuk bakınca bir sürü çocukla ilgilenince … Hani kardeşi olmazsa şey olmazsa mesela yeğenine bakıyor, kardeşine bakıyor. Hatta şeydi yani bizim ev sahibi, daha 1 yaşına bile gelmeyen çocuğu götürmüştü mesela. Ona bakıyordu orada yani. Annesi ki çalışmaya gidiyor.] (Teacher B)

4.3. School life

Working on the farm has inevitable results on the school experiences of the students. These experiences are not independent of the perspectives and attitudes of the students working.

4.3.1. School Perceptions and Attitudes

The perceptions and attitudes of the students towards school explain the role of school in their lives and the role of school in society. Doftori (2004) also stated that a school is a place to reproduce societal structures; therefore, it cannot be sufficient for poor students and prevents their upward mobility (Anker & Melkas, 1996).

4.3.1.1. Students

The students have various experiences at school related to their backgrounds. Some of them like the school while others do not since some students have positive experiences at school while others do not. Students' perceptions and attitudes towards school vary greatly.

Some students perceive school as a beneficial placesince it provides advantages such as a driving license and certifications for some jobs. Some of the students also prefer school to work since the conditions of the work are harsh. Some students see school as home since they have responsibilities, while teachers and managers are like their parents and spend most of their time there.

Some students' attitudes toward school are positive, while others are negative. To explore their attitudes, they wanted to describe school by using metaphors. Ali and Leyla perceive school as a place to learn valuable things, a metaphor for a place where knowledge is transferred (Demir, 2007). They have a positive attitude towards school. Ali attends school regularly as his absence at school is only a few days. His perception of school is mostly a pragmatic institution that may provide some valuable documents:

> *R: You said you wanted to be a football player. Do you think a school is a good place for your future?*
> *Ali: Yes, like a diploma to register to something, to have a driving license as well.*
> [R: Futbolcu olmak istiyorum demiştin, okulun senin geleceğin için iyi bir yer olduğunu düşünüyor musun?
> Ali: Evet hocam mesela diploma gibi falan öyle bir şeye yazılmaya gittiğimde. Ehliyet almam için de.]

Leyla *really likes the school:*

Education and training… When we come here, we take a class. It is a perfect place. I see it like that.
[Eğitim öğretim şeye direkt gelince ders işliyoruz çok iyi bir yer. Ben onu öyle görüyorum.] (Leyla)

Baran is a farm worker and performs many tasks on the farm. Moreover, he likens school to a zoo, as a metaphor which is associated with the feeling of being stuck in the study of Demir (2007):

Zoo…Zoo… The school's surrounding area is soil; animals may come here.
[Hayvanat bahçesi... Hayvanat bahçesi... etraf toprak alan, hayvanlar gelebilir.] (Baran)

Cemal, Diyar, Kerim and Mahmut liken school to a home; a metaphor used to describe a place where they experience affection and care (Demir, 2007).

School is a home for education and training.
[Okul eğitim ve öğretim yuvası] (Cemal)

Sir, I see school as my second home. Teachers are like our parents, and the school principal is like our grandfather.
[Hocam okulu yani ikinci evime benzetiyorum hocam. Yani hocalarımız, annemiz, babamız filan böyle. Hocam müdür de dedemize benzetebiliriz.] (Diyar)

I liken the school… to a… a home. There are responsibilities and rules to be obeyed here. I have a voice both here and at home. Therefore, I liken it to home.
[Okulu şeye benzetirdim. Bir… bir ev gibi hocam. Orada da evde de sorumluluklarımız olduğu gibi burada da sorumluluklarımız, bazı kurallara uymamız lazım. Burada da söz sahibiyim, o an evde de söz sahibiyim. Ben eve benzetirdim.] (Kerim)

Like a home. Sir, we spend more time here at school than at home. Teachers are like fathers and mothers; they support us when our parents are not here.
[Yuva gibi. Hocam, evimizden çok sürekli okulda kalıyoruz. Hocam yani öğretmenler, anamız, babamız gibi olmuş, onlar okula, bize destek çıkıyor, anamız babamız yokken. Bu yüzden.] (Mahmut)

4.3.1.2. Parents

Parent A's perception of school is not a place for finding a job or earning money, or saving one's own life:

I tell my children to study (read) whatever you do like selling cucumbers or being tradesman. I do not consider it as having a job or gaining money. I

> *think it is wrong to think otherwise. In our culture, it is seen to have a profession like a teacher. However, it is challenging with these schools.*
> [Ben diyorum ki okuyun, okuma seni nereye götürürse. İstersen git salatalık sat ya da gel benim gibi esnaf ol ama oku. Ama okumayı bir meslek edinme ya da bir para kazanma olarak görmüyorum. Benim mantığım bu. Ama hayat kurtarmakla okulu o gözle bakmak yanlış. Bizde çünkü o kültür gelişmiş, hani ya öğretmen olsun, ya bir şey olsun. Ama başa dönmek istersek hani bu okulla bir yere gider mi? Çok zor.] (Parent A)

He declares that he will support his children's future education. His attitude towards school is generally positive, but he favours reading instead of schooling:

> *I would say reading instead of schooling is effective for students. Until 15 years ago, I had read a lot. I have improved myself.*
> [Okul demeyeyim de hocam okumanın… Okumanın var. Ben hani bir 15 yıl öncesine kadar çok kitap okurdum mesala. Kendi kendimi geliştirdim] (Parent A)

Although his attitude towards school is positive, he does not think school can be a beneficial place for the students since the quality of education is terrible and the curriculum is problematic.

According to *Parent B*, getting an education is only for the person who gets it since he perceives school as a place providing for earning one's living:

> *It is something that she chooses. She will save her own life. It is not for another. Last night, I saw her and told her to study; otherwise, I would not send her to a regular high school. She says she studies.*
> [Kendisi bilir yani biz şimdi ne desek boş kendisi kendi hayatını kurtarır. Benimkini değil, kendi hayatını kurtaracak. Siz okumuşsunuz. Kimseye bir şey yok. Kendi kendine. Ben kendisine de söylüyorum. Akşam yine baktım. Şey yapıyor. Dedim bak lisede düz lise gelirse yandın. Yok diyor, ben çalışıyorum diyor.] (Parent B)

His attitude towards school is positive since he states that he would work as a street sweeper or a farmer without school. He states that school has been helpful for his job since it disciplined him in work.

Parent C perceives school as a good place for finding an office job; however, he does not benefit from school except for literacy. He states that school was a perfect place, but for the rich:

> *School… If we were rich, schooling would be excellent then.*
> [Okul... Mesela zengin olsak okumak çok iyidir.] (Parent C)

His attitude towards school is positive since he perceives it as a place for finding a job to earn a living. However, he states that he could not let his daughter

continue her education at that moment but would support his daughter's education if he had enough money.

Parent D perceives school as a good place since one of his children benefits from it while the other does not; however, he states that it results from his son, who has no intention. His attitude towards school is constructive, and he exemplifies it:

> *I am a graduate of high school. I worked as a bus driver and a shipper. The customers told me that my behaviours to them in the traffic… It is an advantage of school. They always talked about their satisfaction. They say they get on other people's buses, but mine is different. I worked as a school bus driver; everybody was satisfied with me. A person trusts me and gives me the pistachio to sell; then I sell it in Antep. Since I am good at calculating, they trust me.*
> [Ben şimdi mesela lise bitirdim hocam. Mesela şey yaptım, dolmuşçuluk yaptım, nakliyecilik de yaptım. Mesela müşteriler diyor ki iyi ki mesele sen yani lise mezunusun yani. Mesela insanlarla davranma, trafikte şey davranman. Yani diyor o hep okulun faydası hocam. Mesela müşteri ya hep işte insanlar hep memnuniyetlerini şey yapıyorlardı. Diğer diğer dolmuşa da biniyoruz. Seninkine de biniyoruz. Bir fark da var yani, öğrenci servisi de yaptım, herkes memnundu yani. Mesela adam bana güveniyor fıstığı veriyor Antep'te satıyorum, hesap kitap bildiğim için güveniyor yani bana.] (Parent D)

He is aware that his son can work as a farm worker in the future since his family has large farm for all his family members. Nevertheless, he wants his son to study since his attitude towards school is positive.

Parent E's perception of school is not pragmatic since school is not just a place for finding a job for him:

> *He can work on the farm anyway, but he must know what product this is. You can also go to university and get what university means. University environment is exciting.*
> [Yine gel tarlana. Ama bilirsin yani bu malın ne olduğunu bilirsin. Gider o ortamı da görürsün, üniversite ortamı da görürsün. Üniversite ortamı değişik bir şey yani.] (Parent E)

His attitude towards school is also positive because it is a beneficial place in many ways such as being conscious, intellectual, or respectful:

> *Getting an education is always a good thing. A conscious person is always utterly different. You do not get in trouble if you have an open mind or are highbrow. You always know the pros and cons. You know how to speak to people; you do not lacerate them.*
> [Okumak her zaman iyi bir şey. Bilinçli bir insan olduğu zaman bambaşka oluyor. Ufkun açık olursa, aydın bir insan olursan sana bir bela gelmez. Her

zaman artı eksilerini biliyorsun. İnsanlarla konuşmayı biliyorsun, konuştuğun zaman kırıcı kelime kullanmıyorsun](Parent E)

He attaches great importance and states that it enhances students' social skills. He also reflects that he has a rough time since he does not get enough education:

> *However, a non-educated person may be offensive to others without knowing it. Thus, I always say that getting an education is good. You will always have open-minded; you will be an enlightened person. You need to listen to others when they speak. You need to be open to criticism. Always saying I am right, I am right… It is no go. You need to give the right to speak to the other person when you speak. I went through the mill much.*
> [Ama okumamış bir insan bilmeden belki de fark etmeden, karşı tarafı bir şey söylüyor kırıyor ama farkında değil. Yani o yüzden diyorum her zaman okumak iyi yani. Her zaman ufkun açık olacak. Aydın insan olacaksın. Bir de bir şey söylediği zaman karşı tarafı da dinleyeceksin. Yani her zaman ben konuşayım, ben konuşayım. Karşı tarafı da dinlemedikten sonra yani eleştiriye açık olacaksın. Gerçekten olmadığı zaman her zaman ben haklıyım. Ben haklıyım olmuyor. Konuştuğun zaman söz hakkı karşı tarafa da vereceksin. Ben onun bu zorlukları çok çektim.] (Parent E)

Parent E has a positive attitude towards school since it provides many student opportunities. However, he is not satisfied with the education system. *Parent F* perceives school as a communal and social place:

> *Education begins in the family. If the family cannot give something to a child, the school cannot teach anything. That child fights at school since they perceive school as a place to relax as a holiday. If education starts in the family, school is a place to crest. It is a place for societal, social activities.*
> [Öncelikle eğitim ailede başlar zaten. Bir çocuğa, ailede bir şeyler verilmemişse okul gerçekten hiçbir şey veremez. Sadece orada ne yapar mesela evde yaşayamadıklarını, yapamadıklarını işte kavgasıydı dövüşüydü içine attıkları ile gelip orada sadece bir boşaltma yeri ve böyle tatil şeyi gibi şey yapar. Eğitim gerçekten ailede başlarsa onun üzerine konabilecek temellerle zirveye gidilecek bir yerdir. Yani her türlü işte toplumsal, sosyal aktivitelerin olduğu yer eğitim öğretim yani.] (Parent E)

His attitude towards school is positive since he attaches great importance to it for his economic conditions; otherwise, he would have to migrate:

> *Let me tell you for myself, If the school had not existed, we would migrate to other cities to work in factories since I do not have enough properties in the village. It is the same for children. School is a great thing.*
> [Şöyle ben kendim için söyleyeyim. Okul olmamış olsaydı hani köyde bize yetebilecek kadar malımız yok normalde. Yani şöyle babamlara yeterdi ama bana yetmezdi. Nasıl? Hani git gide bölünüyor ya. Hani herhangi bir şehire göç olan şeyle mevsimlik işçilik yapardık ya da bir şehre göç edip orada fabrikalarda çalışırdık. Öyle olurdu herhalde. Yani köyümde yani beni

geçindirebilecek bir şey olmadığı için mecburen göç, göç olurdu yani. Çocuklar için de aynı şekilde. Yani okul gerçekten çok güzel bir şey.] (Parent E)

Parent F has a positive attitude because he is happy during school. Moreover, he thinks that a school is a good place for finding a job and making a good life.

4.3.1.3. Teachers

Teacher A states that the school of the students working on the farm is weak since they are mostly disconnected from the school culture, thus making it come to an end since they do not have any expectations from it. He reflects that those students working on the farm could not maintain a healthy bond with the school since they have a discontinuity. However, he describes working students' perception of school as a place of salvation. He reflects that some students want to go to school with great eagerness since they do not deal with manual labour at school and feel happier around their friends.

Teacher B reflects that her students perceive school as a waste of time because they love earning money while working on the farm:

> *School is nothing for them; they perceive it as a waste of time. They fill their times there, actually.*
> [Okul, onlar için hiçbir şey, zaman kaybı gibi görüyorlar. Hani zaman dolduruyorlar aslında.] (Teacher B)

However, she states that especially girls like school since they perceive it as a place of relief:

> *Especially girls, since they are wanted to do chores at home, perceive school as a great thing. Relaxation. They… participate in afterschool courses. We ask them why they do not go home; they say they do not want to since their mothers would want them to wash the dishes. There is something like that, yet they generally like school.*
> [Kızlar özellikle hani evde sürekli bir iş yaptırdıkları için. Okul onlar için çok güzel geliyor. Rahatlık. Şey yapıyorlar. Kursa kalıyorlardı. Hocam niye gitmedin eve? Hani eve gitmek istemiyorum. Annem evde gidip bulaşık yıkatacak. O şeyler falan da var ama genel olarak okulu seviyorlar.] (Teacher B)

She states that school cannot provide a promising future for the students working on the farm. She claims that it is neglected by the state to raise semi-skilled labourers:

I think the education system allows it some. I mean, our state does it since we need a semi-skilled worker. Otherwise, nobody wants to work. Thus, I do not suppose that school can provide much to them. In other words, they cannot do anything at school.
[Ama bence eğitim sistemi buna biraz izin veriyor. Yani devletimiz izin veriyor. Çünkü ara elemana da ihtiyacımız var. Kimse çalışmak istemiyor diğer türlü. O yüzden ben okulun onlara çok şey katabileceğini zannetmiyorum yani okulda bir şey yapamaz.] (Teacher B)

Some of the teachers claim that students' attitudes towards school may change:

As I said, many students prefer studying rather than going to work. Not going there with the family is the best since the living conditions there are inhuman.
[Yani diyorum ya yani oraya gitmeyip ders çalışırım diyen de çok. Hani ailesiyle gitmemek en iyisi. Çünkü orada yaşadığı şartlar insani değil.] (Teacher C)

It may be like that some students realise that working is difficult, conditions are hard, and their family is in bad condition; therefore, they need to study to get rid of.
[… Belki ters de tepebilir, belki şöyle de olabilir yahu işte çalışmak zor, şartlar zor. Ailem bu durumda. Benim buradan kurtulmam için sürekli çalışmam lazım ve böyle öğrenciler de yok değil yani.] (Teacher C)

I mean, the student may think they prefer to spend time in school rather than going to the farm. That may increase his school achievement of him/sometimes.
[Hani öğrenci işte tarlaya gideceğime okulda zaman harcarım. Bu da bazen başarısını artırabilir.] (Teacher D)

If the work requires much manual labour, the child is for the school, but if it is light work, the students tend to work.
[Ağır bir işse çocuk okuldan yana olduğunu düşünüyor ama hafif bir işse çocuk hani ben çalışayım yönünde bir eğilim gösteriyor] (Teacher E)

4.3.2. Hardships of School

Due to various reasons, students combining work and school face difficulties at school. The reasons are being deprived of work, curriculum, covid-19, and family.

4.3.2.1. Work-related Hardships

Students face work-related hardships such as weariness. Some students argue that they do not want study or do homework after work. In line with Bekdaş's study (2009), this study reveals that the students feel tired and sleep early. For example, Ali

states that when he goes to the farm to work, his school is adversely affected since he loses his enthusiasm to do his homework or study due to being tired:

> *It affects my courses a little bit. I do not want to do my homework since I am tired.*
> [Biraz hocam, yorulduğum için, bu sefer yorulduğum için yapmak istemiyorum.] (Ali)

Mahmut reflects that working at a barbershop affects his education, and he understands that he cannot pursue his education. He is studying only to get a diploma and enter a vocational high school; then, he will go to school once a week and work at other times. Mahmut's attitude towards school is only pragmatic. He reflects that he will not pursue his education and would only go to vocational high school to get a certificate to open his own barber's shop:

> *It affects a little bit… I understood that I would not pursue my education. I cannot do it easily. I am studying to have a diploma. Then, I will attend to vocational high school. Once a week you go there. Overseership, apprenticeship, mastership….*
> [O biraz etkiliyor da berberde hocam ben okul okuyamayacağımı anladım. Kolay kolay okuyamam ben. Ben diploma için okuyorum hocam. Çıkacağım hocam bu meslek lisesi var hocam. Haftada bir gün gidiyorsunuz, onda işte hocam kalfalık, çıraklık, ustalık...] (Mahmut)

Students who work and skip classes are a joking matter for other students; therefore, the students working on the farm are exposed to peer bullying. Teacher A states that they cannot adapt themselves to school:

> *The students may be exposed to psychological violence by their peers.*
> [Çünkü çocuklar akranları tarafından bununla ilgili psikolojik şiddete uğrayabiliyorlar](Teacher A)

He also claims that middle school students combining work and school are child labourers since they are under 15:

> *In terms of physical, academical, psychological, and social, the students are adversely affected naturally. It may have a negative return.*
> [Doğal olarak hem fiziksel olarak, hem akademik olarak, hem psikolojik olarak hem de bulundukları ortamdaki sosyal ve akademik yönden olumsuz etkileniyorlar. Bunu çeşitli dönüşleri oluyor.] (Teacher A)

Teacher C states that late attendance at school resulting from working on the farm has an impact on students' school experiences:

> *As it is, they begin school in October or November and leave it in March.*

[Zaten başlaması mesela Ekim Kasım'da geliyorsa o martta bir daha gidiyor artık.] (Teacher C)

Teacher D states that he was a seasonal farm worker too:

On my behalf, I went to school; then I had to work on the farm.
Researcher: During school time?
Teacher D: Yes, during school time. After returning from school, we had to deal with the work on the farm immediately. Therefore, we fell behind in the class. Inevitably, it took some of our time. I was appointed as a teacher too late. One of the most significant factors is working on the farm and shepherding for reasons beyond my control. In short, the work on the farm fell to us since my family had no income. I am 37; I was appointed at 35. I can say that it takes me ten years to be appointed.
[Ee şimdi şöyle kendi adıma konuşayım biraz. Ben okula gidiyordum, okuldan sonra ister istemez tarlada çalışmak zorunda kalıyordum.
Researcher: Okul zamanı?
Teacher D: Okul zaman evet. Okuldan geldikten sonra hemen tarlaya gidip orada işle uğraşmak zorunda kalıyorduk. Hani bunun için derslerimizden çok geri kalıyorduk. Bu da ister istemez bizim biraz zamanımızı aldı. Ben çok geç atandım mesela. Bunun en büyük etmenlerden biri de tarlada çalışmaktır. Çobanlık yapmaktır. Mecburiyetten. Yani ailem bir kazancı olmadığı için işlerin çoğu bize kalıyordu. Ben 37 yaşındayım. 35 yaşında atandım. Eeeee yani 10 yılımı aldı diyebilirim.]

4.3.2.2. Peer-related Hardships

Students also face peer-related hardship such as peer bullying and mocking. Teacher C argues that students come to school in shyness due to weariness of the work:

Sometimes, the student comes to school with slippers, in winter or November, for instance. If you ask about the courses and academic achievement, there is not… socialisation. It is zero. Inevitably, the student is like an outsider. Among other students, the student falls behind them socially too. Since the student wasted away psychologically, the child cannot exist socially.
[Terlikle geliyor kışın Kasım'da mesela. Bu defa ders deseniz zaten akademik başarıyı bırak şey yok. Sosyalleşme sıfırdı. Orada biraz dışlanmış gibi oluyor ister istemez. Arkadaşları arasında sosyal olarak da baya bir geride başlıyor.] (Teacher C)

Many students complain that there are many mischievous students at the school. For instance, Diyar argues that school would be better without those students:

The school would be better without the mischievous children who do not listen to the teachers during class.
[Hocam yani mesela dersi dinlemeyenleri okuldan çıkarsalar böyle çok sorun çıkartanları falan, öyle daha iyi olur diye düşündüm.] (Diyar)

Helin also claims that there are some snobbish students humiliating her:

> *Researcher: Do you get along with your friends?*
> *Helin: It is good with my friends, but some students are arrogant. Since we are not affluent much, they seem show-off and humiliate me.*
> [Researcher: Kendi arkadaşlarınla nasıl aran?
> Interviewee: Kendi arkadaşlarımla iyi hocam ama bazıları böyle çok egolu yani. Bana öyle şey alıyorlar. Hani bizim de fazla durumumuz olmadığı için bana fazla havalı geliyorlar. Beni de ezik düşünüyorlar yani onun için.] (Helin)

4.3.2.3. Covid-19-related Hardships

School closure and distance education within the restrictions of Covid-19 has caused problems for students, usually in their school attendance and achievement. School attendance or attendance to online courses has drastically decreased since the pandemic. In consonance with Cesuroglu and Kolemen (2021), this study puts forward that during the pandemic, none of the students was full attendant to online courses. Seven of them partly attended courses, while five of them had no opportunity to attend the classes. Moreover, most students worked during school closures induced by Covid-19 restrictions instead of attending online courses.

Ali could not attend to the online courses due to the internet problem:

> *I went to the bakery to help my father, or we went to the village to work.*
> [Hocam yine babamın yanına gittim. Fırına, Köye gittik yine.] (Ali)

Baran went to his grandfather's:

> *I went to the farm to work. Then, my uncle lives there, who is a birdseller. I went there.*
> [Çalışmaya gittim tarlaya. Sonra canım sıkıldığında amcam var, karşıda kuşçu. Onun yanına giderim.] (Baran)

Diyar states that he forgot everything he learned:

> *We drift away from school a little. I was not able to make anything out of online classes.*
> [Okulla bağımız koptu yani biraz. Canlı derslerde bir şey anlamıyordum zaten.] (Diyar)

Enes states that he went to the city where his grandmother lives to help her for some time:

> *I worked somewhere. In the… the heating system installer, our relative, for 2 or 3 weeks.*

[Bir ara çalışmıştım bir yerde. Şeyde… Petekçide, Petek… pet… Kombici, bizim akrabamızdı. 2 hafta, 3 hafta falan çalıştım.] (Enes)

Fırat states that he could not attend to the courses much:

Those times were the times to apply pesticides to the pistachio trees, ploughing time. I was helping all the work.
[O zamanlar fıstık zamanı ilaçlama zamanı. Çift zamanı. Hepsine yardım ediyordum.] (Fırat)

Gamzenur stated that she could not attend to the online courses:

Researcher: Were you able to attend the courses? To online courses?
Gamzenur: No, sir. Since there was no tablet or something like that, I could not do it.
[Researcher: Peki derse girebiliyor muydun? Canlı derslere?
Gamzenur: Yok hocam. Tablet falan olmadığı için giremiyordum.]

Helin claims that she has been working on the farm since the pandemic:

I began working in the pandemic.
[Pandemide zaten ben başladım hocam.] (Helin)

Irmak states that she helped her mother to do chores and had a problem attending the courses:

Researcher: For two years, there has been a pandemic. Have you been able to attend the online courses?
Irmak: No, sir.
[Researcher: Peki şu iki senedir pandemi vardı. Pandemideyken uzaktan derslere gidebildin mi?
Irmak: Yok hocam.] (Irmak)

Kerim claims that he had problems at the beginning of the pandemic since he had the virus, which affected his studying:

I felt behind.
Researcher: Were you usually attending the courses?
Kerim: Yes, then, I was revising my courses. After that, I summarised the courses and diarised them.
[Bayağı canlı derslerden de geri kalmıştım.
Researcher: Normalde giriyor muydun?
Kerim: Evet. Ondan sonra, derslerden sonra, derslerden sonra falan tekrarını ediyorum. Ondan sonra da o derse, o derse ne işledik diye bir özet çıkartıyorum. Günlüğüme yazıyorum.] (Kerim)

Leyla partly attended to the online courses since her home is too crowded:

I attended the online courses. I was joining the online classes in the kitchen. Since others at home came to the kitchen, I had to move to another room. Therefore, it was interrupted.

[Evet, birazcık katıldım ... Zaten o arada ders işlerken ben bir anda mutfakta yaşıyorum. Mutfağa geldikleri için başka yere gitmek zorunda kalıyorum. Bölünüyor yani.] (Leyla)

Mahmut states that he could not join to the online classes since he was working:

Sir… I was working at the carpenter's during the pandemic.
[Hocam... Sürekli marangozda çalışıyordum yani pandemide.] (Mahmut)

Similarly, the findings gathered by the teachers revealed that students were not able to make it during the pandemic. The attendance for the online courses was too low. Most of them state that children began working to help their family income, so they began skipping classes. Teacher B states that children have begun since the pandemic:

Since the pandemic, all of the students have gone to work on the farm because there was no obligation in terms of attendance. Only a few students joined the online classes. In an online education class, one of the students connected to it from Elmalı (Antalya). Education was already bad; however, the pandemic has aggravated it since children have drifted away from education.
[Pandemiden sonra artık şey oldu. Nasılsa okula gitmiyor öğrenci. Devamsızlık sorunu da yok. Herkes gitmiş. Biz canlı ders yaparken hani böyle çok nadir öğrenciler. O telefonu ona vermiş, oradan katılırdı mesele. Hani normalde biz gitmiyorduk ama bu sene... Tarladan katılıyordu, Elmalı'dan, öyle demişti yani. Hani normalde biz gitmiyorduk ama işte şey. Pandeminin etkisiyle dediğim gibi eğitim zaten kötüydü iyice nasılsa bunların artık okulla ilişkisi kalmadı deyip daha da arttı bence.] (Teacher B)

The children living in rural areas have been the most disadvantaged group. The fact that no computer, internet, tablet or smartphone primarily affected them badly. In a class of 30 students, there were times when the number of attendants was 1 or 2, even 0. In other words, a 7th grader did not get the education in 5th and 6th grade. They could not get benefited from education and training.
[Ya kırsal bölgelerde yaşayan çocuklar zaten birinci derecede en kötü etkilenen grup oldu. Bunun sebebi işte uzaktan eğitimlerin çoğunun sosyal medyadan uzaktan yapılması, bilgisayar, tablet üzerinden yapılması. İşte evde bilgisayarın, internetin, tabletin ya da telefonun olmaması birinci derecede kötü etkiledi. Biz de zaten uzaktan eğitim verdiğimizde bir 30 kişilik sınıfta katılımın bir ya da iki olduğu, bazen hiç olmadığı dersler ile karşılaşıyorduk öğrencilerin, yani mesela şu an beşinci sınıftan 7'nin sınıfa giden bir öğrenci tamamen 5. Ve 6. Sınıftaki hiçbir eğitimi alamadı. Eğitim öğretimden yararlanamadı.] (Teacher B)

The study's results indicated that parents think the pandemic adversely affects school attendance. Parent A states that his children attempted to attend the online courses but:

> *All of them must attend to the courses. I have a smartphone, but my wife does not. We bought a computer; one was attending while the others could not. Sometimes the classes overlap, so each wants to join the classes. They somehow did it, but if you ask me, its productivity is 15-20% of the education at school.*
> [Hepsinin girmesi lazım. Şimdi bende telefon var hanımda şey yok. Hani bu akıllı telefondan. Şimdi bilgisayar aldık birisi giriyor birisi girmiyor. Bazen dersler çakışıyor aynı saatte olduğu için sonra o diyor ben derse gireyim o diyor ben derse gireyim. Yani bir şekilde girdiler ama ne kadar verimli oldu dersen yani okuldaki eğitimin diyelim yüzde 15 ile 20'si kadar diyelim.] (Parent A)

Parent B states that his daughter was different before the pandemic:

> *Many changes have been seen since the pandemic. She was studying and more successful before the pandemic.*
> [Pandemiden bu yana oldu tabi. Ya önce pandemiden önce çalışıp daha böyle şeydi.] (Parent B)

Parent C states that since the pandemic, he has suffered a lot due to the high cost of living; therefore, her daughter began working instead of schooling:

> *Since the pandemic, present company excepted, we have suffered a lot. For lack of a better word, a kilo of tea is 18 TL, a kilo of sugar is 15TL, a kilo of vegetable oil is 20TL. The state gives me 850 TL. I buy two pieces of stuff I need; then I have no money. For now, I could not gain 100 TL since the morning. This table must finish today. The weather is also hot; therefore, we must throw the products into the trash on the second day.*
> [Pandemiden bu yana affedersin sözüm buradan dışarı. Anamız ağlıyor. Yani nasıl diyeyim sana bir kilo çay olmuş 180 milyon beş kilo şeker olmuş 150 milyon. Bir yağ olmuş 200 milyon. Devlet bana 850 milyon maaş veriyor. Vallahi bu mesela ayda bir 850 milyonu alayım, iki parça eşya alıyorum bitiyor. Yani şu an bak sabahtan beri gelmişim burada 100 miyon satış yapmamışım. Artık işte. Şu an bu tablanın bitmesi lazım Hava da sıcak bundan sonra. 1 gün getirdik 2. gün getiriyoruz sonra çöpe atıyoruz.] (Parent C)

Parent D states that he was satisfied with the education at school before the pandemic:

> *Parent D: Not Neriman, but Fırat drifted away from the education. There have been many changes in him.*
> *Researcher: Are you satisfied with your current education?*
> *Parent D: Neriman is still good; however, Fırat…*
> [Parent D: Ya Neriman kopmadı da Fırat koptu. Fırat'ta çok değişiklik oldu.

Researcher: Şu an ki eğitimden memnun musun peki?
Parent D: Eee Neriman yine iyi. Fırat da yine şey...] (Parent D)

Parent F states that students had problems getting used to distance education:

They drifted away from the school. In fact, at the beginning of school, they had an unwillingness and the tendency to skip classes. It affected them much. It is not possible to get used to.
[Ama koptular yani okuldan gerçekten koptular. Hatta okulun başlarında böyle okula gitmeme, hem böyle şeyleri bile işte isteksizlik bile oldu. Yani öyle diyelim. Etkisi çok oldu. Adapte olunamıyor.] (Parent F)

4.3.2.4. Curriculum-related Hardships

Moreover, students working on the farm may experience difficulties resulting from curriculum. In line with Yildiz (2017), Parent A claims that the curriculum in Turkey is problematic:

This problem is related to the education system in Turkey. I do not like it at all. There are many uncertainties in each level of education from preschool to university. 4+4+4, for instance. Because the system is not on the right track, students and parents cannot get what they want.
[Bu sorun Türkiye'deki eğitim sistemiyle ilgili. Ben onu hiç beğenmiyorum. Türkiye sistem, eğitim sistemini hiç beğenmiyorum. Her zaman değişiklik yapılan işte hani ilkokuldan hatta anasınıfından başlayıp ta üniversiteye kadar bütün şeylerde bir belirsizlik. İşte 4 artı 4'ün gelmesi. Ondan önce bunlar bir tam bir rayına oturmadığı için hem öğrenciler hem veliler hiçbir zaman istediklerini alamıyor.] (Parent A)

The study of Yildiz (2017) argues that 4+4+4, which was effectuated in 2012, is one of the significant changes:

> The change aims to expose education's religious and economic purposes since it involves religious elective courses and allows distance education as compulsory (Okçabol, 2014). Therefore, this change affected girls adversely in terms of early marriage and working-class children in terms of early-work life, thus making labour cheap for the capitalists. In addition, affluent families began sending their children to private schools to prevent them from getting religious education. As a result, secular education became inaccessible to people living in poverty. It is claimed that current teachers are more like technicians, only caring for the student's exam scores. Religious and economic attempts of the current government expect teachers to suit this profile. Schools and students are required to be better than their counterparts since the neoliberal state sees them as companies trying to make a profit. (p. 35-45)

Gün and Baskan (2014) claims that some people are against the last curricular change because:

> 4+4+4 is likely to decrease the girls' schooling rates, which causes escalation of the inequalities. These people also claim that the previous curriculum, which put forward continuous eight-year compulsory education for all, helped to combat the child labour and early marriage unlike the recent one because it allows students to continue their education as distant education. (p.230)

Another effect of the change in the curriculum is the increase in the number of *İmam Hatip* Schools and Bademci et al. (2016) claim that students are exposed to pressure since they are not willing to attend religion-oriented schools, which affects their school experience adversely. Moreover, Odabaşı (2014) argues that universities' decisions on the recent curriculum is not positive since a school programme leading students to combine work and school is not rational.

Also, Teacher B states that students in Turkey cannot have the right to get an education in their mother tongue, which causes a hardship for them:

> *We have another problem at school. Students learn how to read and write too late since they only know Arabic before school. They learn Turkish first.* [Şöyle bir sorunumuz daha var. Arapça öğrenerek geldikleri için okula okuma yazmayı çok geç öğreniyorlar. Çünkü Türkçe önce bir Türkçe öğreniyorlar.](Teacher B)

4.3.3. School Attendance and Achievement

The fact that students combine work and school impacts these students' attendance and achievement. The literature about child labour indicates that it negatively correlates with school attendance and achievement (Boozer & Suri, 2001; Engin-Demir, 2009; Guarcello, 2005; Heady, 2000). The result of the study also confirms the literature substantially.

4.3.3.1. School Attendance

Unlike the studies of Doftori (2004) and Sharma and Dangal (2019), the study's results indicated that students do not have much absenteeism from working on the farm. The main reason behind it is the harvesting time in summer, thus not affecting school attendance much. However, there are times the students do not go to school. Parent C states that sometimes his daughter cannot attend classes:

> *Researcher: Can your daughter attend classes regularly?*
> *Parent C: Yes, but sometimes she does not go to school in the afternoon. If you ask me why she does not go to school. I give money to them in the morning, 20 TL. She has breakfast but does not go to school in the afternoon*

since she does not have money for lunch. Therefore, they have some absenteeism.
[Researcher: Peki kızın düzenli okula gidebiliyor mu?
Parent C: Gider hocam bazen öğleden sonra derslere gitmiyor. Niye gitmiyor dersen mesela. Şimdi sabahleyin giderken kendilerine para veriyorum, 20 milyon veriyorum. Sabah kahvaltısını yapıyor. Öğle şeyi için para olmadığı için öğleden sonra gitmiyor. Evde mesela kahvaltı yapıyorlar para olmadığı için gitmiyorlar. O yüzden, devamsızlıkları olur yani.] (Parent C)

Helin states that she has little absenteeism, but she could not attend for some time:

Helin: It is not much, like 5 or 6.
Researcher: What is the reason for your absenteeism?
Helin: At the beginning of the first days of school, my mother told me to take care of my little sibling for two days so the other family members could go to work.
[Helin: Yani 5 6 gibi falan hocam. Fazla yok.
Researcher: Mesela nedendir bu devamsızlıkların?
Helin: İlk, ilk okul açıldığında hocam şeyde, annem gil dedi sen küçük kardeşine bak. Ben Kiya Ahmet baban gidelim dedi. Sonra ben iki gün falan orada öyle gitti günüm.] (Helin)

For example, the daughter of our landlord was a 7th grader. I have known her since sixth grade. She was outstanding the first time. She went to work as a seasonal farm worker. A year later, I noticed that she had some problems since she missed many topics taught at school. I helped her a little bit, but she could not get it. Then, she began skipping classes by saying she could not get anything at school. She was thinking like that. She was saying she did not want to study anymore. She was helping her mom at home to do chores. She thought she would marry anyway; she was in that mindset.
[Ev sahibimizin kızı mesela yedinci sınıftaydı. Ben geçen yıl oraya gittiğimde ya da altıncı sınıftayken tanıdım…Neyse ilk başlarda iyiydi, sonra bu 23 Nisan'dan sonra bunlar gittiler mevsimlik işçi olarak. Tekrar ertesi yıl geldi. Yedinci sınıfa geçtiğinde. Bu sefer geldi hani öğretmen, evet bir şeyler sormuş bana geldi ama hiçbir konu bilmediği için. Ben biraz anlattım, anlayamadı. Farkındayım. Sonra artık okula devamsızlık yapmaya da başladı. Hani okula gitmek istemiyorum ben okuldan bir şey anlamıyorum. O şeylere girmeye başladığı için artık devam devamsızlık yapınca ister istemez iyice kötüleşti. Yani şey diyordu ben artık okumak istemiyorum. Hani annesine evde yardım ediyordu ev işlerine. Ben evlenirim zaten. O kafaya girmeye başlamıştı yani.] (Teacher B)

There is ongoing agricultural work. Since the farms are their farms, they go to reap the crops, spread seeds, and plough in autumn. They go to irrigate the farms in December, February, and March. After April, they begin to harvest slowly. Therefore, students can be adapted to the school less. Since their education continues intermittently rather than nonstop.

[Orada süren yani süregelen bir tarım işi var. Çünkü tarlalar kendilerinin olduğu için işte sonbahar ayında işte biçmeye gider, tohum atmaya giderler, tarlayı sürmeye giderler. İşte aralık, şubat, mart ondan sonraki aylarda sulamaya gider ve nisandan sonra da yavaş yavaş ekinleri kaldırmaya gittikleri için daha uzun süren bir dönem aslında. Okula daha az adapte olabilir. Çünkü belli bir uzun süre değil, kesik kesik okula devamsızlık yaptıkları için biraz daha adapteleri daha zor oluyor.] (Teacher A)

The literature indicates that students who combine work and school tend to skip classes or neglect responsibilities like homework (Cangür et al., 2013; Hamenoo et al., 2018; Martinez & Cranston-Gingras, 1996;). As stated in the literature, studies conducted in Bangladesh, Ghana and Cambodia argue that child labour negatively correlates with school attendance (Boozer & Suri, 2001; Khanam, 2008; Kim, 2011).

4.3.3.2. School Achievement

The study indicated that students' work has an adverse effect on their school achievement. Only two students described their success as good, while the other described it as average and bad. In line with the previous studies (Goulart & Bedi, 2008; Guarcello, 2008; Hamenoo et al., 2018; Orazem & Gunnarsson, 2004), this study argues that students who engage in labour have low school achievement. Kagitcibasi (1989) claims that socioeconomic status and academic achievement are positively correlated, which increasingly go on from less developed rural area to developed urban area.

The findings of the present study state that teachers' view on the school success of working students is primarily negative. They think the possibility of students working on the farm to be successful is very low.

Teacher A states that there are some students combining work and school can succeed, but it is impossible for most of them:

As I said before, the child experience learned helplessness. "I will go to the farm anyway in that season." The child realises that they will fall behind in the class; therefore, there is no need for studying. Since the child falls behind, the teacher and other students in the class have a negative attitude towards that child. Inevitably, the student cannot catch other students in terms of education; therefore, the student falls behind academically. That student accepts that they cannot succeed.
[İşte dediğim gibi çocuk aslında öğrenilmiş çaresizlik yaşıyor. Ben zaten tarlaya gideceğim. Şu mevsim, şu mevsim gelince geç kalacak. Kendi içinde kendi hesaplamasıyla bir yargılamaya gidiyor. Ve sonuç olarak diyor ki ben

zaten geri kalacağım için çok çalışmama da gerek yok. Öğretmen geç geldiği için, tüm ortam, sınıf ortamı, öğretmenin bakış açısı, o günkü öğretmeni kimse onun da bakış açısı farklı oluyor. Çünkü geriden gelmiş yetiştiremiyor doğal olarak. Ve öğrenci de diğer öğrencilere yetişemeyeceği için akademik olarak çocuk geride kalıyor. Geride kalan çocuk da içsel olarak ben zaten yapamayacağım diyor.] (Teacher A)

Teacher A claims that school attendance and school achievement have positive correlation:

> *Since there is no school attendance, there is no affiliation, thus causing academic failure.*
> [Okula devam olmadığı için bağ olmuyor. Bağ olmadığı için akademik başarı olmuyor.] (Teacher A)

Teacher C also stated that students working on the farm have problems both in school attendance and school achievement:

> *If a teacher leads the student by opening doors for them, the student may be successful, but in other cases, the child does not see herself/himself as successful. Thus, it is tough. Otherwise, it would be like a miracle. If the teacher pushes the student's leg by saying the student has the ability. Since the child suffers psychologically deteriorated, they cannot realise himself/herself academically.*
> [Yani bir öğretmen ona ön ayak olursa, kapıyı açarsa, yönlendirir ise belki başarılı olur ama öteki durumda çocuk kendini başarılı bulmuyor zaten çok zor, kendinde onu bulmuyor yani. Bulursa zaten mucize gibi bir şey. Az öğretmen gazlarsa sende bu yetenek var sende bu ışık var derse o. Yoksa çocuk zaten psikolojik olarak bittiği için sosyal olarak da yok, akademik anlamda da yok.] (Teacher C)

Teacher D claims that students miss many points in terms of education:

> *Students had to work. I mean, they had to continue their lives, and this situation inevitably affected their courses negatively. I think the school achievement of the students decreased a little bit.*
> [Ya öğrenciler çalışmaya devam etmek zorunda kaldı. Yani bir şekilde hayatlarını devam ettirmek zorunda kaldılar ve bu da ister istemez derslerine negatif olarak yansıyor. Öğrencilerin başarısının biraz düştüğünü düşünüyorum ben.] (Teacher D)

Teacher E argues that students working on the farm cannot further their education to higher levels:

> *They always fall behind in the class. Sometimes, the child cannot attend school for a month or a day. Sometimes, the child comes to school in the morning but not in the afternoon. Inevitably, the children fall behind in terms of school achievement. I do not suppose that the child cannot go further in terms of school achievement or motivation.*

> [Konu olarak hep geride kalıyor. Çocuk bir ay gelmiyor, bir gün geliyor, bir gün gelmiyor. Ya da sabah geliyor, akşam gelmiyor. Yani ister istemez bu çocuğun konuları geride olduğunu görmemiz lazım. Bu konu olarak neredeyse bu çocuğun ders başarısı olarak ileriye gideceğini düşünmüyorum, motivasyon olarak ileriye gideceğini düşünmüyorum.] (Teacher E)

Teacher B does not think these students can succeed; however:

> *Since the students, especially girls, see the hardships of earning money and life, they try to get rid of it. However, I don't suppose they can succeed in the future since they cannot eliminate the educational deficiencies.*
> [Para kazanmanın zorluğunu gördüğü için bazıları özellikle kızlarda var bu. Hayatın zorluklarını gördüğü için böyle çalışıp çabalamaya çalışıyorlar. Ama hani o eksikleri tamamlayamadıkları için bence ilerisi çok düzgün olacağını zannetmiyorum yani.] (Teacher B)

In this chapter, experiences of the students are analysed to provide the data for this study. First, the daily life experiences provide the data to understand the group culture of these students by revealing common characteristics and practices of them such as low socioeconomic level and working to contribute to family income. Second, work-life experiences provide the data to understand the reasons for working and working conditions of the students combining work and school. Third, school life experiences provide the data to understand school perception and attitude, hardships of school, and school attendance and achievement of students working in agriculture.

In summary, as the findings clearly demonstrated in this chapter that students' experiences in daily life, work life, and school life, who combine work and school, intensely interact. In other words, students who come from low socioeconomic backgrounds have to engage in labour. Their working adversely affects their school achievement that causes them to have negative attitude towards school; therefore, the outcome of schooling does not have much positive impact on their future life such as good job and better education. This situation mostly leads students to have the same socioeconomic status as their parents. In that way, daily, work, and school life practices are reproduced.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter includes the conclusions drawn from the findings, the implications for practice, and further research. The chapter begins with the revision of the data, followed by the implications. It concludes by interpreting findings gathered through observation, thick descriptions, field journals and semi-structured interviews.

5.1. Conclusions

One of the aims of this study is to explore the students' experiences working on the farm. The students who combine work and school engage in labour on the farm for the following reasons: parents' socioeconomic status, including low educational level, low family income, insecure jobs, their families are overcrowded, and the children are culturally needed on the farm such as gaining responsibilities, learning the hardships of life and new abilities. Their working conditions are as follows: long working hours, challenging conditions such as high temperature and low prices, and dangerous tasks such as fertilising, applying pesticides, driving the tractor, ploughing, and hoeing. Another aim of this study is to explore the role of school in students' lives from the perspectives of them, their parents, and teachers. Their perceptions and attitudes are investigated to understand the role of school in their life. Although some students have positive attitudes toward school, most do not think it will provide enough opportunities for their future. Some students see it as a waste of time. These students experience many hardships at school due to work-related, peer-related, Covid-19-related, and curriculum-related challenges. Moreover,

students tend to skip classes and have low achievement at school due to working on the farm.

5.1.1. School as a place for reproduction

The study indicated that the students are disadvantaged since they combine work and school. This situation leads to inequality and, consequently, poverty, which creates a cycle that leads increase in child labour. Therefore, the students who come from low-income families fall back into poverty. In that way, the school reproduces the problem instead of eliminating it. In other words, social inequalities are reproduced through schooling (Ballantine et al., 2017; Green et al., 2007; Omer & Jabeen, 2016).

Moreover, the school is insensitive to the situation; thus, the attitude of these students toward school is negative, which causes working students' success to be low. Since they cannot succeed, students' attitudes toward school become more negative and the possibility of a continuum for further education decrease. As a result, the students drift away from education, decreasing school achievement. Therefore, students do not hope to have a good job to earn money, and the role of school in their lives loses its importance.

The study has also revealed that the role of school in students' lives is considered a pragmatic institution to provide necessary certificates. However, it cannot guarantee a job or a good life for them. This conclusion is induced by the the school's role which is explained in Small's (2013) study. Marx (1975-2005, as cited in Small, 2013, p.45-69) claims that working class children are only equipped with the necessary occupational skills since school work toward the aims of the dominant class; therefore, the schools function to ensure workers have mobility from works to works instead of classes.

Yet, the present study's results argue that schools cannot even function to train students to be qualified workers in the future.

It is claimed that schools were seen as a place for equilibrium since it works with the same curriculum for all. However, Willis' work dated 1977 has changed that perception because the results of the study claim that the students perceive them as

unequal places, which leads the working class to working-class jobs (Anyon, 2011; Levinson et al., 2014).

5.1.2. Covid-19 Pandemic in a Neoliberal Era

The study also revealed the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic and restrictions related to it on education. During the school closure and restrictions, students' education got interrupted, and most students could not reach it because of technological inadequacies resulting from economic insufficiencies. (Cesuroglu & Kolemen, 2021; Hall, 2022; Hoque, 2021; Işık Erol, 2021). Giroux (2021) defines the covid-19 pandemic as an ideological and political crisis since it has shown the effects of neoliberal policies in various areas.

> It is stated that the most adversely affected by the pandemic are the most disadvantaged. The pandemic has also exposed that inequalities hidden among the people cause the disadvantaged to be affected by the occurring destructions since their conditions are uneven. (p. 1-4)

It can be concluded that neoliberal policies, which aim at marketisation, privatisation and decentralisation of the services including education that should be provided for the people by the state itself, aggravate the incidence of child labour (Harvey, 2007). In fact, this study's findings show that Covid-19 restrictions in the neoliberal era increased the incidence of child labour. Turkey is one of the countries shaped by neoliberal and neoconservative policies which offer educational deductions and renovation to meet the needs of the big companies (Grollios, 2017; Hill et al., 2017). Instead of providing opportunities, these policies increase the inequalities of opportunity. Harvey (2005) argues that the destructive effect of neoliberalism on the public can be seen as the transition of the public services to the private sector aiming the profit instead of the public good. Consequently, Hill et al. (2017) argue that the right to education becomes a commodity and loses its theoretical, critical, and democratic values.

5.2. Implications

The study aimed to explore the experiences of students working on the farm and the role of school in students' lives through the perspectives of them, their parents, and teachers. The implications for practice addressing the context of the

study, states the urgent need for the termination of child labour since it does not allow students to attend school or even if it allows them to do it, they cannot succeed. The results of the study have revealed the child labour is an ongoing problem, which affects students' school attendance and achievement. Therefore, there should be a great deal of practices and research focusing on the ways to overcome child labour. The implications for practice and further research are addressed here.

5.2.1. Implications for Practice

Based on the findings and discussion, it iss obvious that necessary precautions are required against child labour. There are ongoing practices to deal with this problem. However, these practices cannot solve the problem for the following reasons. As one of the teachers stated, one of the most common practices is that the Ministry of National Education allows children of migrant farm workers to get an education at a school where they went to work since they are mobile while working on the farm. One of the other standard practices is mobile school, a bus equipped with educational tools goes to the farm where many children work. This project is more debatable than the other since it does not aim to overcome the problem; instead, it shows that the Ministry is aware of the situation but cannot solve it. In other words, these practices only let the students working on the farm combine work and school; it does not diminish child labour.

Several recommendations can be offered to policymakers of the Ministry of National Education to overcome child labour based on the present study's findings. First, as some teacher participants suggested, dormitories and regional boarding secondary schools must be established in the area to prevent the students from working on the farm. The Ministry itself must meet all the basic needs of these students coming from low-income families. Therefore, their school attendance and achievement may increase since poverty is the most fundamental reason for working.

The results of the study have shown that there are several reasons for students to work on the farm. Whereas the literature states that the major one is poverty, the study argues that the other factors are also vital; thus, socioeconomic status is the principal since most families in Birecik come from low-income families with low educational levels. Especially mothers' level of education is usually low. Also, as it

is stated in the literature, education of the family, particularly the mother's education, has a significant impact on the decision of child labour; therefore, awareness of them must be raised through adult education (Das & Mukherjee, 2007). In other words, attempts to increase the educational level of all the people in the area are required.

Third, due to the lack of job opportunities in the area, parents generally work in temporary jobs such as seasonal farmwork, which entails manual labour. Mechanised agriculture can be a solution to decrease the need for manual labour. Thus, the adults must be offered new day job opportunities to live and work in better conditions. However, any solution, which does not address poverty, cannot eliminate child labour since poverty is a result of child labour in agriculture as well as a cause of it (FAO, 2020).

Fourth, the students and parents may not be aware of the current and future risk of the possibility of becoming poor again. To help students and parents become conscious, empowerment education can be implemented into the school curriculum. As stakeholders of the school, teachers can prepare sessions to raise awareness for both students and parents. In these sessions, movies can be screened. After these sessions, critical discussions can be conducted in a way that Freire (2000) offers. To empower students, Freire (2000) puts forward a way of education as problem-posing. Through this way, he aims to help people gain conscious about their situation. For the process, dialogue between the teacher and the students is a must since it provides a critical perspective to the reality through the posed problems. Therefore, we, as teachers, can prepare weekly sessions at our school by inviting parents of the students combining work and school. In these sessions, the working conditions of these students can be demonstrated through short movies. After that, the situations that create the problem can be discussed. Then, some teachers can attend to the sessions by sharing their own observations about these children. The parents can be asked what recommendations they can give to solve the problem and the solution can be sought by themselves.

Finally, free, compulsory and secular education must be provided for all children in the country. The incentives and resources given to the private schools must be given to public schools. All private schools that create student inequalities must be transformed into public schools. All teachers must be appointed on a merit-

based system to meet the teacher needs throughout the country and work for more than minimum conditions in a non-oppressive environment. Increasing the number of schools as well as their quality is so important that schools can be places for the students to socialise with their peers collaboratively, to find helpful information to be used in their lives as well a place where they do not have future anxiety.

5.2.2. Implications for Further Research

This study will provide documentation for further research. The curriculum specialists and policymakers may use the findings of the study which can be a basis on the incidence of child labour for future studies because it consists of the literature, including empirical and theoretical studies from Turkey and the world.

Moreover, the mothers' perspectives could not be included in this study since no one was willing to participate that may be a cultural barrier resulting from gender bias. A qualitative study can be conducted, including their perspectives as well.

On the other hand, even though this qualitative study represents only a small part of child labourers, consisting of 7th-grade students working in agriculture at Birecik, Sanliurfa, the impact of child labour on education needs to be explored in further studies. Future qualitative or quantitative studies may be conducted at other study contexts to explore the experiences of students working on the farm or in other sectors.

Finally, child labour is a multidimensional problem, and education is only one of them. Its effect on other dimensions can also be investigated since it is impossible to eliminate child labour without aiming for changes in the social setting. Therefore, further studies can focus on the ways to eliminate it and the conditions that create the problem itself.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHIC COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

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14 NİSAN 2022

Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Cennet Engin DEMİR

Danışmanlığını yürüttüğünüz Burakcan BAKIRCI'nın "Tarımda Çalışan Öğrencilerin ve Ailelerinin Okul Algısı ve Tutumu Üzerine Eleştirel Etnografik Bir Çalışma" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **0186-ODTUİAEK-2022** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof.Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
İAEK Başkan

B. INFORMED CONSENT FORM

ARAŞTIRMAYA GÖNÜLLÜ KATILIM FORMU

Bu araştırma, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi yüksek lisans öğrencisi Burakcan Bakırcı tarafından yürütülmektedir. Bu form sizi araştırma koşulları hakkında bilgilendirmek için hazırlanmıştır.

Çalışmanın Amacı Nedir?

Çalışmanın amacı, tarım sektöründe çalışan öğrencilerin ve ailelerinin okula ilişkin algısının ve tutumunun ne olduğunu detaylı bir şekilde anlamaya çalışmaktır.

Bize Nasıl Yardımcı Olmanızı İsteyeceğiz?

Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ederseniz, sizinle yüz yüze bir görüşme gerçekleştireceğiz. Yaklaşık olarak 1 saat sürmesi beklenen bu görüşmede sizlere tarım işçiliği yaptığınız alandaki koşullarınızı, okula bakış açınızı ve tutumlarınızı kapsayan sorular yöneltilecektir. Sorulara verilen yanıtlar araştırmacı tarafından ses kayıt cihazı ile kayıt altına alınacaktır.

Sizden Topladığımız Bilgileri Nasıl Kullanacağız?

Araştırmaya katılımınız tamamen gönüllülük temelinde olmalıdır. Bu çalışmada sizden hiçbir özel bilgi istenmemektedir. Cevaplarınız tamamıyla gizli tutulacak, sadece araştırmacı tarafından değerlendirilecektir. Katılımcılardan elde edilecek bilgiler toplu halde değerlendirilecek ve bilimsel yayımlarda kullanılacaktır. Sağladığınız veriler gönüllü katılım formlarında toplanan kimlik bilgileri ile eşleştirilmeyecektir.

Katılımınızla ilgili bilmeniz gerekenler:

Çalışma, genel olarak kişisel rahatsızlık verecek sorular içermemektedir. Ancak, katılım sırasında sorulardan ya da herhangi başka bir nedenden ötürü kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz cevaplama işini yarıda bırakıp çıkmakta serbestsiniz. Böyle bir durumda çalışmayı uygulayan kişiye, çalışmadan çıkmak istediğinizi söylemek yeterli olacaktır.

Araştırmayla ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak isterseniz:

Bu çalışmaya katıldığınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü yüksek lisans öğrencisi Burakcan Bakırcı'dan e-posta (e-posta: .veya telefon ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum.
(Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra uygulayıcıya geri veriniz).

İsim Soyad Tarih İmza
---/----/-----

C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Giriş

Dünya'da birçok çocuğun hayatını devam ettirebilmek için çalışmak zorunda olduğu görülmektedir. Çocuk işçiliği Uluslararası Çalışma Örgütü (ILO) tarafından çocukların gelişimini ve eğitimini engelleyen her türlü iş olarak tanımlanmakta (2018). Türkiye'de bu yaş 15 olarak kabul edilmekte ve 13 yaşın üstündeki çocuklar da hafif işlerde çalışabilmektedir (Bekdaş, 2009). Bu çocukların bir kısmı çalışırken bir taraftan da okula devam etmeye çalışmaktadır. Çocukların başlıca çalışma nedenleri yoksulluk, yüksek doğum hızı ve kültürel sermaye olarak bilinmektedir ki bu da çocukların okul devamlılığı ve okul başarısını etkilemektedir (Batır, 2020; Bekdaş, 2009; Sharma & Dangal, 2019). Her şeyin neoliberal politikalarla satılabilen bir mal haline geldiği bir düzende çocukların eğitimi de bundan payını almakta ve eğitimdeki piyasalaşma, eşitsizlikleri arttırmaktadır (Harvey, 2007).

Çalışan çocukların %70'inden fazlası tarım sektöründe çalıştığı için, çocuk işçiliğin görüldüğü en yaygın iş kolu tarım olmuştur (Chatterjee & Ray 2019; Kaur & Byard, 2021). 2016 yılındaki verilere göre Dünya'da 150 milyondan fazla çocuk işçi olduğu, bunların 100 milyondan fazlasının da tarımda çalıştığı bilinmektedir. Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (2017), Türkiye'deki çocuk işçi sayısını 2 milyon olarak açıklamış ve İşçi Sağlığı ve İş Güvenliği Meclisi (2021) bu sayının Covid-19 salgını ile birlikte daha da artacağını öngörmektedir. Bu çocuklar çalışmak zorunda oldukları, çocukluklarını yaşayamadıkları, psikolojik, fiziksel ve hijyenik olarak kötü koşullara maruz kaldıkları için en dezavantajlı grup olarak görülmektedir (Lordoğlu & Etiler, 2014; Akça & Arslan, 2021). Çocukların bu yaşantıları okuldaki deneyimlerini de etkilemekte, onları devamsızlık yapmaya, okulu boşlamaya ve hatta okulu bırakmaya itmektedir (Cangür et al., 2013; Goulart and Bedi, 2008; Guarcello, Lyon & Rosati, 2005; Hamenoo et al., 2018; Khanam, 2005; Kim, 2011; Martinez & Cranston-Gingras, 1996). Çocukların çalışma sebeplerinin arasında ucuz iş gücü olarak görülmelerinin yanı sıra, yoksulluk, göç, işsizlik, cinsiyet eşitsizliği, ailenin arkaplanı, eğitim masrafları ve okula erişim sorunları gibi nedenler yatmaktadır (Adonteng-Kissi,2021; Batır, 2020; Bilgili, 2018; Edmonds, 2007; Lieten, 2000;

Tzannatos, 1998). Bazı çalışmalar, okulun aslında toplumdaki eşitsizliklerin yeniden üretildiği bir yer olduğunu, hâkim ideolojinin eğitim aracılığıyla insanların sınıf bilincine erişmesini engellediğini öne sürmektedir, bu yüzden de işçi sınıfı iktidarı olmaksızın bir eğitim kaçınılmaz olarak tamamen kapitalist sınıfın karı için vardır (Green et al., 2007; Omer & Jabeen, 2016). Bu çalışmada tarımda çalışan çocukların okul deneyimlerinin neler olduğunu ve okulun onların hayatında nasıl bir rolü olduğu ortaya konmaya çalışılmıştır.

Çalışmanın amacı

Bu çalışmanın amacı hem okuyup hem çalışan çocukların deneyimlerinin incelenmesi ve okulun bu çocukların hayatındaki rolünün, öğrencilerin, velilerin ve öğretmenlerin perspektifiyle ortaya çıkarılmasıdır. Bu sayede çocukların çalışma nedenleri çalışma koşulları ve bunların okul deneyimlerine etkilerini bulmak hedeflenmektedir.

Bu çalışmanın amacına ulaşması için temelde iki soru üzerinden hareket edilmiştir. Bu sorular aşağıdaki gibidir:

1. Tarlada çalışan çocukların okul deneyimleri nelerdir?
2. Öğrencilerin, velilerin ve öğretmenlerin gözünden okulun çalışan çocukların hayatındaki rolü nedir?

Çalışmanın önemi

Çocuk işçiliğin önemli olduğunu söyleyen birçok çalışma vardır (Goulart & Bedi, 2008; Hamenoo et al., 2018; Jijon, 2020; Kim, 2011; Togunde & Weber, 2007; ; Weiner, 1991; Zhang et al., 2019, as cited in Hoque, 2021, p. 41). Bunun yanı sıra hem çalışan hem okula devam eden çocuklarla yapılan ve bu sorunun nasıl ortadan kaldırılabileceğine dair öneriler veren çalışmalar da olmakla birlikte, bu sorun hala güncelliğini ve yakıcılığını korumaktadır. Ekonomik kriz ve Covid-19 pandemisi gibi sıkıntılı zamanların toplumdaki eşitsizlikleri arttırdığını ve bunların da çocukları çalışmaya ittiği belirtilmektedir (Cesuroglu & Kolemen, 2021; Işık Erol, 2021). Bu çalışma hayatının da çocuklarda bedensel ve psikolojik sorunlara yol açmasının yanı sıra okula devamlarını ve okul başarılarını olumsuz yönde etkilediği düşünülmektedir (Anker & Melkas, 1996;Hoque, 2021; Kaur & Byard, 2021; Orazem & Gunnarsson,

2004). Bunun nedeninin de okulun hayatlarında önemli bir rol oynamadığından kaynaklanabileceği, onlara bir gelecek yaratamayacağı düşünüldüğünden okula pek fazla önem atfedilmediği düşünülmektedir (Lieten, 2000). Bu çalışmanın bulgularının çocuk işçiliğine karşı mücadelede önemli bir yer kaplaması beklenmekte ve daha sonraki eğitim politikalarına bir katkı sağlaması beklenmektedir.

Sınırlılıklar

1. Bu çalışma Şanlıurfa'nın Birecik ilçesinde yaşayan 7. Sınıf öğrencileri, onların velileri ve öğretmenleri ile yapılmıştır. Çalışma, bu bölgenin koşulları düşünülerek değerlendirilmelidir.
2. Çalışmaya katılan velilerin tamamı erkektedir, hiçbir kadın veliye ulaşılamamıştır.
3. Çocukların tarladaki çalışma hayatlarına dair bir gözlem yapılmamıştır.
4. Alınan veriler doğrudan çocukların, velilerin ve öğretmenlerin söylediklerinden ve süreç içinde yapılan öğrenci gözlemlerinden oluşmaktadır.

Araştırma yöntemi

Bu çalışmada nitel bir araştırma yöntemi olan eleştirel etnografi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Araştırma hem okuyan hem çalışan çocukların deneyimlerini incelemeyi hedeflediği için her birinin hikayesi eşsiz bir veri olarak ele alınmalıdır (Fraenkel vd., 2019). Etnografi, insan topluluklarını betimlemeyi hedeflerken, eleştirel etnografi, bu betimlemenin ötesine geçip harekete geçmeyi hedeflemekte (Carspecken, 2013). Temelini toplumdaki eşitsizliklere yaslayan eleştirel etnografi böylelikle toplumdaki güç ilişkilerini ortaya çıkarmakla kalmayıp aynı zamanda buna neden olan faktörlere de çözüm sunmaktadır (Anderson, 1989; Cohen vd., 2017).

Katılımcılar

Çalışmaya, 12 tane hem tarlada çalışan hem de okula giden 7. Sınıf öğrencisi, bunların arasından 6 tanesinin velisi ve bu öğrencilerin 5 tane öğretmeni katıldı. Öğrenci katılımcılar seçilirken kartopu örneklemesi kullanılmıştır. Yedinci sınıf öğrencileri arasından tarlada çalışan öğrenci bulunmuş, sonrasında bu öğrencinin başka arkadaşlarını önermesi istenmiş, onların da katılımı ve diğer katılımcıları önermesiyle katılımcılar belirlenmiştir. Veliler ile yapılacak olan görüşme için bütün katılımcı öğrencilerin velilerine sorulmuş yalnızca 6 tanesi katılmaya gönüllü olmuştur ve bu katılımcıların hepsi erkektir. Öğretmenler ile yapılacak görüşmede ise 7. Sınıfların dersine giren ve bu öğrencileri tanıyan ama farklı deneyimleri olan 5 öğretmen seçilmiştir.

Çalışma bağlamı

Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu verilerine göre Türkiye'deki çocuk işçi sayısı 720.000 civarında ve bunların %65'i aynı zamanda okula devam etmektedir ve bu çocukların yaklaşık 3'te 1'i tarım sektöründe çalışmaktadır (2020). Türkiye ekonomisini her ne kadar ağırlığını tarım sektöründen sanayi ve hizmet sektörüne kaydırmış olsa da tarlada çalışan çocuk işçi sayısı hala önemli bir sorun. Özellikle tarıma dayalı üretimin olduğu bölgelerde bunun yoğunluğu daha fazla. Şanlıurfa ili tarımın yoğun olarak yapıldığı ve çocuk işçiliğin de yoğun olarak görüldüğü illerimizden biridir. Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Resmi İstatistiklerine göre Şanlıurfa'da 2470 okul ve 707.018 öğrenci bulunmaktadır (2022). İl Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü (2019) ve Benek ve Baydemir (2021) Şanlıurfa'da çalışan mevsimlik işçi sayısı da 15-23 bin arasında olduğu tahmin edilmektedir, fakat tarımda çalışan öğrencilerin sayısı denetimsizlik gibi nedenlerle tam olarak bilinememektedir. Bu çalışma Fırat Nehri kenarında kurulan ilçesi Birecik'te yapılmıştır. İlçe aynı zamanda Suriye sınırında olduğu için, burada yaşayan insanlar genellikle Türkler, Kürtler ve Araplardır. Aynı zamanda doğum artış hızı yüksek olduğu için ilçenin çocuk nüfusu da fazladır.

Araştırma aşamaları

Carspecken ve Apple (1992) tarafından öne sürülen 5 aşamalı araştırma modeli kullanılmıştır. Birinci aşamada, araştırmacı yaptığı gözlemleri not alarak

durumu betimlemiştir. Bu aşamada yoğun betimleme adı verilen betimlemeler yapıldı. Bu betimlemelerde katılımcıların mimikleri, jestleri ve söylemleri yer almaktadır. Bu aşamada kültürel değerler, normlar ve inanışlar incelendi ve böylelikle müdahale olmaksızın pasif bir gözlem yapılmış oldu (Carspecken, 2013). İkinci aşamada, ilk aşamada elde edilen veriler incelenerek örtülü anlamlar ortaya çıkarılmaya çalışıldı. Üçüncü aşama, araştırmanın demokratikleşme aşaması olarak tanımlanan aşama olup, bu aşamada araştırmacı katılımcılarla görüşmeler yaparak onları da çalışmaya dahil etmiştir. Dördüncü aşamada, yaşanan deneyimleri etkileyen diğer sosyal etmenler incelenmiştir. Bu aşama, daha önce konuyla ilgili yapılan teorik ve uygulamalı çalışmaların, bu çalışma için ortak ve farklı yönlerinin ortaya konduğu aşamadır. Son aşama olan beşinci aşamada ise geniş ölçekte bu durumu yaratan ve bu duruma son verebilecek öneriler ortaya konmuştur. Bu araştırma eleştirel bir çalışma olduğu için, araştırmacı gözlem ve görüşme yaparken, katılımcıların bunu açıkça bilmesi sağlanmıştır (Ary vd., 2018).

Verilerin toplanması ve analizi

Bu çalışmanın verileri 2021 Mayıs ayında, Şanlıurfa'nın Birecik ilçesindeki bir ortaokulda gerçekleştirilmiştir. Araştırmada farklı veri toplama yöntemleri kullanılmıştır. Bu yöntemler gözlem, yoğun betimleme, saha defteri ve görüşmedir. Toplanan veriler yazılı hale getirilip MAXQDA 2020 yazılımı kullanılarak veriler düzenlenmiştir. Ana temaları bulmak için açık kodlama kullanılmış daha sonra bu bulunan temalar metinlerin içinde araştırılmış ve düzenlenmiştir.

Bulgular

Diyalojik verinin yaratılması sürecinde, nitel verinin analizi ve yorumlanması gereklidir. Bu aşamada katılımcıların deneyimleri ve arka planları kullanılarak katılımcıların hayatları özetlemiştir. Her katılımcının deneyimleri kendilerine mahsus hikayeler olduğu için her bir hayat hikayesi ayrı ayrı verilmiştir. Öğrencilerin yaşları, sınıfları, cinsiyetleri, nerede yaşadıkları, kardeş sayıları, ailesinin ne iş yaptığı gibi sorular sorularak hayatları hakkında bilgi sahibi olunmuştur. Daha sonra çocukların neden hem okula devam edip hem de tarlada çalıştıklarını anlamaya yönelik sorular sorularak, tarladaki çalışma koşulları, çocukların yaptıkları işler ve bunları neden

yaptıkları hakkında bilgi alınmıştır. Çocuklardan sıradan bir günlerini ve okul günlerini betimlemeleri istenmiş ve okulun hayatlarındaki rolü anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Araştırmaya katılan 12 7. Sınıf öğrencisinden 4'ü kız 8'i erkektir ve bunlar 12 ile 14 yaş arasındadır. Bu çocukların hepsi hem okula devam etmekte hem de tarlada çalışmaktadırlar. Çoğunlukla ilçede yaşadıkları kimisinin arada köye de gidip geldiği bilinmektedir. Öğrencilerin annelerinin neredeyse tamamen hepsinin ev hanımı olduğu, bir tanesinin dikiş nakış öğretmeni ve bir tanesinin de temizlik görevlisi olarak çalıştığı bilinmektedir. Yalnıza 3 tanesinin annesi lise mezunudur ve geri kalanı ortaokulu ve alt seviyelerde eğitim görmüşlerdir. Katılımcıların babalarındansa yalnızca 1 tanesinin ön lisans mezunu olduğu, 2 tanesinin lise ve geri kalanların da ortaokul ve alt seviyelerde eğitim aldığı ortaya çıkmıştır. En az 5 en fazla 8 kişiden oluşan ailelerde yaşayan çocukların genelde evin gelirinin babaları tarafından sağlandığını söylemişlerdir. Katılımcıların babaları, fırıncı, boyacı, ayakkabıcı, muhasebeci, dolmuş şoförü, çiftçi, seyyar satıcı, toptancı, müdür ve manav olarak çalışmaktadırlar.

Çocuklardan tarladaki çalışma koşullarını anlatmaları istenmiş ve bu koşullar uzun çalışma saatleri, yüksek sıcaklık, tehlikeli kimyasallara maruz kalma ve işlerin zorluğu olarak belirtilmiştir. Çocuklar doğrudan söylemese de çalışma nedenleri genellikle alanyazında belirtildiği gibi sosyo-ekonomik düzeylerinden kaynaklanmakta ve aile ekonomisine katkı sağlamak için çalışmaktadırlar (Engin-Demir, 2009; Guarcello, 2005; Heady, 2000). Bu çalışma okula devamlarını pek fazla etkilemese de okul başarılarını etkilediğini söyleyenler olmuş, bunu öğretmenleri de doğrulamıştır. Çocuklar okulun onların geleceği için ehliyet ve iş yeri ruhsatı hariç gerekli belgeleri sağlamaktan başka pek de bir şey katamayacağını söylemekteler. Alanyazında da okulun onlara bir sınıflar arası bir geçiş değil, yalnızca bir işten daha iyisine olanak sağlayabileceği belirtilmiş bunun da yoksul öğrenciler için çok zor olduğu belirtilmiştir (Anker & Melkas, 1996; Small, 2013). Öğrenciler bazen okulu astıklarını, bazen ödev yapmak istemediklerini ve bunun yüzünden okuldaki başarılarının etkilendiğini belirtmişlerdir.

Ebeveynler ile yapılan görüşmelerle ailelerin sosyoekonomik durumları ve çocukları çalışmaya gönderme nedenleri araştırılmıştır. Ebeveynler okulun önemli bir yer olduğunu söylemelerine rağmen, genelde maddi durumu iyi olanlar için iyi

olduğunu düşünmekteler. Okula atfedilen öneme rağmen, okulun verdiği eğitimden memnun olmadıklarını, öğrencilerin gelecek kaygılarını gideremediklerini belirtmekteler. Veliler çocuklarını cep harçlıklarını çıkarsınlar, hayatı öğrensinler, zorlukların farkına varsınlar ve maddi olarak eve bir katkı sunsunlar diye gönderdiklerini belirtmişlerdir (Chatterjee & Ray, 2019; Edmonds, 2007; FAO, 2020).

Öğretmenler ile yapılan görüşmelerdeyse bu çocukların okula devamlılığını ve okul başarılarını etkileyen etmenler ve bu soruna çözüm olabilecek öneriler sunulmuştur. Öğretmenler çocukların okula devamlarında sorun yaşadıklarını bunun bölgesel ihtiyacın hasat zamanıyla büyük ölçüde bağlantılı olduğunu, Birecik ilçesinin hasat zamanının yazın olmasına rağmen yine de çocukların tarlada her mevsimde çalıştıklarından bahsetmişlerdir. Tarlada çalışan çocukların, ağır ve kötü koşullarda çalıştığını, ağır bir sömürüye maruz kaldıklarını ve bunun okul devamsızlıklarını ve başarılarını olumsuz yönde etkilediğini söylemekteler (Guarcello, 2008; Goulart & Bedi, 2008; Hanemo vd., 2018; Orazem & Gunnarsson, 2004).

Tartışma

Araştırmaya katılan öğrenciler 12 ve 14 yaş arasındadır. Türkiye'de 15 yaşının altında çalışan çocuklar çocuk işçi kabul edilmekte ve ILO'nun çocuk işçilik tanımına göre 13 yaşından büyük çocuklar okullarını ve gelişimlerini etkilemeyecek hafif işlerde çalışabilmektedir. Fakat bulgular bize gösteriyor ki bu çocuklar için yaş riskli bir sınırda durmakta ve tarlada çalışmaları eğitimlerini etkilemektedir. Önceki araştırmalar ve bu çalışmanın sonuçları birbirini doğrulayacak şekilde çocukların çalışma nedenlerini yoksulluk, eğitim seviyesinin düşük olması, göç, aile içi gelir, kalabalıklık, işsizlik, ekonomik kriz, covid-19 gibi kriz durumları ve kültürel nedenler olacak şekilde ortaya koymakta. Birçok çalışma çocuk işçiliğinin arkasında asıl nedenin yoksulluk olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır, bu çalışmanın katılımcıları da bunu verdikleri örneklerle doğrulamıştır (Ahmad, 2012; Cangür vd., 2013; Gibbons et a., 2005; Goulart & Bedi, 2008; Sevinç vd., 2015). Yoksul aileler, çocuklarını çalıştırmak zorunda kalmakta, bu yüzden tarlaya çalışmaya göndermekteler (Levinson vd., 2014). Ayrıca bazı veliler pandemiyle birlikte başlayan okul

kapanmaları ve süregelen ekonomik krizlerin de çocukların tarlada çalışmasına neden olduğunu ileri sürmüştür. Tarlada çalışan çocukların yüksek sıcaklık, kimyasal tehlike, riskli durumlar, uzun çalışma saatleri, zor işler gibi koşullara maruz kaldığı alanyazın taramasında söylendiği gibi bulgularda da ortaya çıkmıştır (Akça & Arslan, 2021; FAO, 2020; Lordoğlu & Etiler, 2014; Martinez & Cranston-Gingras, 1996;). Çalışmaya katılan çocuklar, sıcak havaların onları bunalttığını, ilaçlamaya gittiklerini, traktör sürdüklerini ve 12 saate varan çalışma süreleri olduğunu belirtmişlerdir (Lordoğlu & Etiler, 2014). Bulgular, alanyazını teyit eder şekilde çocukların tarlada çalışmalarının okul devamsızlığını ve okul başarısını etkilediğini göstermektedir (Goulart & Bedi, 2008; Guarcello, 2005; Hanemo vd., 2018; Orazem & Gunnarsson, 2004).

Bu çalışma aynı zamanda okulun öğrencilerin hayatındaki rolünü de ortaya çıkarmayı hedeflemiştir. Bunu anlamak için de okulun toplumdaki rolünün ortaya konmasının faydalı olacağı düşünülmektedir. Okul, farklı eğitim akımları için farklı amaçlar taşımaktadır. Bu akımlar, okulun statükoyu korumaya yaradığını, hâkim ideolojinin değerlerini ve inançlarını örtük programlara yedirerek bunların 'normal' kabul edilmesini sağladığını, eşitsizliklerin toplumda süregelmesi için yeniden üretildiği bir yer olmasını sağladığını söylemektedir (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Ballantine vd., 2017; Cevizci, 2018; Doftori, 2004 Hall, 2022). Hatta çalışmaya katılan bazı öğretmenler okulların öğrenciyi fakir ve zengin, başarılı ve başarısız diye ayıran bir yer olduğunu belirtmektedir. Bu çalışmaya katılan bazı öğrenciler okulu genelde arkadaşlarıyla oyun oynadıkları bir yer olarak görmektedirler, bazıları da iş hayatlarında kullanabilecekleri belgeleri sağlayan yararlı bir yer oluğunu söylemektedirler. Veliler ise okula önem atfetmelerine rağmen okulun çocuklar için pek de bir gelecek sağlayabileceğini düşünmüyorlar.

Çocuklar okulda akran zorbalığı ve cezalandırma gibi sorunlar yaşadıklarını, arkadaşlarının gerisinde kaldıkları için başarı anlamında da sorunlar yaşadıklarını belirtmekteler. Eğitim sisteminde yapılan 4+4+4 gibi değişikliklerin gibi uzun vadede sonuç verebileceği, bu yüzden sık yapılan değişikliklerin eğitim için faydalı olmadığı belirtilmiştir. Yildiz (2017), 4+4+4 değişikliğinin hem laik eğitime karşı bir sorun olduğunu hem de çocukların erken yaşta evlenmesine ya da çocuk işçi olmasına neden olduğunu öne sürmekte. Neoliberal politikaların kıskacında kalan

eğitim bu değişiklikle beraber daha piyasacı ve daha gerici bir hale geldiği belirtilmekte (Yildiz, 2017). Çalışmaya katılan birçok öğretmen çocukların hem okula gidip hem çalışmasını bir fırsat eşitsizliği olarak gördüklerini ve bunun yoğun bir emek sömürüsü olduğunu belirtmekteler. 2020 yılından beri sürmekte olan pandemi zaman zaman okulların kapanmasına neden olarak eğitim uzakta sürdürülmesine neden olmaktadır. Özellikle 2020-2021 eğitim öğretim yılında yüz yüze eğitim çok kısa bir süre gerçekleşmiştir. Giroux (2021), covid-19 pandemisini neoliberal politikaların yıkımını gösteren ideolojik ve siyasi bir kriz olarak tanımlamakta. Pandeminin örtük eşitsizlikleri daha da belirginleştiği öne sürülmekte (Giroux, 2021). Öğrenciler de bu pandemiden kaynaklanan uzaktan eğitim döneminde okul olmadığı için çalışmaya gittiklerini ve okuldan iyice koptuklarını belirtmekteler. Öğretmenler ise tarlada çalışan çocukları gerek teknolojik araçlara ulaşamama gerek ders saatinde çalışmaları nedeniyle pandemi döneminde en dezavantajlı grup olarak nitelendirmekte. Veliler de bu sürecin öğrenciler için motivasyon kaybı olduğunu okuldan uzaklaştıklarını belirtmekteler.

Sonuç

Bu çalışmanın amaçlarından biri, tarlada çalışan öğrencilerin deneyimlerini keşfetmektir. İş ve okulu birleştiren öğrenciler, bazı nedenlerle tarlada çalışmaktadırlar. Bunlar, düşük sosyoekonomik statüye sahip olmak, ailenin eğitim seviyesinin düşük olması, aile gelirinin düşük olması, ebeveynlerin güvencesiz işleri, ailelerin aşırı kalabalık olması, sorumluluk kazanmak, hayatın zorluklarını öğrenmek ve yeni yeteneklere sahip olmaktır. Çocuklar uzun çalışma saatleri, yüksek sıcaklık ve düşük fiyat gibi zorlu koşullarda ve gübreleme, ilaçlama, traktör sürme, toprak sürme, çapalama gibi tehlikeli işlerde çalışmaktadırlar. Bu çalışmanın bir diğer amacı, okulun öğrencilerin hayatındaki rolünü öğrencilerin, ebeveynlerinin ve öğretmenlerinin bakış açılarından araştırmaktır. Okulun rolünü anlamak için algıları ve tutumları araştırılmıştır. Bazı öğrencilerin okula karşı olumlu tutumları olsa da çoğu öğrenci okulun onların geleceği için yeterli fırsatlar sağlayacağını düşünmemektedir. Hatta bazı öğrenciler okulu zaman kaybı olarak görmektedir. Bu öğrenciler, işle ilgili, akranlarıyla ilgili, Covid-19 ile ilgili ve müfredatla ilgili

zorluklar nedeniyle okulda birçok zorluk yaşamakta ve bunlar öğrencilerin okul devamsızlığını ve başarısını olumsuz olarak etkilemektedir.

Çalışma, öğrencilerin iş ve okulu birleştirdikleri için dezavantajlı olduklarını göstermiştir. Bu durum eşitsizliğe ve dolayısıyla çocuk işçiliği yaratan yoksulluğa yol açmaktadır. Bu nedenle düşük gelirli ailelerden gelen öğrenciler yeniden yoksul hale gelmektedir. Böylece okul sorunu ortadan kaldırmak yerine yeniden üretmektedir. Başka bir deyişle, toplumsal eşitsizlikler okul aracılığıyla yeniden üretilmektedir (Ballantine vd., 2017; Green vd., 2007; Omer & Jabeen, 2016).

Üstelik okul duruma duyarsız; dolayısıyla bu öğrencilerin okula karşı tutumlarının olumsuz olması çalışan öğrencilerin başarılarının düşük olmasına neden olmaktadır. Başarılı olamadıkları için öğrencilerin okula karşı tutumları daha olumsuz hale gelmekte ve bir sonraki eğitim için süreklilik olasılığı azalmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, öğrenciler eğitimden uzaklaşmakta ve okul başarısını düşürmektedir. Bu nedenle öğrenciler para kazanmak için iyi bir işe sahip olmayı ummazlar ve okulun hayatlarındaki rolü önemini kaybeder.

Çalışma ayrıca Covid-19 pandemisinin ve buna bağlı kısıtlamaların eğitim üzerindeki etkisini de ortaya koymuştur. Okulların kapanması ve yasaklar öğrencilerin eğitimini kesintiye uğratmış ve çoğu öğrencinin ekonomik yetersizliklerden kaynaklanan teknolojik yetersizlikler nedeniyle eğitime erişimini engellemiştir (Cesuroğlu & Kölemen, 2021; Hoque, 2021; Işık Erol, 2021; Salon, 2022).

Devletin kendisi tarafından halka sunulması gereken hizmetlerin piyasalaştırılmasını ve özelleştirilmesini amaçlayan neoliberal politikaların çocuk işçiliğini daha da arttırdığı söylenebilir (Harvey, 2007). Aslında bu çalışmanın bulguları, neoliberal dönemdeki Covid-19 kısıtlamalarının çocuk işçiliğini artırdığını ortaya koymaktadır. Türkiye, büyük şirketlerin ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için eğitimde değişiklikler öne süren neoliberal ve neo-muhafazakar politikaların şekillendirdiği ülkelerden biridir (Grollios, 2017; Hill vd., 2017). Bu politikalar öğrencilere fırsat sağlamak yerine fırsat eşitsizliklerini artırmaktadır. Harvey (2005)'nin dediği gibi, neoliberalizm kamu hizmetlerinin kamu yararı yerine kârı hedefleyen özel sektöre yönelmesi gerektiğini söylemekte; sonuç olarak, Hill vd. (2017), eğitim hakkının bir

meta haline geldiğini ve teorik, eleştirel ve demokratik değerlerini kaybettiğini söylemektedir.

Öneriler

Çalışma, tarlada çalışan öğrencilerin deneyimlerini ve okulun öğrencilerin hayatındaki rolünü, onların, ebeveynlerinin ve öğretmenlerinin bakış açılarıyla keşfetmeyi amaçlamıştır. Çalışmanın bağlamını ele alan uygulamaya yönelik çıkarımlar, öğrencilerin okula gitmelerine izin vermediği veya yapmalarına izin verse bile başarılı olamayacakları için çocuk işçiliğinin sona erdirilmesine acilen ihtiyaç duyulduğunu belirtmektedir. Araştırmanın sonuçları, çocuk işçiliğinin öğrencilerin okula devamını ve başarısını etkileyen süregelen bir sorun olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Bu nedenle, çocuk işçiliğinin üstesinden gelmenin yollarına odaklanan çok sayıda uygulama ve araştırma önerilebilir.

İlk olarak, bazı öğretmen katılımcılarının önerdiği gibi, öğrencilerin çiftlikte çalışmasını önlemek için bölgede yurtlar ve bölgesel yatılı ortaokullar kurulmalıdır. Dar gelirli ailelerden gelen bu öğrencilerin tüm temel ihtiyaçlarını Bakanlığın kendisi karşılamalıdır. Bu nedenle yoksulluk, çalışmanın en temel nedeni olduğu için okula devamları ve başarıları artabilir.

Araştırmanın sonuçları, öğrencilerin tarlada çalışmasının çeşitli nedenleri olduğunu göstermiştir. Alanyazın en önemlisinin yoksulluk olduğunu belirtirken, çalışma diğer faktörlerin de hayati olduğunu savunmaktadır; bu nedenle, Birecik'teki ailelerin çoğu düşük gelirli ve eğitim düzeyi düşük ailelerden geldiği için sosyoekonomik durum esastır. Özellikle annelerin eğitim düzeyi genellikle düşüktür. Bu nedenle bölgedeki insanların, özellikle de kadınların eğitim düzeylerinin yükseltilmesine yönelik girişimlere ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır.

Üçüncüsü, bölgedeki insana yakışır iş fırsatlarının olmaması nedeniyle, ebeveynler genellikle mevsimlik tarım işleri gibi el emeği gerektiren geçici işlerde çalışmaktadır. Mekanize tarım, el emeği ihtiyacını azaltmak için bir çözüm olabilir. Bu nedenle yetişkinlere daha iyi koşullarda yaşamaları ve çalışmaları için yeni düzenli iş fırsatları sunulmalıdır. Ancak, yoksullukla mücadele etmeyen hiçbir çözüm, çocuk işçiliğini ortadan kaldıramaz, çünkü yoksulluk tarımda çocuk işçiliğinin bir sonucu olduğu kadar bunun bir nedenidir de (FAO, 2020).

Son olarak, bir araştırmacı olarak özgür, zorunlu, laik eğitimi savunuyorum. Özel okullara verilen teşvikler ve kaynaklar devlet okullarına verilmelidir. Öğrencilerin arasındaki eşitsizliği arttıran tüm özel okullar devlet okullarına dönüştürülmelidir. Tüm öğretmenler, ülke genelinde öğretmen ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak ve baskıcı olmayan bir ortamda asgari koşulların üzerinde çalışmak için liyakate dayalı bir sistemle atanmalıdır. Okulların sayısının ve kalitesinin artırılması, öğrencilerin akranlarıyla iş birliği içinde sosyalleşebilecekleri, hayatlarında kullanabilecekleri faydalı bilgileri bulabilecekleri ve gelecek kaygısı yaşamadıkları bir yer olabilmesi için çaba harcanmalıdır.

Dördüncüsü, öğrenciler ve veliler, çocuk işçiliği durumunun ilerideki sonuçları hakkında bilinçlendirilmeli. Bunun için de okul olarak filmlerin izlenip üzerine tartışmalar yapıldığı oturumlar yapılabilir. Bu bilinçlendirme eğitiminin yöntemi olarak da Freire (2000)'in problem tanımlayıcı yönteminin kullanılması, öğrenci ve velilerin eleştirel bir perspektif kazanmasını sağlayıp, sorunun çözülmesi yolunda önemli bir kazanım haline gelebilecektir.

İleriki araştırmalar açısından ele alacak olursak, hiçbir kadın bu çalışmaya katılmaya gönüllü olmadığı için annelerin bakış açıları bu çalışmaya dahil edilememiştir. Onların bakış açılarını da içeren nitel bir araştırma yapılabilir. Öte yandan, bu nitel araştırma, Şanlıurfa'nın Birecik ilçesinde tarımda çalışan 7. sınıf öğrencilerinden oluşan çocuk işçilerin sadece küçük bir bölümünü temsil etse de çocuk işçiliğinin eğitim üzerindeki etkisinin ileriki çalışmalarda araştırılması gerekmektedir. Tarlada veya diğer sektörlerde çalışan öğrencilerin deneyimlerini keşfetmek için diğer çalışma bağlamlarında nitel veya nicel araştırmalar yapılabilir. Son olarak, çocuk işçiliği çok boyutlu bir sorundur ve eğitim bunlardan yalnızca biridir. Sosyal ortamda değişiklik hedeflenmeden çocuk işçiliğini ortadan kaldırmak mümkün olmadığından, diğer boyutlar üzerindeki etkisi de araştırılabilir. Bu nedenle, daha sonraki çalışmalar, onu ortadan kaldırmanın yollarına ve sorunun kendisini yaratan koşullara odaklanabilir.

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