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The Effects of Urban Poverty: An Evaluation of Students' Experiences

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Abstract

Children of urban poor families living in cities may be deprived of many opportunities offered by the city, especially quality education, and quality life. This study aims to determine the situations that may affect children's educational life and to reveal their characteristics within the framework of face-to-face in-depth interviews with children of urban poor families. The research was conducted using case study. While selecting the study group, attention was paid to the students' being urban poor and having a secondary disadvantage (broken family, imprisoned parents, having different ethnic origin, etc.). Accordingly, face-to-face interviews were conducted with 14 students and a semi-structured interview form was used to collect the data in the interviews. The data obtained from the interviews were analyzed using content analysis technique. The findings of the research are presented in order regarding the family and home organization, the neighborhood, the socio-cultural environment, and the needs of the participant children. In the light of these findings, it is discussed how urban poverty affects quality educational outcomes. Suggestions are made that the negative effects can be improved through the coordinated efforts of teachers, school administrators, families, and other social actors.

Keywords: Urban poverty, ecological system, disadvantaged students.

Introduction

One of the important sociological variables associated with academic achievement is socioeconomic background. The main "common belief" behind this relationship is that families with higher socioeconomic status invest more in their children's education (e.g. providing books, computers, tutoring, etc.) and that these families have access to better quality schools (Conger & Donnellan, 2007). On the other hand, since families with low socioeconomic status have limited access to such opportunities, children's academic success and social mobility through education may be limited. Families living in urban areas but disadvantaged in socioeconomic terms - the urban poor - are included in this second group. Urban poverty refers not only to low income but also to a series of deprivations and deficits in well-being, such as unmet basic needs, crowded households, limited socialization, and limited use of urban amenities (Chamhuri et al., 2012; Satterthwaite, 2001). In addition, it is known that the children of these families face many problems, especially access to quality education and academic success. Even if urban poor children have high school attendance rates, this does not guarantee that they receive quality education and achieve academic success. Their educational achievement, learning, equipped transitions between educational levels, and capacity to aspire for a better future are inadequate, and they benefit from the gains of education to a limited extent due to material deprivation combined with socio-regional characteristics and cultural and administrative barriers (Silva-Laya et al., 2020).

In educational achievement, the environments in which the student lives affect his/her development. These environments can be represented as the smallest, micro-environments, such as the family, or at the meso level, such as the neighborhood and school, or at the macro level, such as the cultural and socio-political situation, or at the chrono level, such as the requirements of the time (Bronfenbrenner, 1974). Studies have clearly shown how more micro and meso environments such as family, neighborhood, and family involvement in school affect students' development (Ryan & Paquette, 2001).

This study aims to investigate the effects of urban poverty on the educational lives of students through the data obtained from in-depth interviews conducted in schools in Muğla province where

children from urban poor families predominantly attend. In this framework, the situation of students can be understood more clearly in relation to their micro, meso and macro environments. This understanding is thought to be useful in determining the special needs arising from family and neighborhood variables in the education of children from poor families in Muğla province.

The family ecology paradigm focuses on the relationships between the family and other ecological systems such as schools, neighborhoods, and friendships (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). Taking an ecological approach to the study of the development of children from poor families is crucial because these children do not exist in isolation but are in fact exposed to influences that result from their relationships with the institutions in which they live, their families and their environment.

Bronfenbenner's model of ecological systems consists of five subsystems. These systems are interrelated and cannot be defined separately. To study the development of children from poor families, the model places them (children) at the center of an ecology of five interrelated and layered subsystems: microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem and chronosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1974; 1977; 1979; 1986). In other words, these systems can be thought of as circles arranged from small to large, like onion rings, with the child at the smallest (Figure 1).



Figure 1. The child and its ecosystem: micro, meso, exo, macro and chrono systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1986).

Looking at this model, it is not possible to analyze the social experiences of children from poor families without considering these various layers of social relationships (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). This model is an effective tool for understanding the risk factors that children from poor families face, as it can address environmental factors from the perspectives of person-process-context-time simultaneously. Each layer has its own explanatory value for understanding the child's developmental process, but it is especially important to address the first three closest subsystems: micro, meso and exo systems.

The innermost layer is the microsystem. In the micro-system, the characteristics of the child's family and close circle of friends and important moments of events with these people are addressed. Within these contexts, poor children experience their everyday reality and are socialized. When it comes to micro-systems, previous studies have focused especially on the mother and father and found that among the factors explaining child development, factors such as parental education levels and parental income levels have explanatory and determinative effects (Aslanargun et al., 2016; Liu & Lu, 2008; Spengler et al., 2018; Turkheimer et al., 2003; Turkheimer et al., 2017).

Another area of microsystems is close friends. There are studies showing that the circle of friends has an impact on children's success in education (Petersen, 1993; Ryan, 2000). Factors such as the socio-economic status of classmates (Vandenberghe, 2002), the diversity of family environments from which friends come from (Angrist and Lang, 2004; Hermansen and Birkelund, 2015), and gender distribution in classes (Hoxby, 2000; Lavy and Schlosser, 2011) have been found to be among the factors affecting students' school success. However, it would not be correct to think that all microsystems are equally influential. For example, in some cases, the influence of the family may be more important than the influence of close friends at turning points in a child's life. In some cases, the opposite may be true. In addition, two or more micro-systems may be formed in broken families. Situations such as mother and her family, father and his family, and the child staying with grandparents are common. There will also be an increase in the diversity of microsystems as the child grows older.

The relationships between the various microsystems in which the child is involved constitute the second layer, the meso-systems. The transitions and interactions between the microsystems in which the child is involved also have the power to position the child within the society (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). The most researched area within meso-systems is family involvement in school. Two types of family involvement have been mentioned in the studies. The first type of family involvement is when the family attends school, participates in meetings, and plays an active role in school decisions. The second type of family involvement is when the family contributes to the child's education by helping the child with school tasks. Studies have shown that families with better socio-economic status are more likely to participate in the first and second types of family involvement. Families with lower socio-economic status show less interest in school and visit school less frequently (Engin-Demir, 2009). The socio-economic level of the family is also effective in determining the second type of stay (Tabak, 2020). Since the education level of parents in poor families tends to be low, they may not be able to help students with their studies. In this respect, it can be said that low socio-economic status shapes students' ecology at the meso-system level in a way that does not support success.

Following the meso-systems, the exo-systems include the neighborhood and the presence of support groups, which may affect the development of children from low socio-economic families in more indirect ways (Bronfenbrenner, 1974). The presence or absence of opportunities in a child's

neighborhood can affect their development. For example, living in neighborhoods where mostly refugees come and settle (Akar, 2010) or teachers not preferring schools in such neighborhoods (Gilpin, 2012) can be given as examples of the indirect effects of the neighborhood on the child's educational life.

The next layer is the macro-systems layer. This layer broadly encompasses the cultural elements, customs and traditions of the society in which the child lives, laws and regulations governing the child's micro, meso and exo-systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). The chrono-system, which is above this, is historically related to the characteristics of the environment in which the child lives. Factors that can determine the fate of the child, such as major economic crises, new technological developments, wars and migration are analyzed in this area (Bronfenbrenner, 1977).

In this study, the findings obtained from in-depth interviews with children of urban poor families are included. The aim of the study is to determine the situations affecting the education and training life of children of urban poor families regarding the layers in the ecological system and to reveal their characteristics. A better understanding and definition of the situation of children of urban poor families will pave the way for determining the disadvantaged situations of poor children and taking steps to eliminate them. In this direction, answers to the following research questions were sought:

1. What is the family and household organization of children of urban poor families?

2. What are the characteristics of the neighborhood where the children of urban poor families live?

3. How can the socio-cultural environment of the children of urban poor families be defined?

4. What are the needs of children from urban poor families?

Method

This research was conducted using case study. Creswell (2009) defines case study as "an indepth exploration of a bounded system (e.g., an activity, event, process, or individuals) based on extensive data collection" (p. 485). In this context, the case of urban poverty was tried to be revealed through in-depth interviews with children experiencing urban poverty. The research data were collected through in-depth interviews with students attending schools in the neighborhoods where urban poverty is experienced intensively in Menteşe district of Muğla province.

Participants

Purposive sampling was utilized in this study, which aims to determine the reflections of urban poverty experienced by students on education. Purposive sampling helps to investigate situations that are thought to have rich information in depth (Patton, 2001/2014). Criterion sampling technique of purposive sampling was used to determine the students. Attention was paid to the students' families being urban poor and having a secondary disadvantage (broken family, imprisoned parents, having a different ethnic origin, etc.). Accordingly, six schools in Menteşe district, located in neighborhoods where poverty is experienced intensely, were included in the study group and 14 students were interviewed. Demographic data about the participants are presented in Table 1.

Participant Code	Gender	Age	Other Disadvantaged Status
T1	Female	9	Broken family, many siblings, one brother in a correctional facility
T2	Male	10	Father imprisoned, broken family
Т3	Female	9	Different ethnicity (Syrian)
T4	Male	8	Different ethnicity (Syrian)
T5	Female	11	Parents are hearing impaired
Т6	Male	14	Specific learning disabilities
Τ7	Female	12	Broken family, stepfather, poor financial situation
Т8	Male	10	His father passed away; he is allergic to many foods
Т9	Male	11	Broken family
T10	Female	13	His parents are deceased
T11	Female	9	Broken family, non-working family, domestic violence
T12	Female	11	Broken family, separated from parents, five siblings, separate
			household from parents
T13	Female	13	Broken family, separated from parents, five siblings, separate
			household from parents
T14	Female	12	Broken family, living separately from their parents, moved to a different city (they came from Kırıkkale)

Table 1 Demographic data of the participants

Data Collection Tool

In this study, an interview form consisting of open-ended questions was used. Since the research was shaped within the framework of ecological systems theory, while creating the semi-structured interview form, attention was paid specially to include questions related to the micro, exo and meso systems with which the student interacts the most. In this direction, a question pool was prepared by the researchers and then the form was finalized by adding, removing, and editing some questions. Care was taken to ensure that the questions were not judgmental, directive, and complex. The interview form included questions on demographic information, household profile, relations with family and environment (neighborhood), school and home routine, and students' needs. Examples of these questions include "What kind of games do you play with your family?" and "Did anything happen in your neighborhood that scared you, and if so, can you tell us what happened?".

Data Collection

This research was carried out within the scope of The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Türkiye [TUBITAK] 1001- Scientific and Technological Research Projects Support Program, numbered 120K993 and titled "The New Face of Poverty: An Action Research on the Reflections of Urban Poverty on Education". In this context, interviews were conducted with the district governorship, local municipality, social services foundation, and associations in order to identify the neighborhoods where poverty is concentrated in Muğla's Menteşe district. As a result of the interviews, the households receiving assistance to identify poverty were proportioned to the total population living in the neighborhood. Surveys were then conducted with adults living in households in the identified neighborhoods. The questionnaires included questions on demographic information, family and environment (the neighborhood they live in), school life of their children (if any), household profile, employment status and needs. As a result of the analysis of the questionnaires, the poverty profile of these neighborhoods was revealed, and the schools to which parents living in these neighborhoods send their children were determined. In the schools included in the study, teachers and principals were contacted and the students to be interviewed were identified with their guidance. Then, permission was obtained from the parents of the students for the interviews through the "Informed Consent Form". An

appointment was made for the students to be interviewed on a date and time that would not disrupt their school and daily routines. In line with the plans made, two researchers, one female and one male, conducted each interview. The interviews were conducted face-to-face in environments such as the school library and counseling room so that the participants could express themselves more comfortably. Before the interview, the researchers introduced themselves, explained the purpose of the study and informed that the identities of the participants would be kept confidential. In addition, the researchers asked for permission to audio record the interview and reminded the participants that they could end the interview at any time or skip the questions they did not want to answer. While one of the researchers directed the questions, the other took field notes. Then, the transcriptions of the audio recordings were evaluated together with the field notes and transcribed. According to this transcript, the shortest interview was 19 minutes, and the longest interview was 41 minutes, totaling 367 minutes.

Data Analysis

The data obtained from the research were analyzed with the content analysis technique. Content analysis can be expressed as an effort to take the voluminous qualitative material and make sense of the basic consistencies within this material (Patton, 2001/2014). First, the audio-recorded interviews were transcribed and combined with field notes. Afterwards, the data were re-read, and various notes were taken next to them. These notes were evaluated, and the similar ones were written underneath and coded. The codes were grouped into sub-themes according to their similarities. Sub-themes and codes were then reviewed and combined into similar sub-themes. Similar sub-themes were identified and classified thematically. The data analysis process was conducted by one researcher, and the codes, sub-themes and themes were discussed with the other researchers and final arrangements were made. The results of the data analysis are presented in the findings section. Striking data related to sub-theme findings are presented as "Example 1, 2, ..., 14".

Ethical Permits of Research

In this study, all the rules within the scope of the "Higher Education Institutions Scientific Research and Publication Ethics Directive" were followed. None of the actions specified under the heading "Actions Contrary to Scientific Research and Publication Ethics", which is the second part of the directive, were performed.

Ethics Committee Permission Information:

Name of the committee that made the ethical evaluation = Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University Social and Human Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Date of ethical review decision=13.11.2021

Ethics assessment document issue number=200232/41

Findings

The themes and sub-themes that emerged as a result of the data analysis are given below.

Themes and Subthemes Emerging from the Analysis of the Data

1. Findings on the family and home organization of the students who participated in the interview.

1.1. Family members with whom the student lives.

- Nuclear family
- Single parent family
- Caregivers other than birth parents
- Families with extended family members
- 1.2. Distribution of responsibilities in the student's home
 - Responsibility for bringing income home
 - Responsibility for household chores
 - Responsibility for the care of young children
 - Responsibility for following children's lessons
- 1.3. How students spend time with their families
 - Sitting, chatting
 - Watching TV
 - Going out
 - Doing household chores
 - Playing games
- 2. Findings related to the neighborhood of the students who participated in the interview
 - 2.1. Factors seen as positive for the student's life
 - Having parks and playgrounds
 - Houses with gardens
 - Finding peers
 - Good relations with the neighborhood
 - Proximity to the homes of other family members
 - Proximity to school
 - 2.2. Factors seen as negative for the student's life
 - Lack of space available for play
 - Lack of peers
 - Bad relations with the neighborhood
 - Not feeling safe
- 3. Findings related to the socio-cultural environment of the students who participated in the interview
 - 3.1. Utilizing their free time
 - Playing games
 - Television viewing

- Book reading
- 3.2. Cultural activities
 - Cinema
 - Theater
 - Museum
 - Arts and sports activities
- 3.3. Social activities
 - Meeting friends
 - Cycling
 - Traveling around
 - Picnic
 - Setting up a tent
 - Going to the sea
 - Going out of town
- 4. Findings on the needs of the students who participated in the interviews
 - 4.1. Physiological needs
 - Nutrition
 - Sleep
 - Health
 - 4.2. Emotional needs
 - Feeling belonging to the family
 - Family union
 - Feeling belonging to friends
 - 4.3. Academic needs
 - Getting help with homework
 - Finding a suitable environment for studying
 - Access to course materials
 - Good communication with teachers
 - Benefiting from the opportunities offered by the school

1. Findings Regarding the Family and Household Organization of the Students Participating in the Interview

In this theme, in line with the statements of the students who participated in the interviews, the findings related to family and home organization were analyzed under the sub-themes of family members, distribution of responsibilities and spending time together.

1.1. Family Members

The students who participated in the interview can live with their own parents and as a nuclear family (T5; T6), or with a single parent (T1; T2; T9; T11) or with caregivers other than their own parents (T7; T8; T10; T12; T13; T14). In addition, there may also be members of the extended family at home (T1; T3; T4; T11).

1.2. Responsibility Allocation

It is clear from the interviews that not only who the family members are, but also how responsibilities are distributed among them affects students' lives. First of all, none of the students in the interviews took the responsibility of bringing home income. In most cases, this responsibility falls to one of the caregivers or adult family members (T2; T3; T4; T5; T6, T7; T8; T9; T10; T12; T13; T14). In some cases, the family has no income and tries to survive with social assistance support (T1; T11).

The responsibility for household chores can fall on the student, especially in single-parent working families (T1; T7; T9; T12). For example, T9 is an 11-year-old male student who lives at home with his mother, his older sister who is in the 8th grade at the same school and his brother who goes to primary school. His mother works in shifts and sometimes she has to leave home very early and sometimes she has to come home very late. The children manage on their own when their mother is away. In this excerpt, T9 describes the housework he does when his mother is not at home: "*A: Well, who lights the stove when your mother is at work? T9: Our mother lights it before she goes to work and then we turn it up a little bit. A: Can you put on the top yourself? T9: I can do it myself. A: Who does the cooking? Ö: I do the cooking myself if my mother is not there. A: Do you cook well too? What do you cook, for example? T9: For example, dried beans and rice. A: No way, you can cook! T9: Yes. Cake. A: What do you mean, you make cakes! T9: Yes."*

When children are very young, adult family members take responsibility for them (young children). For example, when sharing rooms, the mother stays with the younger children (T1; T2; T10; T11). In another example, the interviewed students were dropped off to and picked up from school by adults if they were young (T11; T12; T13; T14). Or they take their younger siblings to and from school (T4; T9; T10).

Although *the responsibility of following children's lessons* may belong to adult family members in many cases, it is seen that this responsibility is not always fulfilled by adults (T1; T3; T4). In some cases, students had to assume the responsibility of helping their siblings with their lessons (T1; T6; T9; T11; T12; T14). For example, T1 is a 9-year-old girl who lives at home with her mother, three younger siblings and an older brother. Her mother does not work, probably has a low level of education. Their fathers are separated, the student does not give much information. T1 stated that she did not do her homework on the day of the interview and explained the reason as follows: *"A: So, do you ever fail to do your homework? T1: I couldn't do it today. A: So why couldn't you do it? T1: One of my brother's homework. A: Well, do you ever have a homework that you cannot do yourself, that you have difficulty with? You don't*

know how to do it? T1: Actually, I am good at two of them, one science and one math. A: In the others? T1: I have difficulty in life science and Turkish. A: So, who do you ask when you have difficulty? Do you ask your mother? T1: I ask my mother, but my mother says that if you can't learn by yourself, you can't learn anything. I do it myself, it happens when I push myself."

1.3. Spending time together

When the students were asked how they spend time with their families, they mentioned activities such as *sitting/chatting with their families* (T6; T7); *watching TV together* (T1; T6; T7), *going out together* (T10; T11; T12; T13) and *doing household chores such as cleaning and cooking together* (T7; T14). *Playing games together* was also among the frequently mentioned family activities, but it was understood that in most cases adults in the family did not participate in children's games (T2; T3; T4; T5; T9; T10; T11; T12; T13).

2. Findings Regarding the Neighborhood of the Students Who Participated in the Interview

Since this study focuses on schools with students from poor neighborhoods, all participating students reside in neighborhoods with high levels of urban poverty. The students interviewed were interviewed about their neighborhoods. When these conversations were analyzed, the effects of the neighborhood on the student's life, which can be evaluated as positive or negative, were observed.

2.1. Factors Considered Positive for the Student's Life

None of the 14 students who participated in the interviews stated that they were dissatisfied with their neighborhood. When asked, all of them said that they were satisfied with their neighborhood. For a child, the play opportunities provided by the home are extremely important. Having parks and *playgrounds* in the neighborhood where the house is located (T2; T5; T6; T7; T8; T9; T11; T12; T13; T14) or being in a neighborhood where *houses have gardens* (T1; T6) reinforced this satisfaction. Of course, having playgrounds as well as *having peers to play with* in the neighborhood (T2; T3; T4; T5; T6; T7; T8; T9; T11; T12; T13) has a positive effect on the student's life. Having good relations with the neighborhood (T7; T9) was also mentioned among the positive factors for students. Having other family members (mother who had another marriage, grandparents, etc.) close to the house, i.e. in the same neighborhood, provided opportunities for students to see their half-siblings (T12; T13) or go to lunch (T7). Thus, the living standards of the students have increased to some extent. For example, T12 is the youngest of 3 sisters from her mother's first marriage. Their mother had a second marriage and had 2 more children. T12 lives in a house with her older sisters and grandfather, and in another house nearby with her mother, husband, and children. T12 explained the reason why he likes the neighborhood he lives in as follows "A: Are your houses close? T12: We live across from each other. For example, we live here, my mom lives across the street. A: Oh, it is very nice that way. Isn't it? T12: Yes. (...) A: So do you like the neighborhood, the neighborhood you live in? T12: I like it very much. A: Why do you like it? T12: Because we can have a picnic there. There is also a park right next to us. We go there with my (step) siblings. And we have friends at my mom's place. We also play there. I like it."

Finally, the fact that most of the students' homes were *close to the school* enabled them to walk to and from school (T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10, T11, T14) and to go home at lunchtime (T5, T6, T7, T8, T11).

2.2. Factors Considered Negative for the Student's Life

As a result of the interviews, elements related to the neighborhood that may have negative effects on the student's life were also revealed. Contrary to what was stated before, the lives of the students are negatively affected by reasons such as the park being far away, the roads being slopes and narrow, *the lack of space suitable for play* (T3; T4), *the lack of peers to play with* in the neighborhood (T1; T10) and *the family having bad relations with the neighborhood* (T1; T3; T4).

Not feeling safe in the neighborhood is also a factor that negatively affects students' lives. For example, frequent accidents due to the slope (T9), a kidnapping incident (T3; T4) and the way families reflect their own insecurity to students (T1; T14) can negatively affect students' lives. T14's experience can be an example of this. Ö14 moved to Muğla from Kırıkkale with his brother, grandfather and grandmother. His mother and father married other people and stayed in Kırıkkale. His grandmother takes T14 wherever he wants to go and drops him off. It is understood from the student's narratives that she was affected by her grandmother's feelings and thoughts: "A: Well, do your parents let you play on the street? T14: No. My grandmother does not trust such things. For example, she takes us to and from school. She thinks that it is not very safe outside. A: She picks you up and drops you off from school because of constant trust? T14: Yes. A: I see. So, has there ever been an incident that scared you in this neighborhood? T14: We are not involved in the incident, but there are always men drinking, throwing, yelling and screaming at the corner of the school. Even once a crazy man entered the school. He yelled and screamed. When you enter, there is a place over there and it is very scary."

3. Findings Related to the Socio-Cultural Environment of the Students Participating in the Interview

Under this theme, the socio-cultural activities that the students were involved in as much as they were able to talk about in the student interviews were tried to be analyzed. The main activities other than cultural and social activities that students allocate time for are discussed under the sub-theme of leisure time evaluation.

3.1. Leisure Time Utilization

It is understood that the students who participated in the interviews mainly play games, watch television, and read books in their free time. The activity of playing games, which holds the biggest place in students' lives, can be done with siblings (T1, T2, T3, T4, T7, T14), with friends only from school (T1, T5) or with friends from the neighborhood and school (T2, T3, T4, T9, T11, T12).

Watching TV can be considered as cartoons that the child follows himself/herself (T1, T, T11, T12) and TV series (T7, T8, T10, T11, T12) and movies (T3, T4, T10) that the child watches with his/her family. It is understood that students' families also watch programs such as TV series (T7, T8, T10, T11, T12, T1, T2), movies (T3, T4, T10), competitions/reality shows (T6, T7, T12) and news (T2) at home. When these data are examined, it is observed that the choice of the family can be effective in the choice of programs such as TV series and movies that students watch with their families. It is noteworthy that three different students mentioned the series "Forbidden Apple" (T1-age 9; T7-age 12 and T11-age 10). The conversation with T7 can be given as an example. T7 is 12 years old. The series is about the adventures of two poor sisters to enter high society circles and was fined by the Radio and Television Supreme Council [RTÜK] for normalizing illegitimate relationships. Despite this, the student is allowed to watch the series which is not suitable for her age. The conversation with T7 is as follows "*A: So, do*

you watch television? T7: Well, it will be like an advertisement, but there is Forbidden Apple on Fox on Mondays. I love them very much, I love watching them with my mom. There are programs on the weekends. Esra ... Yes, I like watching television, to be honest. A: So you like watching TV series. T7: Yes." Although very rare, it was also reported that the student did not watch television at home (T13) and preferred the tablet (T5).

Another leisure time activity that was widely mentioned in students' responses was reading. It is known that reading habits have an impact on academic performance and that there is a relationship between reading habits and academic performance (Owusu-Acheaw & Larson, 2014).

3.2. Cultural Activities

In the interviews, the cultural activities in which students took part were tried to be understood with questions specific to cinema, theater, and museums. In addition, sports and art activities in which students participate were also revealed during the interviews.

In the category of *cinema*, it is understood from the interviews that most of the students have watched a movie in the cinema at least once. However, except for T6 who stated that they went to the cinema frequently, it is understood that the students did not go to the cinema regularly/frequently enough to develop a sense of pleasure about cinema (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T7, T8, T9, T10, T11, T12, T13, T14). Some of these students even went to the movies only as a school trip (T3, T4, T8, T9, T12, T13, T14) and never went to the movies with their families or friends on their own time. Depending on whether that single experience was positive or negative for the student, students developed positive or negative attitudes about being a moviegoer. T13 can be given as an example. T13 is a 13-year-old female student. She had only been to the movies as a school trip before. It can be seen that the student understands cinema as a school activity but has not developed a sufficient understanding of going to the cinema in her own private time. The dialog between T9 and the researcher is as follows: *"A: Have you ever been to the movies? T9: We went when we were in primary school. (...) A: Well, how did you feel when you went to the movies? Did you like it? T9: It was good. A: Would you like to go again? T9: Yes. A: If you wanted to go, for example, could you go to the movies? T9: I could go, but I don't like that environment much. A: Because it is crowded or because it is dark? T9: Because it is crowded."*

A similar situation is observed in the *theater* category as in the cinema category. The only student who is a regular theater viewer is T11. All other students either had never seen a theater before (T1, T2, T3, T6, T12, T13, T14) or had seen it only once or twice. Some of them went to the theater in their own time outside of school (T7, T8, T10), while others went to the theater only as a school trip (T4, T5). During the interviews, it was observed that some students had a negative attitude towards theater (T5, T8, T9). Again, as stated in the cinema category, this situation can be considered to be based on the limited past experiences of the students. At the same time, considering that these negative attitudes may be effective in the selection of the activities to which students will transfer their limited financial resources, it can be thought that the cultural activity experiences spent as a school trip have a critical importance. In this context, the dialog with T5 can be given as an example. T5 is an 11-year-old female student. Her mother is a market worker, and her father is a retired worker. In this conversation, she talks about her views on cinema and theater: "A: Okay. Have you ever been to the movies? T5: Yes. A: Who do you go with? I mean, with school or... T5: With school. A: Have you ever gone to the movies with your family. T5: I don't like going to the movies very much. A: You don't. And theater? T5: I don't like it at all,

because I can't go. A: Because you don't want to go... T5: I mean I don't want to give money for nothing. A: Oh, you don't want to pay for nothing. T5: That's why I can open something at home and watch it. A: So you prefer to watch it on TV? What do you think would be the difference if it was in the theater? Do you just pay money? T5: Uh-huh."

For the *museum* category, except for T10, who visited both the science museum and Muğla History Museum, the remaining students have never been to a museum (T8, T11, T13, T14) or visited museums only as a school trip (T2, T3, T4, T12). Apart from cinema, theater and museums, as understood from the interviews, *the sports and art activities* that the students took part in consisted of non-compulsory courses and study groups that the students attended voluntarily. For example, T7 takes part in the field hockey team established within another school. T11 mentioned that she goes to judo course on weekends. T4 attends a Quran course on weekends. T8 is in the school choir and is learning to play the baglama. Apart from these, T2 mentioned that he tries to draw with the videos he watches on the internet.

3.3. Social Activities

According to the students' statements, the most important social activity outside of school is the category of *meeting friends for games*. Almost all students talked at length about the time they spent with these friends (T2, T3, T4, T5, T6, T7, T8, T9, T10, T11, T12, T14). As reported earlier, playing games with friends was the most common leisure time activity. Other activities such as *riding bicycles together* (T2, T6) and *traveling around* (T8, T12) were also mentioned. In addition, participation in social activities led by adults in the family is also common. In the interviews, students described having picnics with their families (T5, T7), pitching a tent (T6), *going to the sea* (T5, T9, T13), and *going out of town* (T6, T7, T8, T13).

4. Findings Regarding the Needs of the Students Participating in the Interview

During the interviews, students were asked to describe a school day to understand their basic physiological needs such as sleep, food, and warmth. Asking them what makes them happy and what makes them unhappy gave clues about their emotional needs. At the same time, the general course of the interviews and the clues expressed by the students at different points of the interview were also discussed. In order to understand academic needs, students were asked questions about their relationship with teachers and classes, and their study patterns at home.

4.1. Findings on Students' Physiological Needs

The findings of the *nutrition* category can be explained as follows (It is stated by experts that breakfast should not be skipped in daily routine). Some students have breakfast regularly every day (T8, T10, T12, T13, T14). It is understood that foods such as cheese, olives and bread are accessible for breakfast. Skipping breakfast does not seem to be related to the problem of access to food. Rather, the reasons such as the student not liking breakfast (T5), being late for school (T6, T7, T11) and the mother not being able to prepare it (T1, T3, T9) come to the fore. At this point, it can be said that *the working conditions of the caregiver* are a factor directly reflected on students' food needs and living standards (T2, T9, T12, T13). T9's breakfast routine can be given as an example. T9 is an 11-year-old male student. Single parent family. The mother works shifts. In this excerpt, she explains why they cannot have breakfast some days: *"A: Do you have breakfast on the way to school? T9: Uh-huh, sometimes I do and sometimes I don't. A: Why? T9: Sometimes my mom wakes up late when she works at night. Sometimes*

when my mother works during the day, she is gone to work by the time we wake up. So sometimes we can't do it. A: So how do you manage breakfast? T9: My mother leaves us pocket money. We take them and eat something at school. A: So do you think you eat a healthy and balanced diet? T9: Uh-huh." At lunchtime, students' preferences such as eating out (T2, T9, T12, T13), taking food to school (T3, T4, T14), going home for lunch (T5, T6, T7, T8, T11) or skipping lunch (T10) are determined by their caregivers' life opportunities.

According to the impressions obtained in the *sleep* category, all students sleep in their own beds. No student stated that they did not have a bed. Only T3 and T4 mentioned that there was a lack of beds and wardrobes in their homes for the new siblings who joined their families. There are students who sleep alone in their own rooms (T6, T7, T8, T9, T14) as well as students who sleep in rooms shared with other family members (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T10, T11, T12). Among the interviewed students, only T13 sleeps with his grandfather in the part of the house that is also used as a living room. While some students stated that they were able to get enough sleep (T1, T2, T3, T4, T5, T8, T9, T11, T12, T3), some of them explained that they had the habit of going to bed late (T6, T7, T10, T14). T6, T7 and T8 stated that they had the problem of not being able to wake up in the morning.

Regarding *health*, the interviews revealed that students were able to receive adequate care in case of illness. It was understood that T8 suffered from allergies and therefore her nutrition needed special attention. This student was also able to access the necessary nutrients and special attention. T14 explained that his grandmother warned him to dress warmly and paid special attention to his diet to prevent him from getting sick. T14 moved to Muğla from Kırıkkale with her brother, grandfather and grandmother. His mother and father married other people and stayed in Kırıkkale. The dialog between T14 and the researcher is as follows: "*A: Do you have breakfast before coming to school? T14: My grandmother makes me do it even if I don't. A: You mean she makes you eat it. T14: Yes. A: How do you usually have breakfast? T14: She does what we want. She fries potatoes, boils eggs, makes toast... (...) A: So do you clash with your grandmother, do you have any arguments? T14: Clothes. A: What does she say, for example, do you have to wear a headscarf? T14: No. I don't wear much open clothes anyway. I usually like to wear shoes. Since it doesn't snow that much in Muğla like Kırıkkale, maybe he says wear boots. I don't like to wear boots much either. A: You should wear them in the rain. T14: Yes. And a cardigan under my coat. He will definitely make me wear something like he did today."*

In the interviews with T3 and T4, it was mentioned that their families were more permissive about personal hygiene than other Syrian families. T3 and T4 are children of a Syrian immigrant family. In this excerpt, the students explain to the researchers why other Syrian families do not allow their children to play outside: "A1: Don't the mothers of Syrians give permission? T4: No. Because of them. Their mothers take a bath every week, so they clean them. A1: I see. Their mothers don't want them to get dirty on the street, right? But do people grow up without playing on the street? A2: Don't you take a bath every week? T3: No. T4: No. A2: Which days do you take a bath? Is there no water at home? T4: Yes. T3: We do it every two weeks. A1: Is there hot water? T4: Yes. A1: They take a bath every 2 weeks. A2: Do you not want to take a bath or do you not like bathing? T3: We like bathing. A2: You like it. It is good."

4.2. Findings on Students' Emotional Needs

According to the impression obtained from the interviews, the students' primary emotional need is the need to feel belonging to the family. When asked "What makes you happy?", the students both listed the activities they did with their families (T1, T2, T8, T11, T12, T14) and when asked "What makes

you unhappy?", they talked about being excluded/removed from their family members (T1, T5, T9). The theme of *family unity* was especially prominent for T11, whose family was in the process of divorce, and for T12 and T13, whose mothers lived across the street from their house with their new spouses and children. T11 expressed his sadness about being subjected to violence from his mother and father. T12 and T13 blamed their fathers for the end of their mothers' first marriage. Since the students were resentful towards the people who caused the breakdown of family unity, they showed behaviors of not meeting with them or acting indifferently towards them (T9, T10, T11, T12, T14). The dialog between T11 and the researchers on this issue can be given as an example. T12 is a female student, 11 years old. Her mother had another marriage after divorcing her father. Ö12 stayed at his grandfather's house with his older sisters. Her mother lives in the house across the street. The conversation took place as follows: "A: How are your relations with your father? T12: Not very good with my father. My sisters and so on see him, but I don't really want to see him because he left us. A: Does your father make an effort to win your heart? T12: Yes, he does. A: What does he do? T12: He calls. He asks if you have eaten or something like that. He asks about me. A: And you don't talk on the phone? T12: I don't like talking on the phone because I don't want to talk too much because he left us. A: I see. How did you feel when your father left? T12: What did I feel? It was really bad. I cried or something. That's how it was. A: How old were you? T12: How old was I? I was like 2 years old, I mean I was little. A: And you remember? T12: Uh-huh."

In the data obtained from the interviews, the need for belonging sometimes appears as the need to belong to friends. Among the students, there were students who had problems with introversion (T2) and loneliness (T2, T13). Other students mentioned their friends as what made them happy (T3, T4, T7) or stated that they would be unhappy if they were separated from their friends (T12). It is important for students to be accepted by their friends and not to be excluded. Especially T14, who joined the class group later, and T3 and T4, who are children of Syrian immigrant families, mentioned this issue. In this excerpt, T3 told the researchers how they were excluded by their classmate Eda: "A1: How are your friendships in your class? Do you get along well? T3: Yes. There is one girl in our class, her name is Eda. T4: She swears at my parents. A1: Oh my God. A2: Why? T3: Yes, she beats us and stuff. (...) A2: Why does she do that to you? A1: I wonder why he does that? T4: He calls me Syrian and then I beat me. A2: He calls me Syrian. (...) A1: So how do your friends at school approach you? I mean, when I say approach, do your friends at school like you? Do they help you? T3: They do. A1: They do, don't they? Except only Eda. T4: Yes. A1: The others are fine. There is no problem. A2: Is Eda the only one who tells you not to play Syrian? T3: Yes. T4: Her mother is Syrian, we don't call her Syrian. A1: Is her mother Syrian too? Oh my God. T4: But she didn't come from Syria, she came from somewhere else. A1: She came from somewhere else. I see. OK. Are you happy here at school? T3: We are happy."

4.3. Findings Related to Students' Academic Needs

In the parts of the interviews related to academic needs, data were obtained in the categories of *getting help with homework, having a suitable environment for studying, needing course materials, communicating with teachers and benefiting from the school facilities.* Some of the students stated that they could get help with their homework (T6, T7, T8, T10, T12, T13). In cases where they can reach, they ask for help from the educated members of their neighbors or relatives. Some students stated that they had no one to help them with their homework (T1, T2, T3, T4, T9, T11, T14). Reasons such as the low level of education of caregivers (T1, T3, T4, T11) or their old age (T14), working conditions of caregivers (T9) were cited.

Among the students, T5, T6, T8, T9, T10 and T14 stated that they had a *suitable environment for studying at home*. On the other hand, T1, T3, T4, T7, T11, T12 and T13 did not have a suitable environment for studying. Regarding this situation, T7's working environment can be given as an example. T7 lives with her mother, stepfather and stepbrother. She has a room of her own, but she lacks the items in it. In this excerpt, she explains that she works on her homework on the nightstand: *"A: Where do you do your homework in the house? You said you don't have a desk or anything. T7: My mom has a small desk like I said. A little bigger than this, one drawer. It's for one person. A: A bedside table. T7: That is not enough for me, but that is the problem. I do it on the bed, sometimes I do it on the dining table, but I can't get in there much because my brother is awake and he touches my things and loses them."*

During the interviews, students stated that they *lacked various course materials* such as books, pencils and paints (T1, T3, T4, T6, T9, T10). In addition, some students stated that they needed computers and tablets (T9, T14). Lack of course materials may cause students not to participate in learning activities sufficiently. For example, P14 explains that he could not participate in Teknofest because he did not have a computer and tablet: *"A: I see. So, if you had a computer or a tablet, how would you use it? P14: To be honest, our informatics teacher asked if anyone wanted to participate in Teknofest and I wanted to participate very much and I had a project in mind. If I had a computer or a tablet, I would make a drawing on it, format it and try to turn it into something. A: What was that idea? P14: It was a flower waterer with a smart clock. We researched this a lot, there was no such thing.*

All of the students expressed that they were satisfied with their school. Their communication with their teachers was especially described as very good by T1, T6, T7 and T8. Only T14 needed more help from their teachers for some lessons. Students actively benefit from *the opportunities offered by the school* such as library, courses, and field trips (T1, T3, T4, T6, T9, T10). It is seen that students cannot find these opportunities due to school trips that are canceled or not planned due to the pandemic (T5, T7, T8, T11, T13, T14).

Discussion and Conclusion

In this study, through in-depth interviews with children from urban poor families, it was aimed to determine the situations that may affect the student's education and training life and to reveal their characteristics. In this context, the findings are presented in the following order: regarding the family and home organization of the participant children, regarding the neighborhood they live in, regarding the socio-cultural environment and regarding their needs.

In line with the statements of the students participating in the study, the findings on family and household organization revealed that single-parent, nuclear, caregivers other than the birth mother/father and extended family structures are observed in urban poor families. In addition, it was understood that children in urban poor families assume responsibilities such as contributing to the economic livelihood of the household, helping with housework, taking care of young children, and helping younger children with homework assignments at school. It was also observed from the opinions of the children who participated in the study that they engage in activities such as chatting with their parents, watching television, going out together, doing housework and playing games, but most of the time they are unable to spend quality time with their parents because their parents are working too hard to make ends meet economically. Education and learning are multivariate phenomena, but for children, parents have a great influence on their learning as they are the first teachers and role models.

Research shows that some parents are not aware of their responsibility in their children's education, and their awareness of their role in their children's learning may be very limited (Harris & Goodall, 2008). It is known that many variables such as socio-economic level, parents' level of education, the number (size) of family members, and the family and home environment have a significant impact on children's development. Capra (2009) emphasizes that students from households without a single member with a higher education background tend to attach less importance to schooling and education. However, parents' behavior and attitude towards the child - especially the child's involvement in learning activities at home - is extremely important for the child's success and can outweigh the negative aspects of other factors (Cole, 2011; Harris & Goodall, 2008). Considering the time and energy demands of parents in urban poor families, such as long working hours, living in crowded families, time spent caring for other children and/or the elderly, participation in children's educational lives is limited. As stated by Durgun and Çak (2010), variables such as insufficient income, insufficient and unstable resources, inadequate housing, insufficient public infrastructure services, deprivation of social security, etc. in urban poor families negatively affect the development of children in these families in many ways. Again, in line with the opinions of the children participating in this study, it is understood that different family types are seen in urban poor families. Türkiye's socioeconomic, cultural and demographic transformations affect the process of change as well as the process of family formation. As a result of this process, it is seen that extended family structures, especially patriarchal family structures, are rapidly dissolving in Türkiye; nuclear family structures have stagnated since the 1990s after a rapid increase; and dispersed family structures, especially single-person and single-parent families, are in a rapid increase process (Koç, 2018).

The findings of this study also revealed that children from urban poor families also represent single-parent family structures. According to Macit (2020), the results of the Türkiye Family Structure Survey [TFSS] show that as a result of the socioeconomic change in Türkiye, the tendencies of nuclearization in the family structure and the dissolution of the extended, especially patriarchal extended family structure continue. The results on the welfare status of single-parent families reveal that the welfare level of these families is still more unfavorable than other family structures. These results indicate that changes in family structure are related to poverty in terms of cause and effect. Again, many studies have revealed this situation and stated that with poverty in general and urban poverty in particular, changes and transformations have emerged in traditional family structures, especially fragmented and single-parent family structures have become more common (e.g., Duran, 2022; Kaplan, 2021; Sadıkoğlu, 2022; Topal, 2020; Yavuz & Güllüpınar, 2019).

As stated above in the findings of the study, it was understood that children from urban poor families had to assume different responsibilities. Yavuz and Güllüpınar (2019) emphasized that the sufficiency in the socio-economic context leads to the formation of egalitarian values towards children, the increased importance given to the child's autonomy, individual life and success, and accordingly, the expectation of material benefit from childhood decreases. In Kağıtçıbaşı's (1981) research, three values attributed to children were defined: social, psychological, and economic. As the economic value of the child, situations such as bringing and contributing to the household in terms of economic income, doing housework and providing care for the parents in old age were expressed. In this study, it was observed that similar structures emerged from the views of the participant children in terms of the responsibilities expected of them. In another study conducted by Kağıtçıbaşı (2000), it was found that in low socio-economic family conditions, the family's financial expectations from children were high.

This is because children's financial contributions and economic benefits have vital functions for the family.

The studies conducted by Kağıtçıbaşı focus especially on rural areas and reveal the perspectives of rural poverty on the perception of child value. In addition, some studies indicate that the perception of the economic value of the child decreases with modernization and urbanization (Kağıtçıbaşı, & Ataca, 2017; Yavuz & Güllüpınar, 2019). However, in line with the reproduction of the concept of poverty with urbanization and the urban poor families emerging in cities, different responsibilities can be assigned to the child at home. With the reproduction of poverty in cities, it can be stated that there has been a transformation in the perception of the child's economic contribution to the family. The finding obtained in this study supports this transformation. As stated by Özbek-Sönmez (2007), the challenging economic and social conditions of cities affect families in many ways. The low level of education of the family and the fact that their work experience does not match the demand for urban labor force bring along livelihood difficulties. This situation causes children to be seen as a source of income (Özbek-Sönmez, 2007). The increase in the number of unregistered child laborers in cities in recent years supports this (Berigel & Eroğlu, 2019). VB Again, according to Yıldız (2006), urban poverty is a problem that fuels the increase in child labor in Türkiye, and children face problems such as not being able to benefit from social security rights, working under harsh conditions in poor, unhealthy and unsafe environments with long working hours, and submitting to all kinds of mistreatment against the risk of dismissal. The most important finding of Yetim and Çağlayandereli's (2007) study on street children in Mersin is that two out of every five people living in the city have positive-approving social perceptions about the family's use of street labor as a last resort in cases of poverty and deprivation.

One of the findings of the research on family and household organization was how children in urban poor families spend time with their parents. Although children did different activities with their parents, it was understood that most of the time these activities did not take place due to the parents' long hours of work. Tabak (2020) emphasized that the socioeconomic status of families is important for effective family involvement. Again, it has been stated in different studies that economic variables change and transform the role of families in the lives of their children (Won-Kim, 2018; Yenipınar & Yıldırım, 2017). Low socioeconomic status and poverty have significant effects on children's development. Children in poor households face many mental and physical difficulties, have problems with cognitive and executive functions, and show low academic achievement. At the same time, these children have difficulties in establishing positive communication with their parents in the home environment (Pelton, 2015; Russell et al., 2008). Parenting becomes more difficult under conditions of poverty. Poor families have fewer resources and social support, live in unsafe environments, and experience poor and unstable health, nutrition, school, and home conditions (Marcenko et al., 2011). Therefore, they have to give up their own life needs and use more time and resources to meet the needs of their children (Marcenko et al., 2011; Zilberstein, 2016). Duan et al. (2018) also found that socioeconomic status was moderately negatively associated with academic socialization, academic achievement, family involvement, and school-related behaviors. Especially in this study, it was stated that activities to increase family involvement had positive effects on children from poor households.

Under another theme obtained from the interviews conducted with the students in the study, findings related to the neighborhood where the students live were expressed. In this context, while the students stated that having parks and playgrounds in their neighborhood, having a detached garden,

having many friends, having good relationships in the neighborhood, and having a house close to the school were good, they also stated negatively that the environment was not suitable for play and that they could not feel safe. Many studies in the literature emphasize that the context in which the family and school are located affects educational outcomes and that deprivations in these environments limit educational achievements. This creates a disadvantaged school environment as a result of inadequate learning, which in turn triggers a process leading to failure, absenteeism and dropout (Othman et al., 2021; Silva-Laya et al., 2020). Urban poor neighborhoods are also characterized by low achievement or limited gains due to such disadvantages. Experiencing the social ecology in neighborhoods where urban poverty emerges increases stress diseases, and children growing up in these neighborhoods expose them to significant risks (Kiser, 2007).

Feeling safe, healthy affective development and general well-being are priorities. Children living in urban poor neighborhoods have to experience a wide range of dangers at home, at school and in the environment (Black & Krishnakumar, 1998). The problem of safety adversely affects children's physical and affective well-being in urban poor neighborhoods. At the same time, this process also reflects negatively on their parenting. Children living in disadvantaged neighborhoods are also exposed to many family-related negativities. Among these, family chaos, conflict, violence, insolvency and indifference can be cited as examples. In addition, financial instability, home changes, homelessness and parental illnesses often occur in urban poor neighborhoods and are negatively reflected in the child's reflection (Kiser, 2007). As stated by Berman et al. (2018), neighborhoods where urban poor children live face pollution, poor housing conditions, unsafe conditions in and around schools, and other negative social factors. All these have negative effects on children's academic achievement and increase their absenteeism from school. Urbanization in Türkiye is a phenomenon that deepens poverty. Children are among the most affected by this situation. It is known that most children living in poverty do not have safe living spaces and often live in crowded and inadequate housing conditions (Akıllı & Dirikoç, 2017; Konuk-Şener, 2014). Cities have become the places where crimes, which are growing and diversifying, are most commonly committed. According to Firat (2008), all of these crimes are most directly related to poverty, and unemployment shows a rapid growth as the creator of many crimes. In a study conducted by Avci (2008) with children under the age of 18 who were under arrest, it was found that the migration of the family, housing and demographic characteristics of the family had an effect on the tendency towards crime. Hancı (1995) investigated the neighborhoods where children involved in crime lived and found that most of the children lived in slums and partially slums in the city. These studies also reveal that there are significant problems in terms of security in urban poor neighborhoods and show that urban poor children living in these neighborhoods have significant disadvantages in this context. This is because the economic constraints of urban poor families have resulted in their living in areas outside the city centers, which in most cases have limited social and infrastructural facilities and are still mostly slum areas. The distance of these areas from the city center, which are deprived of various urban amenities, brings with it various transportation, inability to participate in activities in the city center, and ghettoized housing problems. Public services (schools, health services, security support services, etc.) are often not at the desired level in these areas (Yamanoğlu, 2006).

When the findings regarding the socio-cultural environment of the urban poor students participating in the research are evaluated, it is understood that they engage in activities such as playing games, watching television and reading books in their free time; they go to cinema, theater and museums in the context of cultural activities; they try to spare time for art and sports activities; and in the context

of social activities, they engage in activities such as meeting with friends, cycling, sightseeing, picnics, camping, going to the sea and going out of the city. As can be seen, although not very diverse, it is seen that children of urban poor families are involved in a number of socio-cultural activities. However, variables such as low security and beliefs about this, limited social opportunities and lack of places to meet the need for socialization, distance to the city center, transportation problems, low economic income, etc. in the environments where urban poverty is experienced can negatively affect the social and cultural activities of both urban poor families and their children.

Those living in urban poor environments state that they are deprived of opportunities to realize or advance themselves, and that the low level of education and culture of the environment they live in affects this very much (Yamanoğlu, 2006). As stated by Yılmaz (2006), negative living conditions in the regions where people live produce forms of spatial exclusion, which is a dimension of social exclusion. The unfavorable physical conditions of the areas where people live, the lack of urban facilities and the illegal activities concentrated in these areas make it difficult for urban poor families and their children to break the cycle of social exclusion. Those living in these neighborhoods draw attention to the negative effects of the space they live in by stating that there are no opportunities for them to improve themselves and that there are few people they can look up to as role models.

In another study, it was stated that urban poor environments also bring social exclusion, that individuals cannot take part in the urban and social system sufficiently in the atmosphere of isolation, segregation, segregation, and polarization, and therefore cannot see themselves as a part of the city. The lack or inadequacy of these levels of contact, which is largely due to economic inadequacies, brings alienation (Sümer, 2022). Again in this study, especially when the participants were asked about the social activities they do most in their free time, it was seen that they were more involved in free activities and trips to different places came to the fore (Özbay, 2009). In the study conducted by Tarikci and Eraslan (2015), it was stated that urban poor families and their children cannot benefit sufficiently from the social and cultural activities offered by the city due to deprivation. Therefore, it was suggested that cafes, parks and street activities where children can socialize should be increased especially in urban poor environments, more attention should be paid to the safety and cleanliness of playgrounds and parks in these environments, activities that will enable children to be intertwined with art, sports, science and literature should be increased, social activity projects for children should be implemented, collective trips to places such as museums and zoos should be organized.

In the research, it was also found out from the opinions of the students what their needs are in the context of the urban poverty they live in. In addition to physical needs such as nutrition, sleep and health, students also have emotional needs such as feeling belonging to the family, family unity and belonging to friends. They also have academic needs such as getting support for their homework, finding a suitable environment for studying, accessing course materials, communicating well with teachers, and benefiting from the opportunities offered by the school. In urban poverty, there is a lack of services such as housing, job security and education along with the lack of income in accessing basic necessities, and environmental conditions, health services, consumption preferences, access to public services and civil rights are the main indicators taken into account in urban poverty (Gürler-Hazman, 2010). In this study, it can be stated that the needs expressed by the children of urban poor families point to similar deprivations. The accumulation of families with different cultural values who have not achieved urban integration, who cannot benefit from their rights sufficiently due to the impossibilities brought about by

poverty, who do not have a valid profession and skills to meet the requirements of urban life, and who have different cultural values, brings many problems that trigger each other (Barış, 2009). Children of urban poor families are particularly vulnerable to problems such as experiencing nutritional and health problems, not being able to continue their education to contribute to the family budget, being exposed to violence, as well as risks such as meeting the judicial system, being thrown to the streets, and other dangers brought by urban life and urban environments. As stated by Akıllı and Dirikoç (2017), many problems such as child labor, nutrition and health problems, education problems, social exclusion, street and judicial problems arise in urban poor environments.

In the study conducted by the researchers in the case of Nevşehir province, it was concluded that the children who participated in the interviews could not go to school and tried to contribute to the household income, children were not adequately fed, families could not give their children pocket money or buy clothes, children did not have a room of their own in most of the households, children suffered from lack of technology and internet, children did not have adequate play equipment (e.g. bicycles, etc.) and children struggled with many health problems (e.g. psychological disorders, etc.).

Living in poor areas and depressed areas in cities can mean being exposed to epidemics, health problems and environmental risks that affect poor people the most (Baker, 2008). In the light of all these facts, it is seen that there is a great increase in the rates of informal employment, the number of people living and working on the streets, deaths due to malnutrition, shelter, and deprivation of health services, as well as crime rates in cities due to impoverishment and exclusion in cities. Mutlu (2017) states that urban poor children are deprived of vital human rights such as food, shelter, education, and health due to poverty. Poverty deprives children of the opportunities they need to live, grow, and develop and directly affects child welfare by confronting them with various vital and social problems (Öztürk, 2008). If a poor family cannot educate their children due to lack of financial means and makes them work, then the child who cannot receive education cannot escape from poverty and poverty and deprivation become a vicious circle that breeds and feeds each other (Durgun, 2011; Koray, 2010).

In this study conducted in the context of urban poverty, it was tried to describe how school-going children of urban poor families experience urban poverty. The research was conducted within the scope of two neighborhoods experiencing urban poverty in Muğla province. In this context, although the data was limited to depicting a small segment, the results obtained are important in terms of reflecting the poverty that is reproduced and reproduced day by day in the urban context and through the experiences of children. Because today's economic crisis in Türkiye has led to the emergence of more poor people in both rural and urban contexts. We think that this research is important in terms of contributing to the efforts to keep this process on the agenda by showing how children of urban poor families experience poverty and enriching the knowledge accumulated in similar studies with the findings from Muğla.

Recommendations

The main limitation of this study is that although data was collected from students attending schools in neighborhoods with high levels of urban poverty to reveal how urban poverty affects education, the experiences of children from poor families living in relatively affluent neighborhoods of the city were not included. Another limitation is that although the study tries to understand urban poverty through the experiences of children, it does not include the views of families, teachers, school administrators and other residents of the neighborhood. It is thought that the opinions of groups directly or indirectly affected by urban poverty will contribute to expanding the literature on this subject. On the other hand, it may be recommended to collect data from such various groups in future studies. On the other hand, data was collected through in-depth interviews and field notes. In future research, different data collection methods and various age groups can be examined.

The main things that teachers can do for the education and development of urban poor children can be listed as follows (Gehrke, 2005): first, self-awareness means that teachers need to be aware of the abilities of urban poor students. This is important for teachers to recognize their students' cultural and social identities, to avoid misconceptions, and to better understand students' identities and experiences. Secondly, the learning needs of urban poor students need to be met by a strong knowledge base. This fulfillment helps teachers to utilize specific resources available in their environment, engage with students affected by poverty, and respond effectively by taking actions to help students and the community. Third, teachers of the urban poor have essentially high expectations of all students, regardless of where they teach or the background of their students.

Of course, the negative effects of urban poverty on students can be ameliorated through the coordinated efforts of teachers, school administrators, families, and other social actors. Therefore, making such improvements is not something that can be achieved by the school alone, but can be seen as problems that can be overcome when addressed together with the family and other actors. Such coordinated efforts, intervention programs and supports can be highly effective in improving academic performance and reducing absenteeism and dropout (Rodríguez & Conchas, 2009; Walsh et al., 2014).

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Contribution Rate of Researchers

Author 1: 11,1% Author 2: 11,1% Author 3: 11,1% Author 3: 11,1% Author 4: 11,1% Author 5: 11,1% Author 6: 11,1% Author 7: 11,1% Author 8: 11,1% Author 9: 11,1%

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Conflict Statement

The authors have no conflict of interest to disclose.

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Kent Yoksulluğunun Etkileri: Öğrencilerin Deneyimleri Üzerinden Bir Değerlendirme

Giriş

Öğrencilerin okul başarılarının yalnızca bireysel faktörlerin değil aynı zamanda bireyin ailesinin ve bu ailenin içinde yer aldığı toplumsal düzenin de bir ürünü olduğu günümüzde sıkça vurgulanmaktadır. Bu nedenle eğitim-öğretim süreci bireyin öğrenme süreci ve bireyin içinde bulunduğu toplumsal sartların ortak bir bileskesi olarak değerlendirilirken herhangi bir dezavantailılık söz konusu olduğunda bireyin öğrenme deneyiminin nasıl etkilendiği sorusu literatürde önemli tartışmalardan birine kaynaklık etmektedir. Bir tür dezavantajlılık durumu olarak kent yoksulluğu bireyin ailesinin toplumsal konumunu belirlerken öğrencinin eğitim sürecini de etkiler. Kent yoksulluğu sadece düşük gelir düzeyi değil; temel ihtiyaçların karşılanmaması, kalabalık haneler, sınırlı sosyalleşme ve kentin sunduğu olanaklardan sınırlı ölçüde yararlanma gibi bir dizi yoksunluk ve iyi oluş halindeki eksikliği ifade etmektedir (Chamhuri vd., 2012; Satterthwaite, 2001). Kentlerde yaşayan ancak kentin sunduğu imkanlara erişim sorunu yaşayan kent yoksulu öğrencilerin başta yaşamın devamı için gerekli temel kaynaklar olmak üzere, çeşitli kaynaklara ulaşmada yaşadıkları güçlükler zekâ, hazır bulunuşluk, iletişim gibi öğrenme sürecini etkileyen çeşitli değişkenler üzerinde önemli sonuçlar doğurur. Bu nedenle bu ailelerin çocuklarının başta nitelikli eğitime erişim ve akademik başarı olmak üzere bir sürü sorunla yüzleştiği bilinmektedir. Kent yoksulu çocukların okula katılım oranları yüksek olsa dahi bu durum nitelikli eğitim aldıklarını ve akademik başarı sağlamalarını garanti etmemektedir.

Eğitim sürecini etkileyen çocuğun içinde bulunduğu yaşam şartları, içinde bulunduğu ortamlar, çevre gibi etmenler çocuğun eğitim başarısına, öğrencinin gelişimine etki eder. Çocuğun gelişimine etki eden bu ortamlar çocuğun ailesi gibi en küçük, mikro-ortamlar olabileceği gibi oturduğu mahalle ve okulu gibi mezo seviyede veyahut içinde bulunulan kültürel ve sosyo-politik durum gibi makro ve içinde bulunulan zamanın gereklilikleri gibi krono ortamlar olarak temsil edilebilir (Bronfenbrenner, 1974).

Yapılan çalışmalarda öğrencilerin gelişimlerini özellikle aile, oturulan mahalle, ailenin okula katılımı gibi daha çok mikro ve mezo ortamların nasıl etkilediği açıkça gösterilmiştir (Ryan & Paquette, 2001).

Bu çalışmada da Muğla ilindeki kent yoksulu ailelerin çocuklarının ağırlıklı olarak devam ettiği okullarda yapılan derinlemesine görüşmeler sonucunda elde edilen veriler aracılığıyla kent yoksulluğunun öğrencilerin eğitim hayatlarına etkilerini araştırmak amaçlanmıştır. Bu çerçevede öğrencilerin durumları mikro, mezo ve makro ortamları ile ilişkili olarak daha net bir şekilde anlaşılabilecektir.

İlk olarak çocuğu çevreleyen ilk katman olarak mikro-sistemde çocuğun ailesi ve yakın arkadaş çevresinin özellikleri ve bu kişiler ile yaşanan önemli olay anlarına değinilmektedir. Bu bağlamlar içerisinde yoksul çocuklar gündelik gerçekliklerini deneyimler ve sosyalleşirler. Mikro-sistemler söz konusu olduğunda daha önce yapılan çalışmalarda özellikle anne ve babaya odaklanılmış ve çocuk gelişimini açıklayan faktörler arasında anne baba eğitim seviyeleri, anne baba gelir düzeyleri gibi faktörlerin açıklayıcı ve belirleyici etkileri olduğu bulunmuştur (Aslanargun vd., 2016; Liu & Lu, 2008; Spengler vd., 2018; Turkheimer vd., 2003; Turkheimer vd., 2017).

Mikro-sistemlere ait bir başka alan da yakın arkadaşlardır. Eğitimde çocukların başarısına arkadaş çevresinin etkisi olduğunu gösteren araştırmalar bulunmaktadır (Petersen, 1993; Ryan, 2000). Sınıf arkadaşlarının sosyo-ekonomik durumları (Vandenberghe, 2002), arkadaşların geldiği aile ortamlarının çeşitli olup olmaması (Angrist ve Lang, 2004; Hermansen ve Birkelund, 2015) ve sınıflardaki cinsiyet dağılımı (Hoxby, 2000; Lavy ve Schlosser, 2011) gibi faktörler öğrencilerin okul başarısına etkili faktörler arasında bulunmuştur. Fakat mikro-sistemlerin tümünün aynı derecede etkili olduğunu düşünmek doğru olmayacaktır. Örneğin, bazı durumlarda ailenin etkisi çocuğun hayatının dönüm noktalarında yakın arkadaşlarının etkisinden daha önemli olabilir. Bazı durumlarda bunun tam tersi de gerçekleşebilir. Bunun yanında parçalanmış ailelerde iki veya daha fazla mikro-sistem oluşabilmektedir. Anne ve ailesi, baba ve ailesi, çocuğun büyükanne ve büyükbaba yanında kalması gibi durumlar sık sık görülmektedir. Ayrıca çocuk büyüdükçe mikro-sistemlerinin çeşitliliğinde de artış olacaktır.

Çocuğun içinde yer aldığı çeşitli mikro-sistemlerin arasındaki ilişkiler, ikinci tabaka olan mezosistemleri oluşturmaktadır. Çocuğun içinde bulunduğu mikro-sistemler arasındaki geçişler ve etkileşimler onu içinde bulunan toplum içinde konumlandırma gücünü de taşımaktadır (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Mezo-sistemler içerisinde en çok araştırmalara konu olan alan okula aile katılımı konusudur. Yapılan araştırmalarda iki tür aile katılımından bahsedilmiştir. Birinci tür aile katılımı, ailenin okula gitmesi, toplantılara katılması, okul kararlarında aktif rol olması gibi durumlardır. İkinci tür aile katılımı ise okul görevlerinde ailenin çocuğa yardım ederek çocuğun eğitimine katkı sunmasıdır. Yapılan araştırmalarda sosyo-ekonomik düzey olarak daha iyi durumda olan ailelerin birinci ve ikinci türde okula daha fazla katıldıkları görülmüştür. Bu bakımdan sosyo-ekonomik durumun düşük olmasının öğrencilerin mezo-sistem seviyesinde ekolojisini başarıyı desteklemeyecek şekilde şekillendirdiği söylenebilir.

Mezo-sistemleri takip eden ekzo-sistemler, düşük sosyo-ekonomik düzeye sahip ailelerden gelen çocukların gelişimine daha dolaylı yollardan etki edebilecek olan muhit ve destek gruplarının varlığını kapsamaktadır (Bronfenbrenner, 1974). Çocuğun yaşadığı muhitteki imkânların varlığı ya da yokluğu gelişimine etki edebilir. Örneğin daha çok mültecilerin gelip yerleştiği mahallelerde oturmak (Akar, 2010) veya öğretmenlerin bu tür mahallelerdeki okulları tercih etmemesi gibi durumlar (Gilpin, 2012) muhitin çocuğun öğrenim hayatına dolaylı etkilerine örnek verilebilir.

Bir sonraki tabaka, makro-sistemler tabakasıdır. Bu tabaka geniş olarak çocuğun içinde bulunduğu toplumun kültürel ögelerini, örf ve ananelerini, yasaları ve çocuğun mikro, mezo ve ekzosistemlerini düzenleyen yasaları kapsar (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Bunun da üstünde bulunan kronosistem ise tarihsel olarak çocuğun içinde bulunduğu ortamın özellikleri ile ilgilidir. Büyük ekonomik krizler, yeni teknolojik gelişmeler, savaşlar ve göç gibi çocuğun kaderini belirleyebilecek olan unsurlar bu alanda incelenmektedir (Bronfenbrenner, 1977).

Bu çalışmanın amacı kent yoksulu ailelerin çocuklarının ekolojik sistemindeki katmanlara ilişkin eğitim ve öğretim hayatına etki eden durumları belirlemek ve özelliklerini ortaya koymaktır. Kent yoksulu ailelerin çocuklarının durumlarının daha iyi anlaşılması ve tanımlanması yoksul çocukların dezavantajlı durumlarının belirlenmesine ve bunları giderecek adımlar atılmasına zemin hazırlayacaktır. Bu doğrultuda aşağıda araştırma sorularına cevaplar aranmıştır:

- 1. Kent yoksulu ailelerin çocuklarının aile ve ev düzeni nasıldır?
- 2. Kent yoksulu ailelerin çocuklarının oturdukları mahalleye ilişkin özellikler nelerdir?
- 3. Kent yoksulu ailelerin çocuklarının sosyo-kültürel ortamı nasıl tanımlanabilir?
- 4. Kent yoksulu ailelerin çocuklarının ihtiyaçları nelerdir?

Yöntem

Bu araştırma durum çalışması olarak gerçekleştirilmiştir. Creswell (2009) durum çalışmasını "kapsamlı veri toplamaya dayalı olarak sınırlı bir sistemin (örneğin, bir faaliyet, olay, süreç veya bireyler) derinlemesine araştırılması" olarak tanımlamaktadır (s. 485). Bu kapsamda kent yoksulluğu durumu, kent yoksulluğunu deneyimleyen çocuklarla derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılarak ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır. Araştırma verileri, Muğla ili Menteşe ilçesinde kent yoksulluğunun yoğun olarak yaşandığı mahallelerdeki okullara devam eden öğrencilerle derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılarak toplanmıştır.

Öğrencilerin deneyimledikleri kent yoksulluğunun eğitime yansımalarını belirlemeyi amaçlayan bu araştırmada amaçlı örneklemeden yararlanılmıştır. Amaçlı örnekleme zengin bilgiye sahip olduğu düşünülen durumların derinlemesine araştırılmasına yardımcı olmaktadır (Patton, 2001/2014). Öğrenciler belirlenirken amaçlı örneklemenin ölçüt örnekleme tekniği kullanılmıştır. Öğrenciler seçilirken ailelerinin kent yoksulu olmasına ve ikincil bir dezavantaja sahip olmalarına (parçalanmış aile, mahkûm ebeveyn, farklı etnik kökene sahip olma vs.) dikkat edilmiştir. Bu doğrultuda Menteşe ilçesinde, yoksulluğun yoğun olarak yaşandığı mahallelerde bulunan altı okul çalışma grubuna dâhil edilmiş, 14 öğrenciyle görüşme yapılmıştır.

Bu araştırmada açık uçlu sorulardan oluşan görüşme formu kullanılmıştır. Araştırma, ekolojik sistemler teorisi çerçevesinde biçimlendirildiği için yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme formu oluşturulurken özellikle öğrencinin en çok etkileşimde bulunduğu mikro, ekzo ve mezo sistemine ilişkin soruların yer almasına dikkat edilmiştir. Bu doğrultuda araştırmacılar tarafından bir soru havuzu hazırlanmış, ardından bazı soruları eklenerek, çıkarılarak ve düzenlenerek forma son hali verilmiştir. Soruların yargılayıcı, yönlendirici ve karmaşık olmamasına özen gösterilmiştir. Görüşme formunda; demografik

bilgiler, hane profili, aile ve çevre (oturdukları mahalle) ile ilişkiler, okul ve ev rutini, öğrencilerin ihtiyaçlarına ilişkin sorular yer almıştır.

Bulgular

Araştırmaya dâhil edilen okullarda öğretmen ve müdürlerle iletişim kurulmuş, onların yönlendirmeleriyle görüşme yapılacak öğrenciler belirlenmiştir. Daha sonra görüşmelerin yapılabilmesi için öğrencilerin ebeveynlerinden "Aydınlatılmış Onam Formu" aracılığıyla izin alınmıştır. Görüşme yapılacak öğrenciler için onların okul ve günlük rutinlerinin bozulmayacağı bir tarih ve saatte randevu alınmıştır. Yapılan planlamalar doğrultusunda her görüşmeyi biri kadın diğeri erkek olmak üzere iki araştırmacı yürütmüştür. Görüşmeler yüzyüze, katılımcıların kendilerini daha rahat ifade edebilmesi için okul kütüphanesi, rehberlik odası gibi ortamlarda yapılmıştır. Görüşme öncesinde araştırmacılar kendilerini tanıtmış, araştırmanın amacından bahsetmiş ve katılımcıların kimliklerinin gizli tutulacağını bildirmişlerdir. Ayrıca araştırmacılar tarafından görüşmenin ses kaydına alınması için izin istenmiş, katılımcılara istedikleri zaman görüşmeyi bitirebileceklerini ya da cevap vermek istemedikleri soruları geçebilecekleri hatırlatılmıştır. Araştırmacılardan biri soruları yönlendirirken diğeri saha notları almıştır. Ardından ses kayıtlarının deşifreleri saha notlarıyla beraber değerlendirilerek döküm haline getirilmiştir. Bu döküme göre en kısa görüşme 19, en uzun görüşme 41 dakika olmak üzere toplam 367 dakikadır.

Araştırmadan elde edilen veriler içerik analizi tekniği ile analiz edilmiştir. İçerik analizi hacimli olan nitel materyali alarak bu materyal içindeki temel tutarlılıkları anlamlandırma çabası olarak ifade edilebilir (Patton, 2001/2014). İlk olarak ses kaydına alınan görüşmeler deşifre edilerek saha notlarıyla birleştirilmiştir. Sonrasında veriler tekrar okunmuş ve yanlarına çeşitli notlar alınmıştır. Söz konusu notlar değerlendirilmiş ve benzer olanlar alt alta yazılarak kodlanmıştır. Yazılan kodlar benzerliklerine göre alt temalarda toplanmıştır. Ardından alt tema ve kodlar yeniden gözden geçirilerek benzer alt temalarda birleştirilmiştir. Alt temalardan benzer olanlar belirlenerek tematik olarak sınıflandırılmıştır. Verilerin analizi süreci bir araştırmacı tarafından yürütülmüş, diğer araştırmacılarla beraber kod, alt tema ve temalar tartışılarak bunlara ilişkin son düzenleme yapılmıştır.

Tartışma ve Sonuç

Bu çalışmada kent yoksulu ailelerin çocukları ile yapılan derinlemesine görüşmeler aracılığıyla öğrencinin eğitim ve öğretim hayatına etki edebilecek durumları belirlemek ve özelliklerini ortaya koymak amaçlanmıştır. Bu çerçevede bulgular katılımcı çocukların aile ve ev düzenine ilişkin, oturdukları mahalleye ilişkin, sosyo-kültürel ortamına ilişkin ve ihtiyaçlarına ilişkin olmak üzere sırasıyla sunulmuştur.

Araştırmaya katılan öğrencilerin ifade ettikleri doğrultusunda aile ve ev düzenine ilişkin bulgular kent yoksulu ailelerde tek ebeveynli, çekirdek, öz anne/baba dışında bakım verenler ve geniş aile yapılarının görüldüğünü ortaya koymuştur. Bunun yanında kent yoksulu ailelerde çocukların evin ekonomik olarak geçinme süreçlerine katkı sağlama, ev işlerine yardım etme, küçük çocukların bakımını üstlenme ve yine daha küçük çocukların okulda verilen ev ödevlerine yardım etme gibi sorumluluklar üstlendikleri anlaşılmıştır. Yine bu bulgular altında çalışmaya katılan çocukların görüşlerinden aileleriyle sohbet etme, televizyon izleme, birlikte dışarı çıkma, ev işleri yapma ve oyun oynama gibi etkinlikler gerçekleştirdikleri ancak çoğu zaman da ebeveynlerinin evin ekonomik olarak geçinebilmesi için çok fazla çalıştıklarından dolayı ebeveynleriyle birlikte kaliteli zaman geçiremedikleri görülmüştür. Kent yoksulu ailelerdeki ebeveynlerin uzun çalışma saatleri, kalabalık ailelerde yaşamaları, diğer çocukların ve/veya yaşlılara bakım için harcanan zaman gibi zaman ve enerji gerektiren durumlar göz önünde bulundurulduğunda çocukların eğitim hayatlarına katılımın sınırlı olduğu görülmektedir. Durgun ve Çak (2010) tarafından da ifade edildiği üzere kent yoksulu ailelerde yetersiz gelir, yetersiz ve istikrarsız kaynak, yetersiz barınma, kamusal altyapı hizmetlerinin yetersizliği, sosyal güvenlikten mahrumiyet vb. ortaya çıkan değişkenler bu ailelerdeki çocukların gelişimini birçok yönden olumsuz şekilde etkilemektedir.

Araştırmaya katılan çocukların görüşleri doğrultusunda kent yoksulu ailelerde farklı aile tiplerinin görüldüğü anlaşılmıştır. Türkiye'nin yaşadığı sosyoekonomik, kültürel ve demografik dönüşümler ailenin kuruluş süreci yanında değişim sürecini de etkilemektedir. Sürecin bir sonucu olarak Türkiye'de geniş aile yapılarının, özellikle de ataerkil aile yapısının hızla çözüldüğü; çekirdek aile yapılarının hızlı bir şekilde arttıktan sonra 1990'lı yıllardan itibaren durağanlaştığı; dağılmış aile yapılarının özellikle de tek kişilik ve tek ebeveynli ailelerin ise hızlı bir artış sürecinde olduğu görülmektedir (Koç, 2018).

Kent yoksulu ailelerin çocuklarının farklı sorumluluklar üstlenmek zorunda kaldıkları anlaşılmıştır. Yavuz ve Güllüpınar (2019) sosyo-ekonomik bağlamdaki yeterliliğin çocuklara yönelik eşitlikçi değerlerin oluşmasına, çocuğun özerkliğine, bireysel yaşantısına ve başarısına verilen önemin artmasına bunun doğrultusunda da çocukluktan maddi fayda beklentisinin azaldığına vurgu yapmışlardır. Kağıtçıbaşı'nın (1981) araştırmalarında çocuğa atfedilen sosyal, psikolojik ve ekonomik olmak üzere üç değer tanımlanmıştır. Çocuğun ekonomik değeri olarak öncelikle eve ekonomik açıdan gelir getirmesi ve katkı yapması, çocuğun ev işleri yapması ve yaşlılıkta ebeveynlerine bakım sağlaması gibi durumlar ifade edilmiştir. Bu araştırmadan da katılımcı çocukların görüşlerinden kendilerinden beklenen sorumluluklar bağlamında benzer yapıların ortaya çıktığı görülmüştür. Günümüz kentlerinde çocuklardan beklentiler yalnızca ev içi bir emek sunmaları ile sınırlı kalmamaktadır. Özbek-Sönmez (2007) tarafından da belirtildiği üzere kentlerin zorlayıcı iktisadi ve toplumsal şartları aileleri çok yönlü etkilemektedir. Ailenin eğitim düzeylerinin düşüklüğü ve iş tecrübelerinin kentsel iş gücü talebine uymaması geçim sıkıntısını da beraberinde getirir. Bu durum çocukların da gelir kaynağı olarak görülmesine neden olmaktadır (Özbek-Sönmez, 2007). Özelikle son yıllardaki kentlerdeki kayıt dışı çocuk işçi sayısındaki artışlar da bunu destekler niteliktedir (Berigel & Eroğlu, 2019). Yine Yıldız'a (2006) göre de kentsel yoksulluk Türkiye'de çocuk işçilerin artışını körükleyen bir sorun olup çocuklar, sosyal güvenlik haklarından yararlanamama, uzun çalışma süreleri ile kötü, sağlıksız ve güvenlikten yoksun ortamlarda ağır şartlarda çalışma, işten çıkarılma riskine karşı her türlü kötü muameleye boyun eğme gibi problemlerle karşı karşıya kalmaktadır.

Araştırmada aile ve ev düzenine ilişkin bulgulardan biri de kent yoksulu ailelerde çocukların ebeveynleri ile nasıl zaman geçirdiklerine yönelikti. Çocuklar ebeveynleri ile farklı etkinlikler yapmış olsalar da çoğu zaman ebeveynlerin uzun saatlere yayılan çalışma sürelerinden dolayı bu etkinliklerin gerçekleşmediği anlaşılmıştır. Tabak (2020) tarafından yapılan çalışmada ailelerin sosyoekonomik durumlarının etkili aile katılımı noktasında önemli olduğu vurgulanmıştır. Yine farklı çalışmalar da ekonomik değişkenlerin, ailelerin çocuklarının hayatlarındaki rolünü değiştirdiği ve dönüştürdüğü ifade edilmiştir (Won-Kim, 2018; Yenipınar & Yıldırım, 2017). Düşük sosyoekonomik durumların ve yoksulluğun çocukların gelişimi üzerinde önemli etkileri bulunmaktadır. Yoksul hanehalklarında bulunan çocuklar birçok mental ve fiziksel güçlükle karşılaşmakta, bilişsel ve yürütücü işlevlerinde

sıkıntılar yaşamakta ve düşük akademik başarı göstermektedirler Aynı zamanda bu çocuklar ev ortamlarında ebeveynleri ile olumlu iletişimler kurma noktasında da zorluk yaşamaktadırlar (Pelton, 2015; Russell vd., 2008). Yoksulluk şartları altında ebeveynlik de güçleşmektedir. Yoksul aileler daha az kaynağa ve sosyal desteğe sahip olmakla birlikte güvenli olmayan ortamlarda yaşamakta, niteliği az ve durağan olmayan sağlık, beslenme, okul ve ev şartlarını deneyimlemektedirler (Marcenko vd., 2011). Bundan dolayı kendi yaşam ihtiyaçlarından vazgeçerek daha fazla zaman ve kaynağı çocuklarının ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için kullanmak zorundadırlar (Marcenko vd., 2011; Zilberstein, 2016).

Araştırmada öğrencilerle yapılan görüşmelerden elde edilen bir diğer tema altında da öğrencilerin oturdukları mahalleye ilişkin bulgular ifade edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda öğrenciler oturdukları mahallede park ve oyun alanlarının olmasını, evlerinin müstakil bahçeli olmasını, çok fazla arkadaşlarının olmasını, mahallede iyi ilişkilerin kurulmasını, evin okula yakın olmasını iyi yönde ifade ederken çevrenin oyuna uygun olmama, güvende hissedememe gibi durumları da olumsuz yönde belirtmişlerdir. Güvende hissetme, sağlıklı bir duyuşsal gelişim ve genel huzur önceliklidir. Kent yoksulu mahallelerde yaşayan çocuklar evde, okulda ve çevrede çok farklı tehlikeleri deneyimlemek zorunda kalmaktadırlar (Black & Krishnakumar, 1998). Güvenlik problemi kent yoksulu çevrelerde çocuklarda fiziksel ve duyuşsal iyi oluşu kötü yönde etkilemektedir. Aynı zamanda bu süreç ebeveynlik durumlarına da olumsuz bir şekilde yansımaktadır.

Dezavantajlı mahallelerde yaşayan çocuklar aile kaynaklı birçok olumsuzluğa da maruz kalmaktadırlar. Bunların arasından ailede kaos, çatışma, şiddet, çözümsüzlük ve ilgisizlik örnek olarak gösterilebilir. Bunun yanında finansal değişkenlik, ev değişiklikleri, evsizlik ve ebeveyn hastalıkları da çok sıkça kent yoksulu mahallelerde ortaya çıkmakta ve çocuğun yansıtışına olumsuz bir şekilde yansımaktadır (Kiser, 2007). Berman vd. (2018) tarafından da ifade edildiği gibi kent yoksulu çocukların oturdukları mahalleler kirlilik, kötü ev şartları, okul ve çevresindeki güvenli olmayan durumlar ve diğer olumsuz sosyal faktörlerle karşı karşıyadır. Tüm bunlar çocukların akademik başarısında olumsuz etkilere sebebiyet vermekle birlikte okula devamsızlıklarını da artırmaktadır.

Arastırmaya katılan kent yoksulu öğrencilerin sosyo-kültürel ortamına iliskin bulgular değerlendirildiğinde boş zamanlarında oyun oynama, televizyon izleme, kitap okuma gibi etkinlikler gerceklestirdikleri; kültürel faaliyetler bağlamında sinema, tiyatro, müzeye gittikleri; sanat ve spor faaliyetlerine zaman ayırmaya çalıştıkları ve yine sosyal faaliyetler bağlamında da arkadaşlarla buluşmak, bisiklete binmek, gezip dolaşmak, piknik yapmak, kamp yapmak, denize gitmek ve şehir dışına çıkmak gibi etkinlikler içerisinde oldukları anlaşılmıştır. Görüldüğü üzere çok çeşitlilik göstermese de kent yoksulu ailelerin çocuklarının sosyo-kültürel bağlamda birtakım etkinlikler içerisinde olduğu görülmektedir. Ancak kent yoksulluğunun yaşandığı çevrelerde güvenliğin düşük olduğu yönündeki durumlar ve buna yönelik inançlar, sosyal imkânların kısıtlılığı ve sosyalleşme ihtiyacını gidermeye yönelik mekanların azlığı, kent merkezine olan uzaklık, ulaşım sorunu, düşük ekonomik gelir vb. değişkenler hem kent yoksulu ailelerin hem de çocuklarının sosyal kültürel faaliyetlerini olumsuz yönde etkileyebilmektedir. Kent yoksulu çevrelerde yaşayanlar kendilerini gerçekleştirebilecekleri veya ilerletebilecekleri olanaklardan yoksun olduklarını, yaşadıkları çevrenin eğitim ve kültür seviyesinin düşüklüğünün bunu çok fazla etkilediğini ifade etmektedirler (Yamanoğlu, 2006). Yılmaz (2006) tarafından da belirtildiği üzere yaşanılan bölgelerdeki olumsuz yaşam koşulları sosyal dışlanmanın bir boyutu olan mekânsal dışlanma biçimlerini de üretmektedir. Yaşanılan bölgelerin olumsuz fiziksel koşulları, kentsel olanakların eksikliği ve bu alanlarda yoğunlaşan yasadışı

faaliyetler kent yoksulu aileler ve çocuklarının sosyal dışlanma döngüsünü kırmalarını güçleştirmektedir. Bu çevrelerde yaşayanlar bulundukları çevrede kendilerini geliştirebilecekleri olanakların bulunmadığını, kendilerine örnek olarak alabilecekleri kişilerin az olduğunu söyleyerek, yaşadıkları mekânın üzerlerindeki olumsuz etkilerine dikkat çekmektedirler.

Yine gerçekleştirilen başka bir çalışmada da kent yoksulu çevrelerin sosyal dışlanmayı da beraberinde getirdiği, yoksunluklar yaşayan kesimlerin izole edilmesi, segregasyona tabi tutulmaları, ayrışma ve kutuplaşma atmosferinde bireylerin kentsel ve sosyal sistemin içerisinde yeterince yer alamadıkları ve bundan dolayı kendilerini kentin bir parçası olarak göremedikleri belirtilmiştir. Büyük oranda ekonomik yetersizliklerden kaynaklanan söz konusu temas düzeylerinin eksikliği veya yetersizliği yabancılaşmayı da beraberinde getirmektedir (Sümer, 2022). Yine bu çalışmada özellikle katılımcılara boş zamanlarında en çok gerçekleştirdikleri sosyal etkinlikler sorulduğunda daha fazla ücretsiz etkinliklere dahil oldukları ve farklı mekanlara yönelik gezilerin de ön plana çıktığı görülmüştür (Özbay, 2009). Tarikci ve Eraslan (2015) tarafından yapılan çalışma da kent yoksulu ailelerin ve çocuklarının yoksunluktan kaynaklı olarak kentin sunmuş olduğu sosyal ve kültürel faaliyetlerden yeterince faydalanamadıkları belirtilmiştir.

Araştırmada öğrencilerin görüşlerinden yaşamış oldukları kent yoksulluğu bağlamında genel olarak ihtiyaçlarının da neler oldukları bulgusuna da ulaşılmıştır. Öğrencilerin beslenme, uyku ve sağlık gibi fiziksel ihtiyaçlarının yanında, aileye aidiyet hissetme, aile birliği ve arkadaşlara aidiyet hissetme gibi duygusal ihtiyaçlarının da olduğuna ulaşılmıştır. Yine bunun yanında ödevleri bağlamında destek alma, ders çalışmaya uygun bir ortam bulabilme, ders malzemelerine ulaşabilme, öğretmenler ile iyi iletişim kurabilme, okulun sunduğu olanaklardan faydalanabilme gibi akademik ihtiyaçlarının da olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Kentsel yoksullukta, temel ihtiyaç maddelerine ulaşmadaki gelir yetersizliği ile birlikte barınma, iş güvenliği, eğitim gibi hizmetlerden yoksunluk söz konusu olup çevresel koşullar, sağlık hizmetleri, tüketim tercihleri, kamusal nitelikte hizmetlere ulaşma ve sivil haklar da kentsel yoksulluk konusunda dikkate alınan temel göstergeleri olusturmaktadır (Gürler-Hazman, 2010). Bu çalışmada da kent yoksulu ailelerin çocuklarının ifade etmiş oldukları ihtiyaçların benzer yoksunluklara işaret ettiği ifade edilebilir. Kentsel bütünleşmesini sağlayamamış, yoksulluğun getirdiği olanaksızlıklarla, haklarından yeterince yararlanamayan, geçerli bir mesleği ve kentsel yaşamın gereklerini karşılayabilecek becerileri olmayan, kültürel değerleri farklı ailelerin kentlere yığılması, beraberinde birbirini tetikleyen birçok sorunu da gündeme getirmektedir (Barış, 2009). Kent yoksulu ailelerin çocukları, beslenme ve sağlık sorunları yaşama, aile bütçesine katkı sağlamak için eğitime devam edememe, şiddete maruz kalma gibi sorunların yanı sıra yargı sistemiyle tanışma, sokaklara savrulma gibi risklere, kent yasamı ve kentsel ortamların getirdiği diğer tehlikelere özellikle açık halde bulunmaktadır. Akıllı ve Dirikoç (2017) tarafından da ifade edildiği üzere kent yoksulu çevrelerde çocuğun emeği, beslenme ve sağlık sorunu, eğitim sorunu, sosyal dışlanma, sokakla ve yargıyla tanışma gibi birçok problem ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Yoksulluk çocukları yaşama, büyüme ve gelişme açısından gereksinim duydukları olanaklardan yoksun bırakmakta ve çeşitli yaşamsal ve toplumsal sorunlarla onları karşı karşıya getirerek çocuk refahını doğrudan etkilemektedir (Öztürk, 2008). Yoksul bir aile çocuğunu maddi imkânsızlık nedeniyle okutamıyor ve çalıştırıyorsa, bu durumda eğitim alamayan çocuk yoksulluktan kurtulamamakta ve bu durumda yoksullukla yoksunluk birbirini doğuran ve besleyen bir kısır döngü haline gelmektedir (Durgun, 2011; Koray, 2010).

Öneriler

Bu araştırmanın başlıca sınırlılığı kent yoksulluğunun yoğun olarak yaşandığı mahallerdeki okullara giden öğrencilerden veri toplanarak kent yoksulluğunun eğitimi nasıl etkilediğinin ortaya koyulmuş olmasına karşın kentin görece varlıklı mahallelerinde yaşamakta olan yoksul ailelerin çocuklarının konuyla ilgili deneyimlerine yer verilmemiş olmasıdır. Diğer bir sınırlılık ise çocukların deneyimleri üzerinden kent yoksulluğu anlaşılmaya çalışılsa da, aile, öğretmenler, okul yönetimi, mahalledeki diğer yaşayanların konuya ilişkin görüşünü içermemektedir. Kent yoksulluğundan doğrudan ya da dolaylı olarak etkilenen grupların da konu hakkındaki görüşleri bu konudaki alanyazını genişletmeye katkı sağlayacağı düşünülmektedir. Öte yandan bundan sonraki araştırmalarda bu tür çeşitli gruplardan veri toplanması önerilebilir. Öte yandan bu araştırma kapsamında derinlemesine görüşmeler ve saha notları aracılığıyla veri toplanmıştır. Sonraki araştırmalarda daha farklı veri toplama yöntemleri ve çeşitli yaş grupları irdelenebilir.

Kent yoksulu çocukların eğitimi ve gelişimi için öğretmenlerin başlıca yapabilecekleri şöyle sıralanabilir (Gehrke, 2005): ilk olarak öz-farkındalık; öğretmenlerin kentteki yoksul öğrencilerini yeteneklerinin farkında olmaları gerektiği anlamına gelir. Bu özellik, öğretmenlerin öğrencilerinin kültürel ve sosyal kimliklerini tanımaları, kavram yanılgılarının önüne geçmeleri, öğrencilerin kimliklerini ve deneyimlerini daha iyi anlamaları açısından önemlidir. İkinci olarak kent yoksullu öğrencilerin öğrencilerin çevrelerinde bulunan belirli kaynaklarıyla karşılanması gerektiğidir. Bu karşılama öğretmenlerin çevrelerinde bulunan belirli kaynakları kullanmalarına, yoksulluktan etkilenen öğrencilerle ilgilenmelerine ve öğrencilere ve topluma yardımcı olmak için eylemlerde bulunarak etkin bir şekilde yanıt vermelerine yardımcı olur. Üçüncü olarak ise, kentsel yoksulların öğretmenlerinin, nerede öğretmenlik yaptıklarına veya öğrencilerinin geçmişlerine bakılmaksızın tüm öğrencilerden esasen yüksek beklentilere sahip olmalarıdır.

Elbette kent yoksulluğunun öğrenciler üzerindeki olumsuz etkileri öğretmenler, okul yöneticileri, aile ve diğer sosyal aktörlerin koordineli bir şekilde çalışmasıyla iyileştirilebilir. Dolayısıyla bu tür gelişimleri kaydetmek sadece okulun tek başına gerçekleştirebileceği bir şey değil, aile ve diğer aktörlerle birlikte ele alındığında üstesinden gelinebilecek sorunlar olarak görülebilir. Böyle koordineli yapılan çalışmalar, müdahale programları ve destekler sayesinde akademik performansın artması, devamsızlığın ve okul terkinin azalmasında son derecek etkili olabilmektedir (Rodríguez & Conchas, 2009; Walsh vd., 2014).