ASSESSING CHILDREN'S SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING

IN A SCHOOL CONTEXT

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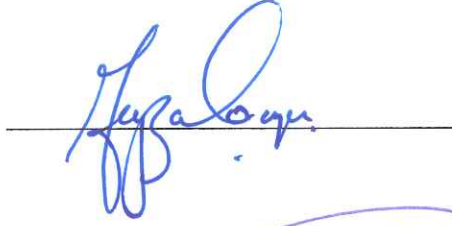Psychology

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Assessing Children's Subjective Well-Being in a School Context

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

Assessing Children's Subjective Well-being in a School Context

Children spend an extended period at school from very early ages. The numerous components of school life have an impact on the subjective well-being of children. The present study aims to understand the subjective well-being of children through their own eyes and aims to understand how relational elements affect subjective well-being of children in school context. Eighteen girls and 19 boys aged between 9-12 years-old children attending both public and private schools participated in this study. The participants belong to various SES and ethnicities, and with different levels of religiosity. The school-related parts of the interview, which is constituted by relying on Children's Understandings Well-being – Multinational Qualitative Study (CUWB) Project, which includes 18 countries, was used in the process. The interviews were coded using Nvivo software program. The analytic frame which was used to elucidate children's subjective experiences in schools was Konu and Rimpela (2002) the school well-being model. In addition, the bioecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and the recognition theory for school context (Graham et al., 2014) were used as additional lenses. The results showed that across the socioeconomic status the subjective well-being of children is influenced significantly from the relational context with teachers and peers. It was seen that under the impact of particular relational issues, opportunities of schools may turn into burden. This study highlighted how children interpret and make meaning of their experiences within the context of their relationality in the school context.

ÖZET

Okul Bağlamında Çocukların Öznel İyi Oluş Hallerinin Değerlendirilmesi

Çocuklar çok erken yaşlardan itibaren uzun zaman dilimlerini okulda geçirirler. Okul hayatının birçok farklı elementi çocukların öznel iyi oluş hallerine etki eder. Bu araştırmanın amacı çocukların kendi gözlerinden kendi öznel iyi oluş hallerini nasıl anladıklarını ve okul bağlamında ilişkisel unsurların çocukların öznel iyi oluş haline nasıl etki ettiğini anlamak için bir kavrayış sunmaktır. Hem devlet hem de özel okula giden, 9- 12 yaş arası, 18 kız ve 19 erkek çocuk bu araştırmaya katılmıştır. Katılımcılar çeşitli sosyoekonomik ve etnik sınıfa dahildir ve hepsinin dindarlık seviyesi farklıdır. Mülakat, 18 ülkenin katılımıyla gerçekleşen Çocukların İyi Oluşlarının Anlaşılması – Çok Uluslu Kalitatif Çalışma Projesi temel alınarak oluşturulmuştur. Ancak, mülakatın okulla ilgili olan kısımları bu araştırma için kullanılmıştır. Mülakatlar, Nvivo programı kullanarak kodlanmıştır. Çocukların okullardaki öznel deneyimlerini aydınlatmak için kullanılan analitik çerçeve Konu ve Rimpela (2002)' nın okul refah modelidir. Ek olarak, biyoekolojik model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) ve okul için geliştirilen tanıma teorisi (Graham et al., 2014) ilave bakış açıları olarak kullanılmıştır. Sonuçlar, sosyoekonomik durumlar göz önüne alındığında, çocukların öznel iyi oluşlarının, öğretmenlerle ve akranlarla olan ilişkisel bağlamdan önemli ölçüde etkilendiğini göstermiştir. Belirli ilişkisel meselelerin etkisiyle okulların sağladığı olanakların çocuklar için birer yüke dönüşebileceği görülmüştür. Bu çalışma, çocukların okulun ilişkisel bağlamında, kendi deneyimlerini nasıl yorumladıklarına ve anlamlandırdıklarına odaklanmaktadır.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Well-being is a widely studied subject with both adults and children. Studies with children have increased dramatically in recent years. While it is a popular topic, considerable debate over conceptualization around well-being and measurement issues continues. Children's well-being is relatively a new topic in Turkey and mostly has been studied using quantitative research methods. The number of studies using qualitative methods, which provide an opportunity to focus on the meaning children attribute to their lives, is, however, limited. Furthermore, researchers mostly study adolescents to understand their well-being, while children between 9-12 years of age are relatively ignored, and they are not typically seen as a significant source of information about their own lives.

Children spend a significant portion of their time either at home or at school, both spaces leading to meaningful relational experiences that interact with each other. This study proposes to study children's (ages 9-12) subjective well-being, using the framework of "the school well-being model" (Konu & Rimpela, 2002) which will be supplemented with "bioecological model" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), and "recognition theory" (Honneth, 1995) to provide a multi-layered perspective on children's meaning-making about their relational well-being and influencing factors specifically in the school context.

Why school? When children enter schools, they move from private spaces of their homes to the public space of the service system. School as a social context is the first place where children enter in, have various kinds of experiences, and establish relationships with people outside their homes. Therefore, children find out

that there are different lives, lifestyles, and people who think in various ways. In addition, the impact of the socioeconomic status of the family on the school experience and the relationships children form in the school context is observable. Material inequality has deterministic power on preferences of neighborhood families can settle down in, which leads to school choices. Socioeconomic status differences can also lead to differences in available opportunities. However, opportunities can also become burdensome (e.g., being a less well-off student with a full scholarship in a wealthy private school or increased academic pressure in competitive schools). Thus, there are multilayered dimensions that affect school experiences, and schools are spaces in which children exercise their agency.

The school does not only determine how children use their time, but it is also a period in which they establish their social relationships with peers, teachers, or school staff. School offers a community. How respect, reciprocal responsibility, and trust in their school life is negotiated is pertinent to children's well-being (Puolakka, Haapasalo-Pesu, Konu, Astedt-Kurki, & Paavilainen, 2014). Examining well-being in school context provides an opportunity because of its' structure of multiplicity and intersectionality. Different experiences related to gender, ethnicity, nationality, socioeconomic status, and age might be more observable in the school context.

The following literature review section is divided into three parts. The first part will briefly present the related discussions within child well-being literature. The second part will present the findings related to the multiple aspects of educational well-being. The last part will present the theoretical frames from which the narratives of the children will be listened. Konu and Rimpela (2002)'s "the school well-being model" is a comprehensive model that encompasses all aspects of children's experiences in school in a meaningful framework. While this model offers an

important integration, the processes within each aspect of their model can further be delineated by "bioecological model," and "recognition theory". How each of these models can make a meaningful contribution to Konu and Rimpela (2002)'s model will be discussed in this last section.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Scope/Conceptualization of well-being

Well-being is a complicated and over-arching term used somewhat inconsistently in different studies (Helliwell, 2003). Because well-being studies are carried out with various populations such as different age groups, communities, cultures, and countries; the definition and domains of well-being are diverse (Pollard & Lee, 2003). Well-being as a multidimensional concept combining psychological, physical, and social aspects (Ben-Arieh, Casas, Frønes, & Korbin, 2014) encompasses not only the state of "happiness" (Pollard & Lee, 2003; Ben-Arieh & Frønes, 2011), but also it touches upon many elements such as the states of being relatively healthy and prosperous (Ben-Arieh & Frønes, 2011).

There are historically two broad perspectives. The hedonic perspective emphasizes happiness in which well-being is understood as the acquisition of pleasure and avoidance of pain. The eudemonic perspective, which concentrates on self-realization and meaning, specifies well-being as the level of functioning (Ryan & Deci, 2001) which may or may not coincide with happiness. This dichotomy remains a fundamental one in the literature.

United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Children (CRC,1989) asserts that the well-being of a child is fundamental on its right, and it is the exact opposite of deprivation. (Bradshaw, Hoelscher, & Richardson, 2007a). Ben-Arieh and Frønes (2007) also interpret child well-being as a right, and they assess child well-being based on the quality of life incorporating peer relations, economic situation, political rights, and developmental opportunities of children. Additionally,

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well-being has implications for self-realization and improvement of conditions. These implications are essential for children's development of their capabilities (Müderrisoğlu, Semerci, Çakar, Karatay, & Akkan, 2013). Thus, to form a holistic and multifaceted approach for children's well-being, both objective and subjective indicators containing different but interacting domains must be taken into consideration (Müderrisoğlu, et al., 2013; Weisner 2014).

Diener (2000) and Ben- Zur (2003) define well-being as a concept with cognitive and affective parts. Well-being has to be understood as a result of a dynamic relationship among preferences, opportunities, and resources (Ben-Arieh & Frønes, 2011) and in terms of children's evaluations of their own lives (Strózik, Strózik & Szwarc, 2016). Such appraisals are under cultural and historical influences (Ben-Arieh & Frønes, 2011).

White (2010) classifies well-being into three categories:

The material, the relational, and the subjective. The material comprises assets, welfare, and standards of living. For practical analysis, the relational is divided into two spheres: the social: social relations and access to public goods; and the human: capabilities, attitudes to life, and personal relationships. The subjective also has two aspects: on the one hand people's perceptions of their (material, social, and human) positions, and on the other hand cultural values, ideologies, and beliefs. (p. 161)

In sum, with subjective and objective indicators, well-being is an over-arching concept that touches upon many domains through the personal appraisal mechanisms of the individuals (Jiang, Kosher, Ben-Arieh, & Huebner, 2014).

2.1.1 Measuring and monitoring child well-being

Measuring and monitoring children's objective and subjective well-being is a burgeoning field, and research in this field is rapidly increasing (Ben-Arieh, & Goerge, 2001; Land, Lamb, & Mustillo, 2001). The concept of children's well-being

and its measurement is going through major changes (Ben-Arieh, 2000; Ben-Arieh, 2005). There are paradigm shifts in the field of well-being studies from welfare to well-being. This process is called by Ben-Arieh (2010) 'the child indicators movement' which reflects the six crucial changes occurring within the last 25 years. The first significant change involved conceptually going beyond the survival indicators. Thus, indicators were expanded to include domains of children's well-being. This shift was further promoted by an effort to comprehend better what "quality of life" requires and its impact on children (Huebner, 2004).

The second conceptual shift involved moving away from solely focusing on negative aspects of children's lives (Ben-Arieh, 2010) such as deficit-based knowledge and risk factors (Andrews & Ben-Arieh, 1999) achievement deficiencies and behavior problems (Moore, Lippman, & Brown, 2004; Ben-Arieh, 2005). However, if there is no failures and problems, this does not mean that there are success, growth, appropriate development, and prosperity (Moore et al., 2004; Ben-Arieh, 2005). Later indicators started to focus on positive outcomes. Thereby, there emerges a shift in which positive indicators are included when measuring well-being (Aber & Jones, 1995).

Thirdly; while the former indicators analyzed children's future well-being, namely "well-becoming," the later indicators emphasize the present well-being (Ben-Arieh, 2010). According to "well-becoming" perspective, "good life" of children is postponed until adulthood. What is important, until then, is opportunities but not the provisions (De Lone, 1979 as cited in Ben-Arieh, 2000). Qvortrup, Corsaro, and Honig (2009) assert that considering children as human "becoming" implies the denial of their dignity and worth. Particularly, the political perspective solely focuses on children's well-being in terms of their future potentialities such as

academic achievement and employability (Bradshaw, Martorano, Natali, & Neubourg, 2013; Ben-Arieh, 2008). Focusing on the well-being of children does not deny the importance of preparing children for adulthood. However, concentrating on children in terms of preparing them to become citizen shows that they are not citizens in their childhood, which does not accommodate with the children's rights (Ben-Arieh, 2006, 2008). If childhood is accepted as a stage then, there is a need to monitor current states of children's well-being, focusing on the activities and experiences of children (Boli-Bennet & Meyer, 1978), so that clear picture of childhood is constructed and better understood (Ben-Arieh, 2000).

Fourthly, new domains which must go beyond children's survival rates had to be incorporated to investigate children's well-being (Ben-Arieh & Goerge, 2001). As a result, this shift literally is a shift from traditional domains such as; education, health, and demography which are affiliated with various professions and social services to new domains or topics that cover children's daily lives and concerns such as; safety, satisfaction with services and life aspects, leisure time, interests, activities of children, and civic life skills, social skills, and social participation, which are child-centered and interdisciplinary subtopics (Ben-Arieh, 2006, 2008).

The fifth conceptual shift involved moving away from an adult-centered approach to a child-centered approach, as a natural consequence and requirement of children's rights concept. Childhood is accepted as a phase (Ben- Arieh, 2005; Ben-Arieh, 2010) and a developmental stage with its' own sociological characteristics (Ben-Arieh, 2008). Children began to be seen as active agents who can measure and monitor their well-being by participating actively in research process and children's points of views and subjectivities are listened profoundly (Ben- Arieh, 2005; Ben-Arieh, 2010).

Last conceptual shift involved the need to come up with joint indexes covering many intersecting domains which provide information about child well-being in order to develop child-focused policies (Bradshaw et al., 2007a; Ben-Arieh, 2005, 2010).

Commonly referred to multi-dimensional indexes of child well-being (Bradshaw et al., 2007a; Bradshaw, Hoelscher, & Richardson, 2007b) have included typically seven domains; material well-being, health, risk and safety, relations, home, and environmental conditions, education, and participation. Briefly, material well-being of children has been constructed based on three components; relative income poverty, worklessness of parents, and deprivation from cultural and educational resources (Adamson, Bradshaw, Hoelscher, & Richardson, 2007; Bradshaw & Richardson, 2009; Bradshaw et al., 2007a; 2007b). All domains which determine well-being are interconnected. Material well-being has a distinct characteristic because of having direct relationships with all other domains (Uyan-Semerci et al., 2012). With regards to the health domain, to have proper physical and psychological development is essential for the well-being of children (Uyan-Semerci et al., 2012). Children's health status is measured based on children's own perception of their health as well as objective criteria (Hogan & Msall, 2008; Ben-Arieh, Kaufman, Andrews, George, Lee & Aber, 2001), such as child health at birth, health habits, immunization rates (Bradshaw & Richardson, 2009; Bradshaw et al., 2007a; 2007b), and child death resulted from accidents or injuries (Adamson et al., 2007). Three components constitute the risk and safety domain; violence and violent behaviors such as exposure to fighting or bullying, child deaths, and risk behaviors such as teenage fertility, early sexual life, drug and alcohol use, and smoking (Bradshaw et al., 2007a, 2007b; Bradshaw & Richardson, 2009; Adamson et al., 2007), child labor

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is added as another component in Turkey (Uyan-Semerci et al., 2012). The relationship domain consists of family structure (Adamson et al., 2007; Bradshaw et al., 2007a, 2007b), family relationships and peer relationships (Bradshaw & Richardson, 2009), relationships at school is added in Turkish studies instead of family structure by Uyan-Semerci and her friends (2012).

Three components represent the environment and home domain; housing problems, overcrowding of home, conditions of the neighborhood such as crime rate, pollution level, and resources; and (Bradshaw et al., 2007a, 2007b; Bradshaw & Richardson, 2009; Uyan-Semerci et al., 2012). The education domain comprises of three components; achievements in mathematics, reading and science scores; participation/enrolment to the school, and outcomes such as rates of children who are not in education or any training, or job, and rates of children who are not in education but in employment (Adamson et al., 2007; Bradshaw & Richardson, 2009; Bradshaw et al., 2007a, 2007b). The domain of participation compared to other domains is least addressed, questioned, and developed domain in both party countries and Turkey (Uyan-Semerci et al., 2012). Participation is evaluated through two indicators which are participating in social activities; such as student organization, youth organization, an environmental organization, human rights organizations, and charitable activities; and interest in politics (Bradshaw et al., 2007a).

2.1.2 Processes of well-being

It is not practical to think well-being as only a single consequence because it is continuously affected by daily events; so, well-being should also be seen as a process (Fattore, Mason, & Watson, 2009; Manderson, 2005). Child outcomes result from

the mutual interactions between risk factors and resources related to the children's conditions, their friends, family, and position both at school context and society. Children whose capacities develop within these processes, mediate these changing factors to create their well-being (Bradshaw et al., 2007a). Combining subjective experiences such as interpretation and evaluation over the living conditions and expression of the loss and pleasure, with objective life conditions such as material conditions, education, and health is important (Frønes, 2007).

In the current literature, a contextual and a multidimensional approach to children's well-being is used to better comprehend the impact of the kinds of opportunities for education facilities, access to health, physical conditions of children, social relations on their subjectivities. Thus, the need for indicators that monitor the interactive and multidimensional nature of the domains continues as so rapidly changing childhoods across cultures emerge (Müderrisoğlu et al., 2013).

2.1.3 Social studies of childhood and child well-being

Diverse academic fields have presented different perspectives for the study of children. Especially after the ratification and application of CRC (1989), several new views of research have emerged by establishing theories about children (James & James, 2008; Kehily, 2008). These fields usually choose their methodologies by their perception of childhood. For instance, the field of sociology might see the child as a social class or category whereas another field can describe it as a biological truth (James & Prout, 1997; James & James, 2008; Qvortrup, 2009).

The idea of socially constructed childhood within a specific space and time is the main idea of the modern childhood theory (James, Jenks, & Prout,1998; Jenks, 2005; Prout & James, 2005). Modern childhood studies have three fundamental

characteristics: the socially constructed childhood, the right, and position of children, and intergenerational relationships between children and adults (Woodhead, 2008). This 'new paradigm' is similar to the conceptual shifts above, and it has been receiving a great deal of attention for the last few decades. According to this view, children are recognized as beings and as active subjects with their own point of view rather than becomings and passive beings (James & Prout, 1997; Graham et al., 2016; Kehily, 2009; Prout & James, 2005; Ben-Arieh, 2010b; Fattore, Mason, & Watson, 2007; 2012). Moreover, it is accepted that children have rights, capabilities, they contribute to society and they take part in research as 'knowledgeable informants' (Fattore et al., 2007; 2012; Fattore, Mason, & Watson, 2016), thus they become a respected member of the society (Graham, Powell, & Truscott, 2016; Graham, Powell, Thomas, & Anderson, 2017; Woodhead, 2008).

Thus, for listening to children's meaning-making around their school experiences, childhood studies provide an excellent opportunity through the 'child-centered' focus in which children's agency is central to their well-being, and it takes form in and through relationships (Coombes, Appleton, Allen, & Yerrell, 2013).

2.1.4 Well-being studies in Turkey

In Turkey, there is a limited number of studies that directly investigate factors related to subjective well-being. Well-being studies which were conducted with young adults, particularly with university students (Işık, Ulubey, & Kozan, 2018; Malkoç & Yalçın, 2015; Cenkseven & Akbaş, 2016; Eryılmaz, 2014a) and with adolescents (Eryılmaz, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2014b; Arslan, 2018a, 2018b; Odacı & Kınık, 2018; Sezer, 2011; Kocayörük, Altıntas, & İçbay, 2015) are relatively high compared to the number of well-being studies carried out with children (Sönmez &

Ceylan, 2017; Bademci, Karadayı, Pur Karabulut, Kurt, & Warfa, 2017; Uyan-Semerci et al., 2012; Uyan-Semerci and Erdoğan, 2015; 2017; Müderrisoğlu et al., 2013; Müderrisoğlu, Karatay, Uyan-Semerci, & Ekim-Akkan, 2015; Akkan, Müderrisoğlu, Uyan-Semerci, & Erdogan, 2018).

As an essential precursor of well-being studies in Turkey, Uyan-Semerci and her friends (2012) carried out mixed method research. The research accepted children as agents of their own lives, and their lives are understood through their participation in the research process. The research aimed to determine the domains and indicators of children's well-being in Turkey because the conceptualization of well-being stands out a useful tool to understand the life conditions that affect children. In addition, the research introduced the well-being concept to the scientific literature in Turkey. Thus, the new theoretical and methodological perspective is developed. In this regard, this study aimed to analyze internationally defined child well-being domains in Turkey to see whether they are applicable to children of Turkey. Based on international literature, eight domains consisting of material well-being, education, health, risk and safety, home and environment, participation, relationships, and subjective well-being were investigated (Uyan-Semerci et al., 2012). The studies of Uyan-Semerci and her friends (2012), Uyan-Semerci and Erdoğan (2015; 2017), Müderrisoğlu and her friends (2013; 2015), and Akkan and her friends (2018), involving children from different ages and socioeconomic backgrounds, particularly put emphasis on children's subjective experiences along with objective life conditions, while they try to understand the well-being of children comprehensively through examining well-being domains and their indicators.

2.2 School context and children's well-being

In the context of education, well-being is defined both as an outcome and a process that promotes the progress of children towards all learning and developmental outcomes. Well-being and learning contribute to each other bidirectionally (Mashford-Scott, Church, & Tayler, 2012).

A child's educational status is in no way directly related to the child alone, but rather to the family, the environment in which the child lives, and, of course, the nature of the school as an institution and what it provides to the child. In a sense, many aspects of a child's school experience are shaped by earlier or concurrent influences of his/her development such as factors related to school readiness, social skills and quality of available school options due to family's economic constraints. The neighborhood in which the child grows up, accessible health care, and social service/support systems impact the child and the education approach in society (Flanagan & Grissmer, 2008).

2.2.1 Conceptualizing school well-being

Differences in conceptualizing children's well-being at school exist. Children describe well-being at school as a positive emotional experience resulting from the harmony between the school's expectations of children and expectations and individual needs of children (Engels, Aelterman, Petegem & Schepens, 2004).

Hascher (2008) defined subjective well-being in school in terms of the balance between positivity and negativity of affect and cognition. In particular, he states that subjective well-being is an emotional experience resulting from the dominance of positive affect and cognitions towards people in school and to the

school context. Therefore, well-being in school consists of emotional, cognitive, and subjective judgments about school reality (Hascher, 2008).

Also, the hedonic perspective describes children's well-being in school as to whether children feel good in the school environment (De Fraine, Van Landeghem, Van Damme, & Onghena, 2005), while Fraillon (2004) uses eudemonic perspective and explains well-being according to students' level of functioning in the school area.

Holfve-Sabel (2014) defines school well-being on three elements: experience in the classrooms, relationships with peers, and relationships with teachers. These three elements are observed within two main components of school connectedness Catalano, Haggerty, Oesterle, Fleming, and Hawkins (2004) propose. The first is affectional and caring relationships. The second is the commitment, which reflects students' perceptions about their achievement and investment in the school. Therefore, the school does not only provide a warm environment, but also it provides a space where every student feels own strengths are recognized (Catalano et al., 2004).

2.2.2 Overview of gender, age and cultural differences at a glance

There is a different display of well-being in terms of gender and age. When satisfaction with school is the indicator for school well-being, in general, younger children and girls have higher levels of well-being at school (Samdal, Nutbeam, World, & Kannas, 1998; Randolph, Kangas, & Ruokamo, 2010; King, Huebner, Suldo, & Valois, 2006; Okun, Braver, & Weir, 1990), yet the gender differences diversified according to age variation. 11 and 13-year-old boys significantly less satisfied than girls of the same age, but there is no gender difference among 15-year-

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old children (Samdal et al., 1998). On the other hand, there are essential gender-based sensitivities. For example, boys' levels of well-being at school can be increased with adequate help from their teachers whereas girls were found to have lower school well-being if they felt bothered in class according to results of the study which combining both eudemonic and hedonic perspectives (Løhre, Lydersen, & Vatten, 2010). In an extensive multi-national study, the International Survey of Children's Well-being (ISCIWeb) was administered to point out important issues related to children's well-being in different cultural contexts. Four agreement (My teachers listen to me and take what I say into account, I like going to school, my teachers treat me fairly, I feel safe at school) and four satisfaction (How happy are you…. with other children in your class, your relationship with teachers, your school marks, your school experience) (only in the second wave) questions were used to assess well-being of children in school context (Children's World Report, 2014, 2015, 2016).

The first wave of ISCIWeb found that, in general, children mostly agree that their teachers listen to them, treat them fairly, and feel safe at school (Children's World Report, 2014). While children do not like to go to school in developed countries, it is worth noting that a high percentage of children from developing countries like to go to school. It is believed that this is an immediate consequence of the school's role as the only social environment in which children can socialize in developing countries. Also, in developing countries, feeling safe at school, feeling being listened to and treated fairly correlated with liking school. On the other hand, the relation was reversed in developed countries (Children's World Report, 2014).

Similar to the findings of the first wave, in the second wave of Children's World Report (2016) most children responded positively to all agreement and

satisfaction questions except "I like going to school." Again, children in developing countries responded more positively to this agreement question than children in developed countries. Children from Turkey responded positively to all eight questions. In particular, the rate of liking school was 76%. This finding may be attributable to the fact that there is no other place to socialize, to build relationships, to enrich their capabilities, and to exercise their agencies. In both developing and developed countries, girls responded more positively than boys to all eight questions (Children's World Report, 2016).

The above study replicated the findings of the Health Behavior in School-Aged Children (HBSC, 2004-05) for Turkey. It was found that girls' ratings for liking school were consistently higher than those for boys. Moreover, there was a main effect of age: liking school was higher for younger children. The same pattern can be observed in the results of HBSC (2009-10).

Importantly, liking school is highly associated with lower family affluence in Turkey. These findings underline the importance of the experiences in the school context to help shape children's opportunities and constraints based on family SES levels.

The extensive literature review is provided below on findings related to children's academic, relational and individual experiences in the school context.

2.2.3 High expectations

School-related stress children feel comes from children's perceptions of their teachers' academic demands (Vieno, Santinello, Galbiati, & Mirandola, 2004), heavy school work, in-class assessments, and homework (Sixsmith et al., 2005; Duckett, Sixsmith, & Kagan, 2008) and parents' academic demands (Vieno et al., 2004). This

stress is not the only type of stress in children's lives. Together with other sources of stress, it causes a decrease in health status (Ravens- Sieberer, Kokonyei, & Thomas, 2004) and leads to decrease in quality of life and satisfaction with school (Vieno et al., 2004) and affect children's well-being negatively (Sixsmith et al., 2005).

The felt pressure from school work increases from 11 to 15 ages, in both genders (Currie, 2008). While there is a normative increase in pressure from school work, children between 11 and 13 years of age in Turkey report school work pressure at the highest levels among other HBSC countries. This rate goes down slightly for the 15 years old children. In Turkey, boys from all ages report feeling higher levels of pressure from school work than girls. According to the next wave of HBSC report (2009-2010), children from Turkey reported the highest levels of school work pressure across all age groups (Currie et al., 2012). This result is impressive because while a significant number of children from Turkey report liking schools, it comes with a high level of school-related pressure. Therefore, it is highly likely that children like school and school life, because school is the only social space they have.

Children who enroll in schools which demand high achievement from children benefit from such schools if they are also highly achievement-motivated (Opdenakker & Van-Damme, 2000). On the contrary, they suffer from high academic expectations if they are a low achievement- motivated. Consequently, these children increasingly dislike school and do not feel happy in school due to the mismatch between the school's high academic expectations and their low academic interest (Opdenakker & Van-Damme, 2000).

2.2.4 Teaching styles

Teaching styles of teachers make a big impact on the children's classroom experience. When teachers approach children with empathy, kindness and they create a comfortable classroom environment that encourages reasoning and learning, it is correlated with an increase in participation, critical thinking, satisfaction, achievement, and self-esteem, social bond, attendance to class, the motivation of students (Cornelius- White, 2007). In addition, suspicious behaviors and drop-out rates decrease (Cornelius- White, 2007). Children feel comfortable, and they can learn well with some of the teaching styles, some others make them frustrated. Even if they want to learn the material, they can feel unable to learn and blame the teaching style of their teachers. Children do not like the teaching method in which teachers do not involve children in the class. They also do not like to study individually, but instead, they prefer to study within a group and to participate in a group discussion so that they have an opportunity to express their opinion freely. They want to be active in class. Therefore, they like particularly music, drama, and physical education classes (Sixsmith et al., 2005).

2.2.5 The school environment

2.2.5.1 The physical environment/school climate

Freigberg and Stein (1999) describe school climate as the soul and hearth of a school which induces children, teachers, and other staff members to love their school and to come eagerly to school each day. School climate is related to a school's quality which supports each person to experience personal merit and esteem; and which helps to develop a sense of belonging to something within the school (Freigberg & Stein, 1999). Both at the classroom and school level, positive school climate can be

formed (Danielsen, Wiium, Wilhelmsen, & World, 2010). Positive school climate enables children to take part in learning and relational life of the school in a connected and attentive way (O'Brien, 2008). Teachers are expected to create a warm atmosphere in the classroom in which the needs of children are provided through interacting with them sensitively and responsively (Danielsen et al., 2010), autonomy is encouraged, feedbacks are expressed positively without humiliating children who show poor performance. Moreover, the capabilities and talents of children are emphasized and encouraged so that they think school gives worth to diversity (Jang, Reeve, & Deci, 2010).

For children, a pleasant atmosphere at school is related to a positive school culture, which is a predictor of the well-being of children (Grover, Limber, & Boberiene, 2015). School culture involves everything that happens within the school, formal or informal, all values and norms within it (Engels et al., 2004).

Children also stated the significance of the environment in affecting their feelings at school. For instance, children have positive feelings about bright, clean and airy classrooms (Sixsmith et al., 2005; Holfve-Sabel, 2014), a big, clean, and green garden, sports areas, and outside spaces of schools (Semerci & Erdoğan, 2015; Sixsmith et al., 2005; Holfve-Sabel, 2014). Children feel free and express their self-determination away from the rigid rules of school at the playgrounds of school (Sixsmith et al., 2005).

2.2.5.2 Social spaces

The school incorporates a large number of social spaces that provide children lots of opportunities to establish new, satisfying, and significant friendships. In general, social spaces at school are outside of the classroom and have some characteristics

such as availability and peacefulness of the places. Some children also point out that they favored the places where they talked to others and are socialized (Sixsmith et al., 2005). Because children from the low socioeconomic level have limited organized leisure time, school is an important place where they spend time with their friends (MacDonald & Marsh, 2004).

Break and mealtime give children some space to relax and to enjoy being with their friends. Children are able to exercise autonomous and self-directed behaviors within these times. Children describe recess, which is the only time to meet and to talk with friends, as the best time of their school day (Sixsmith et al., 2005).

2.2.6 Relationships at school

According to Ryff (1995), Holfve-Sabel (2014) and Graham, Fitzgerald, Powell, Thomas, and Anderson (2014), well-being is dependent upon relationships. In recent years, researchers have been interested in how relationships affect the subjective well-being of children. Schools are particularly relational places (Bernard, Stephanou, & Urbach, 2007; Redmond, Skattebol, & Saunders, 2013). Children name relationships with self, the school, people within the school, and significant people outside the school such as family as aspects that help increase or lower their well-being (Graham et al., 2014). Relationships with family (Graham et al., 2017; Huebner, 1991; Graham et al., 2014) and friends are two main domains of children's well-being (Huebner, 1991). Especially intimate relationships with them have essential importance for children's well-being (Fattore et al., 2016; Graham et al., 2016). Holder and Coleman (2009) studied both negative and positive aspects of relationships within a broad social network in order to analyze the happiness of

children. They assess four types of relations which are 'negative relations with peers, behaving badly towards others, interacting with friends, and interacting with family' as a correlate and predictor of children's happiness. Similarly, Goswami (2012) examined six relational areas of children which are "family, neighborhood adults, positive affect friendship, negative affect friendship, experiences of being bullied by other young people, and being treated unfairly by adults" (p.575). Among all six areas of social relationships which contribute variously to the subjective well-being of children, relationship with family is the most fundamental one and plays a critical role to determine the well-being of children (Goswami, 2012).

It is a fact that the relationship with the family is significant for children. However, if children have a minimum number of positive relationships outside school life, they develop a dependency on relationships in the school (Roffey, 2012). Within this place, relationships influence children's well-being both positively through supportive and kind relationships with teachers and peers; and negatively through the experience of bullying, exclusion by peers or conflictual relationships with teachers (Bernard et al., 2007; Redmond et al., 2013).

2.2.6.1 Relationships with teachers

2.2.6.1.1 Positive relationships with teachers

Teachers have a very substantial role in affecting well-being (Sixsmith et al., 2005; Graham et al., 2016) and close relationships with teachers are significant predictors (Van Petegem, Aelterman, Rosseel, & Creemers, 2007) of children's well-being (Holfve-Sabel, 2014).

Positive relationships between children and teachers have a significant role for the development of well-being and resilience (Brazelton & Greenspan, 2000;

Raskauskas, Gregory, Harvey, Rifshana, & Evans, 2010; Weare, 2000). The features of high-quality relationships with teachers are described as friendliness, sensitivity, emotional safety, intimacy, trust, concern, support and respect (Brazelton & Greenspan, 2000; Good &Brophy, 2000; Larrivee, 2005). In the case of positive relationships between children and teachers, teachers are more likely to recognize children, call them by their names with a smiling face, and they are aware of their absence (Stipek, 2006), respond to children's misbehavior with explications not with penalty or harassment (Bergin & Bergin, 2009; Stipek, 2006), try to know children as an individual in their personal lives outside school (Slade & Trent, 2000), are accessible (Weissberg, Caplan, &Harwood, 1991; O'Brien, 2008), give extra time and attention to their students, prioritize their well-being and academic accomplishments, listen to them (Graham et al., 2014; Graham et al., 2016; Sixsmith et al., 2005), treat children in a fair and respectful manner (Stipek, 2006), treat them as mature people with respect (Sixsmith et al., 2005), spend fun times with children, share somethings about themselves to the some degree, and being a 'real' person with children (Gurland & Grolnick, 2003), and become less formal in class which creates relaxing emotional environment promoting academic effort and enhancing well-being of children (Sixsmith et al., 2005).

Because expressing self-respect and respect for others are core elements to well-being, being respected has foundational importance for children. Many children articulated that respect has to be given equally, and it is deserved by everyone even if this is not the case all the time and for all children (Thomas, Graham, Powell, & Fitzgerald, 2016). Teachers' respect and encouragement of children make a significant contribution to the well-being of children (O'Brien, 2008).

The teachers' characteristics and competence to generate a safe and systematic learning environment and to encourage establishing good social relationships and peer acceptance (Holfve-Sabel, 2014), being a likable part within the school community (Osterman, 2000) have a significant influence on the well-being of children (Holfve-Sabel, 2014). Good teachers are those who explicate learning the material in plain language, who arrange the time when they teach the material according to students' levels, and who can use various teaching methods not stuck in traditional methods (O'Brien, 2008). Especially, if teachers take a positive role as a mentor in a child's life and have an intimate relationship with children, this relationship has also a positive influence on school achievement and resilience (DuBois, Holloway, Valentine, & Cooper, 2002; Hamre & Pianta, 2001), increase in the level of attendance to class and decrease the level of anxiety (O'Brien, 2008; Hamre & Pianta, 2001).

2.2.6.1.2 Negative relationships with teachers

Some aspects of school life impact negatively on the well-being of children. These aspects come together around disrespect; such as unequal treatments, disinterest, and incorrect assumptions of teachers (Thomas et al., 2016; Sixsmith et al., 2005). Children complain that even if they behave respectfully toward their teachers, they are not respected in return. Sometimes they feel judged easily by the teachers who know very little about them. This situation often makes children feel terrible (Sixsmith et al., 2005).

Furthermore, children experience teachers' yelling as a major source of resentment. They view yelling, as a disrespectful way of negative feedback transmission (Thomas et al., 2016) and brutal treatment of teachers (Sixsmith et al.,

2005) which makes them feel scared, humiliated, and embarrassed (Graham et al., 2016). Unfortunately, shouting is considered as an ordinary teacher behavior when students do something wrong. However, if a teacher does not shout in such situations, students value him/her highly and report liking such teachers more. Also, as predicted, students dislike teachers who shout at them and dislike the subject they teach (Sixsmith et al., 2005).

Children also report suffering from two additional areas; lack of consistency of the use of rules and power in schools, and the absence of confidentiality and privacy (Thomas et al., 2016). When teachers enforce school discipline and rules arbitrarily and incoherently, children feel the teacher's injustice, resulting in damage to their well-being. Therefore, children report that they feel disrespected, threated, and bullied not only from peers but also from some of their teachers (Duckett et al., 2008).

2.2.6.2 Relationships with peers

2.2.6.2.1 Good/positive relationships with peers

Friendship is described as a reciprocated relationship in which there is a mutual pleasure, love (Majors, 2012) and constancy (Graham et al., 2016). Friendship satisfies the need for an intimate relationship, the need of being loved, being accepted, and belonging (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Positive relationships among children necessitate friendship, involvement, and support (Roffey, 2012). Children have fun, laugh with, watched out, and felt protected while they spend time together with their friends (Graham et al., 2016). These relationships have significant contributions to the well-being of children (Zins, Bloodworth, Weissberg, &

Wallberg, 2004; Graham et al., 2016) and are considered as a source of happiness (Thoilliez, 2011).

The most significant contribution to the subjective well-being of children stems from relationships with family, and the next significant contribution comes from positive relationships with friends. Particularly, with increasing age, the importance of friendship also increases. The last significant effect on the well-being of children results from exposure to bullying (Goswami, 2012). Good family relations and pleasant school experience help children form intimate friendships (Settertobulte & Matos, 2004).

Some sources of social support like family, school, and peers take a role as mediator or as a buffer which affects the relationship between social exclusion and well-being. However, there is a gender difference in terms of the roles of social resources. School support takes a moderator role on the association of the social exclusion and well-being of girls, whereas peer support has the same effect for boys (Arslan, 2017). As one of the primary sources, friends provide various kinds of social support and assist them in the face of adversity and struggle (Currie et al., 2012). Perception of peer support plays a significant role as a buffer against isolation and depression (Zambon et al., 2010). In the case of at least one committed friendship in children's lives, they feel less lonely, anxious, and bullied (Ladd, Kochenderfer, & Coleman, 1996). The sense of being accepted within school culture is related to leaving or remaining in the system of education (Osterman, 2000). Hanging out with friends is the most crucial motive for children to go to school (Engels et al., 2004).

The critical dimension of relationship with friends is "feeling safe" with them (Goswami, 2012) to share their problems and to have fun (Bradshaw et al., 2007a). Group friendship strengthens the sense of belonging whereas a 'best friend' is the

person children share their secrets and talk about their difficulties related to their family or other friendships (Bradshaw et al., 2007a). Helpful and kind schoolmates are positively related to life satisfaction for children (Bradshaw, Keung, Rees, & Goswami, 2011).

According to results of Children's World Report (2014, 2015, 2016), children from all ages groups (8,10,12 ages) generally agree that their friends are usually nice to them and they have enough friends.

There are age and gender differences. According to the HBSC (2009-2010) report, as children grow older, they have fewer friends. This situation might be related to having few, but intimate friends become more important than before. However, in Turkey, there are no differences between genders and between age groups, both genders in three age levels have the similar number of friends (HBSC 2009-2010).

Also, 12 years old children rated eight friendship questions less positively than 10 years old children. Girls rated the agreement and satisfaction questions more than boys, but there is no significant difference (Children's World Report, 2015). The similar pattern can be observed in the second report of the second wave of ISCIWeb, girls tend to rate higher than boys to the eight friendship questions (Children's World Report, 2016).

Interestingly, a high number of Turkish children from all ages and genders state that their classmates are not kind and helpful. As age increases, there is a continuous decline in satisfaction with friends for boys. There is a decrease in satisfaction from 11 to 13, yet, the results turn into the opposite direction from 13 to 15 (Currie, 2008: HBSC 2004-2005). In the next study report (HBSC 2009-2010), children who think their friends are helpful and kind increased; however, the pattern

related to age stayed the same. Furthermore, girls agree more that their friends are helpful and kind than boys in all age groups.

On the other hand, the socioeconomic status of a family makes a difference. The number of children's friends can be positively affected by family affluent, which provides valuable opportunities for children to participate in more activities to establish friendships (Coulton & Irwin, 2009). On the contrary, children from low socioeconomic status experience some struggle to maintain a sufficient level of social involvement. Lack of adequate financial resources, lack of transport to meet with their friends reciprocally, and not being able to participate in school trip due to its cost damage children's social lives and their friendship network. Because they are not able to meet their friends and to share in popular social events, they are fearful of not being a part of their community, and they are fearful of being socially excluded (Ridge, 2002).

2.2.6.2.2 Negative relationships with peers

There is also a negative side of the relationship with friends which reduce the subjective well-being of children and influence mood, health, life satisfaction, and stress level in a great degree (Finch, Okun, Pool, & Ruehlman, 1999; Hirsch & Rapkin, 1986; Rook, 1984). It is reported that children who have conflictual relationships with friends are mostly lonely and socially isolated which has a negative effect on well-being; thus, those children have less satisfaction with school (Parker & Asher, 1993; Ladd et al., 1996). Social exclusion jeopardizes essential needs of children such as self-esteem, control, feeling of belonging, and existence in a meaningful way. It decreases positive affect and enhances negative affect (Williams, 2009). Additionally, social exclusion, being neglected, and being rejected

are related with emotional, social, and behavioral consequences such as anxiety, violence, depression, loneliness, risky behaviors, and decrease in self-esteem (Baumeister & Tice, 1990; Gilman, Carter-Sowell, DeWall, Adams, & Carboni, 2013; Leary, 1990; Twenge, Baumeister, Tice, Stucke, 2001; Osterman, 2000), sorrow, desolation, and jealousy (Osterman, 2000); decrease in school achievement, school absenteeism, school dropout, and a decrease in academic efficacy (Arslan, 2016a; Sari, 2013; Goodenow & Grady, 1993; Leary, Kowalski, Smith, & Phillips, 2003; Shochet, Smith, Furlong, & Homel, 2011), school violence (Arslan, 2016a; Leary et al., 2003).

The forms of disrespect containing degrading and disgracing attitudes of peers and friends, gossiping, and criticizing also have adverse effects on the well-being of children (Thomas et al., 2016).

One of the most significant bad experience, children live through is bullying which causes negative relationships with friends. Bullying among school-aged children is a very old phenomenon (Olweus & Breivik, 2014). Bullying is defined by Olweus (1993, p.31) as "a student is being bullied or victimized when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other students." Negative attitudes which involve hostile intention and induce stress occurs frequently, and imply there is power difference. There are two forms of bullying; physical and verbal (Olweus, 1991; Pepler & Craig, 1995). After repeated bullying, the power difference becomes reinforced. While bullies gain power, victims continue to lose their power (Currie, 2008).

Exposure to bullying which has the third highest effect among the six aspects 'family, neighborhood adults, positive affect friendship, negative affect relationship, the experience of being bullied by other young people, and being treated unfairly by

adults' (p. 575) significantly decreases well-being of children (Goswami, 2012). Children who work hard in class and who are successful, have a risk of "getting tortured" which is experienced in a broad spectrum from exclusion from peer groups to severe bullying (MacDonald & Marsh, 2004).

Exposure to bullying leads children to respond to it with many negative feelings such as irritation, frustration, and more seriously, fear and terror, which affect their well-being. In extreme cases, children who are exposed to bullying fear to lose their safety, anticipate social humiliation, and experience a noticeable amount of emotional distress. In addition, children who are exposed to bullying have difficulties to found social networks and keep supportive relationships, and as a result, they become socially isolated (Sixsmith et al., 2005) and feel lonely (Nansel et al., 2001).

In the first wave of Children's World Report (2014), bullying was assessed through using two questions: the frequency of being left out and the frequency being hit by other children more than three times in the last months at school. Even if the frequency changes related to age and the country, in general, children reported that occurrences of two behaviors are relatively high (more than a quarter of the sample). Similar results have been observed in the second wave of Children's World Report (2015). However, children reported that they are exposed to being hit more than being left out (Children's World Report, 2016). There are age and gender differences. The frequencies of the two experiences were higher among 8-years old children compared to 10- and 12- year olds.

Furthermore, boys were being hit more frequently than girls. However, there are no significant gender differences in the second question: the frequency of being left out (Rees & Main, 2015). Boys are exposed to bullying more than girls, yet,

bullying experience is less often expressed by both genders when age increases (Currie, 2008). Turkey is the second highest country in terms of children's exposure to being hit in the last month (Rees & Main, 2015; Rees et al., 2016). According to HBSC (2004-2005) report, Turkish children were found as having the highest levels of being bullied at school similar to Children's World Reports (2015, 2016). Among 41 countries, Turkey ranked the highest for exposure to bullying among 11-year-old children. Moreover, this rank dropped only to the third level among 13-year-olds. These results are also interesting because even if children state that they are happy with their friends in the school, they have lots of experience of being hit, which affects their well-being negatively. (HBSC, 2004-2005)

Research results suggest that children are protected from being bullied, if they have friendships with high quality or at least one intimate friend (Bollmer, Milich, Harris, & Maras, 2005; Fox & Boulton, 2006) and if they like school (Harel-Fisch et al., 2011).

2.2.7 Agency, participation, and autonomy

Children described the meaning of well-being as being able to communicate, having a say, sharing ideas, and having rights to speak freely (Anderson & Graham, 2016). As children are able to exert agency in their everyday lives, they also take a position in formal decisions about their lives which is an essential contributor to their well-being (Fattore et al., 2009). In school framework, participation has two areas. The first area is participation in activities such as school trips and social clubs at school (Müderrisoğlu et al., 2013; Sixsmith et al., 2005), sports activities, and team play (Sixsmith et al., 2005). Participating in a sports club is very important for some children because of its significance for providing children with an opportunity to get

attention and be praised by both teachers and peers (Sixsmith et al., 2005). Besides, the most important reason behind participation in activities and desire to be a member of groups for children is to form mutual friendships (Thomas, 2012) to strengthen socially supportive relationships (Duckett et al., 2008).

The second area is to participate in decision-making processes related to their lives at school (Müderrisoğlu et al., 2013). Sixsmith and her friends (2005) indicate that children are able to 'have a say' in school life via participating in school council and diversely organized consultation groups. Thus, they can gain power and a sense of belonging, feel valued, and have a sense that their well-being means something in schools (Sixsmith et al., 2005; Graham et al., 2014; Duckett et al., 2008; Anderson & Graham, 2016).

Because friendships are important for children, they want to have a say regarding friendships related matters. For example, they want to be allowed to be in the same class and to sit with their friends (Anderson & Graham, 2016). Also, they want to express their opinion when they are choosing their teachers or about school administration issues and decision-making processes to be sure that their needs are understood and provided (Anderson & Graham, 2016).

Participation has many forms of manifestation; being present in class, and participating in lessons as well as involvement in decision-making processes (Thomson & Holdsworth, 2003). Student voice, which is used as a proxy instead of participation, includes expressing opinions about school and learning issues (Lansdown, 2006). If schools provide multifaceted ways to participate, and because participation is positively connected with well-being, children's well-being enhances (Finn, Boyd-Zaharias, Fish, & Taylor, 2007). Children report that the environment

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where they feel free and autonomous to take part actively in their community contributes to their well-being (Sandseter & Seland, 2016).

On the contrary, students mentioned that they are not able to participate in the construction process of school rules most of the times (Sixsmith et al., 2005). When children experience that their views are not heard, valued, or considered important, they feel disrespected at school (Anderson & Graham, 2016) and many children do not succeed academically, or they drop out (Lansdown, Jimerson, & Shahroozi, 2014).

According to Thomas (2012), for the absolute participation of children, there have to be three modes of recognition which will be mentioned below. Children have to have a sense of affection and warmth to take part in; they have to be respected as right-bearers to engage in; there has to be a common target and reciprocal solidarity to have a real influence. Participation does not only mean to talk or 'voice' their opinions but also includes common actions (Percy- Smith, 2006, 2010; Percy-Smith and Thomas, 2009).

According to the convention's twelfth article (1989), each child is competent enough to develop his/her perspective and has the right to articulate them without any pressure in all matters about their lives (Lansdown et al., 2014). However, it is not enough only simply to listen to children. Their opinions must be seriously taken into consideration (United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2009). Through participation, children develop skills, gain competencies, broaden aspirations, and get confidence (Lansdown et al., 2014). Children from different backgrounds have an opportunity to form "a sense of belonging, solidarity, justice, responsibility, caring, and sensitivity" through participation (Lansdown et al., 2014, p.7). Even if schools are seen as a place where dissemination of information is

processed in traditional view, with the enhancing effect of the convention which emphasizes children as active participants in their learning process rather than passive recipients, participation of children in their learning process can be increased by virtue of interactive learning methodologies (Unicef, 2007). Active participation helps children to develop skills such as "thinking, analyzing, investigating, creating, and applying knowledge" (p.8) in order to reveal their optimum potential (Lansdown et al., 2014). Thus, participation in the classroom and involvement to the school improves the well-being of children (Engels et al., 2004).

The convention also mentions about standards which promote and fulfill children's well-being in the school contexts as well as it states education rights of children (Kosher, Jiang, Ben-Arieh, & Huebner, 2014). Schooling and education rights of children must be in accordance with the three principles of CRC (1989): provision, protection, and participation. That is to say, according to provision principle; all children are to have a way to easily and readily access school and education which offer them developmental opportunities. Protection principle necessitates that schools and education must be a safe place for children to feel free of any danger, including mental, physical, and psychological. Participation principles requires school and educational systems to ensure various participation and self-determination rights, such as "freedom of association, protection of privacy, freedom to express opinions, and freedom of thought, conscience, and religion" (Kosher et al., 2014, p. 12). Participation rights of children is not only crucial for moral motives, but it is also vital for contributing effect on the well-being of children. Equal participation opportunities strengthen responsibility, problem-solving skills in a collaborative way (Kosher et al., 2014).

2.2.8 Safety

According to recent studies of Ben-Arieh, McDonell, and Attar-Schwartz (2009), two of the most important indicators of children's well-being are home-school relations and safety. Safety is a critical part of the subjective well-being of children. Children defined safety as 'the absence of harm or danger' (Collins, 2001, p.38). Fattore and his friends (2009) found that feeling secure and keeping safe allow children 'to engage fully with life.' Therefore, there emerges a close connection between agency and security. One aspect of security is observed within satisfying, warm, and trustful relationships, which is emotional security (Sandseter, & Seland, 2016).

Lee and Yoo (2015) found out that to perceive community, school, and home as safe spaces is positively related to the subjective well-being of children. Home is generally evaluated as a safe place by children (González-Carrasco, Casas, Ben-Arieh, Savahl, & Tiliouine, 2018). However, children from low socio-economic status narrate that they feel unsafe in their homes due to revealing domestic or family violence (Usta & Farver, 2005) and school is also perceived as an unsafe place in general (Collins, 2001) because of exposure to being bullied (Tiliouine, 2015) and witnessing violence (Janosz, Archambault, Pagani, Pascal, Morin, & Bowen, 2008). Farver, Ghosh, and Garcia (2000) found that if children feel highly unsafe, their sense of well-being and perception of self-competence decrease and sense of self is damaged.

It is essential to point out that children evaluate their safety differently than their teachers. For example, children report higher levels of feeling unsafe at school or when traveling to and from school than their teachers assume. Children feel safe and belonging when their relationship with teachers are good (O'Brien, 2008). At

school, safety perceptions are influenced by perceiving adults as supportive and caring, the presence of uniform, well-defined and well-applied rules, and low levels of fighting, drug use, bullying, and vandalism (Bosworth, Ford, & Hernandaz, 2011). Preventive action of schools to handle problems like bullying, drugs, and violence give children a feeling of safety and security, which positively affects the well-being of children (Engels et al., 2004).

2.3 Theoretical frameworks to investigate child well-being in the school context

School is a widely examined topic of research by various disciplines such as sociology, psychology, policy, pedagogy, health science, and philosophy. Each field is interested in different aspects of school and its features. For example, psychology focuses on experiences of children from developmental perspectives at school context, whereas policy research examines schools in terms of developing intervention programs, counseling facilities and apply for those programs in schools in order to contribute improvement of schools and development of children. School is a multidisciplinary field that has an effect on other fields and has been affected by them. Because school is a place where children spend most of their time, it has significant importance to understand the well-being of children. To understand and comprehensively contextualize children's well-being and how children conceptualize their well-being in their own eyes, different theoretical frames will be utilized. Children's classroom life, learning, academic achievement, relationality with teachers as well as with peers, bullying experiences, liking school, agency within school context have been investigated in various research as already presented in the previous sections. Konu and Rimpela (2002)'s the school well-being model conceptualize school-related topics comprehensively and cumulatively under its roof,

and it will be used as the main theoretical frame. However, to understand experiences of children in more detail and to look closer to the narratives of children, bioecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and recognition theory (Honneth, 1995) will also be utilized as useful additional lenses.

2.3.1 The school well-being model

Well-being is defined in reference to Allardt (1989 as cited in Konu & Rimpela, 2002), as a state in which individuals are able to satisfy their needs. "Having," "loving," and "being" categorizations belong to Allardt's (1989) sociological well-being model; "having" category is related to material conditions and impersonal needs in broad perspective, refers to satisfaction- dissatisfaction. "Loving" as social needs represent the necessity to establish relationships with others and to form a social identity refers to happiness-unhappiness. "Being" symbolizes the needs for personal growth, in other words, being integrated into society as a respected member and living in unity with nature. However, "being" has two sides; negative side referring alienation and positive side referring personal growth. According to Allardt (1989), health, assigned into "having" category, is the fundamental element of well-being and also it is evaluated as a resource that influences other aspects of well-being (Konu & Rimpela, 2002).

Konu and Rimpela (2002) theorized the school well-being model that assesses well-being as an entity in the school context, using Allardt's (1989) indicators of well-being; having, loving and being and health in general.

2.3.1.1 School conditions ("having")

School conditions consist of the physical environment outside and inside of a school. It is about whether a school provides material conditions and fulfill the physical, developmental, socio-emotional, and cultural needs of children (Konu & Rimpela, 2002; Soutter, O'Steen, & Gilmore, 2014). The school building, schoolyard, classrooms, lavatories belong to school structure determines the quality of school conditions (Puolakka et al., 2014). "Having" also refers to access to feasible services such as health care, school lunches, recreation and leisure, counseling, cultural and civic opportunities (Konu & Rimpela, 2002; Soutter et al., 2014), school subjects and organizations, schedules, group sizes, disciplinary procedures, safety, services (Konu, Alenen, Lintonen, & Rimpela, 2002). Furthermore; in terms of the state of "having," well-being is discussed whether children have equality, voice, confidence, privacy, right, respect, and whether others support them. (Thomas et al., 2016).

2.3.1.2 Social relationships ("loving")

The loving category represents relationships and interpersonal connections, which influence thought, emotions, experience, and preference of actions (Soutter et al., 2014). In school, social relationships are associated with relationships with teachers, relationships with peers, bullying, group dynamics, school and home cooperation, the decision-making process in school, cooperation in the classroom, school climate, and entire school organization's atmosphere (Simmons, Graham, & Thomas, 2015; Konu et al., 2002). Children mostly emphasize the importance of mutually being friendly with everyone (Simmons et al., 2015).

Also, feeling connected to the school environment, which is consisting of physical and socio-cultural context is another aspect of loving. School should

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provide full access to all spaces and activities for all students regardless of their

needs, identities, background, and abilities (Soutter et al., 2014).

2.3.1.3 Means for self-fulfillment in school ("being")

The meaning of "being" in Allardt's thinking (1976, 1989, as cited in Konu &

Rimpela, 2002) refers to each individual being honored as a worthy part of society.

The focus of the "being" domain is the self and its varieties across the developmental

trajectory; who one has been, is and will be (Soutter et al., 2014). An individual has

possibilities for affecting the core elements of his/her life and leisure time. Essential

parts of self-fulfillment are having opportunities for making life meaningful and

enjoyable (Konu & Rimpela, 2002). "Being" consists of having opportunity to

express opinions during classes, being respected for school work or opinions,

optimistic expectations and encouragement of teachers, the possibility of finding

guidance, following the teachings in the classroom and developing one's means of

studying and finishing homework, getting help in schoolwork and coping with

school-related problems. Furthermore, having self-awareness, independence,

influence on school decision-making, increase in self-esteem, agency, autonomy

occasions to take responsibility like adults, having one's reality validated, making

plans for future education, using creativity, taking part in various club activities and

elective classes are also other factors of 'being' (Puolakka et al., 2014; Konu et al.,

2002; Konu, Lintonen, & Rimpelä, 2002; Soutter et al., 2014). 'Means for self-

fulfillment' covers all the possibilities of each's the way of learning in accordance

with his/her capabilities and resources (Konu et al., 2002).

2.3.2 Bioecological model

Bronfenbrenner describes (1979) ecological model to understand child development through considering the importance of the systems comprising biological, psychological, social, political, cultural and economic and the importance of the interactions between them (Garbarino, 2014; Kim & Main, 2017). Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006) stated that child development is conceptualized based on four concentric circles of environmental effect and time as an underlying factor. Children firstly and mostly have an interaction with the family, then with a wide array of people and systems, including neighbors, friends, school, healthcare, and childcare. These all constitute child's microsystems in which children have direct interaction with people and systems in return they influence children. The second circle is the mesosystem, which is relations between discrete substructures within the microsystem like between school and parents. The social context in which microsystem's substructures like family, school, and friends get in contact with such as parent's social networks and workplace, service access and quality and media constitute exosystem that influences the child indirectly through the systems within microsystems. Macrosystem consists of economic conditions, policies, global developments, cultural norms, and values which indicate the social context in which microsystems and exosystem reside. These four systems are not static. They are dynamic and interdependent, related to each other and are influenced by each other; therefore, they are changing in the long run (Lippman 2004; Stevens, Dickson, Poland, & Prasad, 2005; Jurczyk, Olk, & Zeiher, 2004).

In addition, the basics of the ecology of human development consist of three fundamental principles (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). The first one is the recognition of children as active agents. Because there is mutual influence across parties, children

have a meaningful and subjective representation of their own experiences. Secondly, children and environment improve adaptations and react according to alterations in time. Thirdly, the micro-, meso-, and macrosystems which are interrelated have an impact on development either directly or indirectly. These constructions all together constitute human ecology of the child (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 1986; 1995; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006).

Therefore, in this study, school as a part of the micro- and meso-systems making an impact on the child. Three categories of the school well-being model (Konu & Rimpela, 2002) are thought to be embedded in the intersecting and multilayered spheres of children's lives, such as school, classroom, community, family, and environment. The school belongs to the microsystem of children, which means that school and school-related issues directly influence children. For example, school conditions, school environment, quality of the school, safety, and services belonging to "having" category of the school well-being model (Konu & Rimpela, 2002) have a direct influence on how children experience school. In addition, school is also affected by macrosystem, which encompasses political, cultural, and economic conditions. Therefore, children within the school context are indirectly affected by them.

Furthermore, the quality and conditions of school are strongly related to the government policies regarding school related issues, particularly state schools, where the majority of the citizens sent their children to. There are significant inequalities among the quality of state schools based on the socio-economic conditions of the family, which are reflected in the broader neighborhood context (Candaş, Akkan, Günseli, & Deniz, 2011). How inequalities help to shape children's experiences and

meaning-making can be addressed by the spheres of structural influence addressed in the bioecological model, thus supplementing the school well-being model.

The "loving" category of the school well-being model (Konu & Rimpela, 2002) combining relationships with teachers and peers, bullying, group dynamics, school-home cooperation, and school climate might be understood considering these subcategories as mutually interrelated microsystems of children. Additionally, the interaction of family and school constitutes mesosystem that also has an impact on the well-being of children.

Within the school environment, exercising agency and participating in the decision-making process on school-related topics which belong to 'being' category of the school well-being model (Konu & Rimpela, 2002), which is the reflection of opportunities in school. Therefore, to understand the well-being of children within the school context, regarding the school well-being model by Konu and Rimpela (2002), the bioecological model of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) provides us with a tool to look closer all different aspects of children's lives.

2.3.3 Recognition theory

The meaning of recognition is understood by Bingham (2001, p.3) as "the act of acknowledging others, and coming to be acknowledged by others." According to recognition theory improved by Honneth (1995), human interaction is essential to establish both individual and social identity, and there are three intersubjective modes -love, rights, solidarity- in which recognition exists in different ways. The first mode, love, might be seen friendships and parent-child relationships, refers to emotional interest for well-being and demands of an actual person (Honneth,1995). The second recognition mode is associated with the juridical and civil recognition of

dignity through rights, which are signs of respects for individuals in modern legal relations (Thomas, 2012; Graham & Fitzgerald, 2011). The last one, solidarity, is the result of 'social relations of symmetrical esteem' (Honneth, 1995), attained within a group which shares common goals (Taylor, 1995; Honneth, 1995). Three modes of recognition are coupled with three distinct sides of self: self-confidence, self-respect, and self-esteem, respectively (Thomas et al., 2016; Thomas, 2012; Graham & Fitzgerald, 2011). The opposite conditions in which misrecognition and nonrecognition take place as a result of denial or withholding of recognition, cause damage in identity and well-being (Taylor, 1995; Honneth, 1995).

Recognition theory provides a different framework for the conceptualization of how well-being is comprehended and exercised in school environments. Three dimensions of Honneth's (1995) theory has been adapted to a convenient form to apply in school context (being cared for; being respected; being valued) (Graham et al., 2014), thus, how relationships influence the well-being of children in the school context is understood via fresh insight the recognition theory provides (Graham et al., 2016).

According to Bingham (2001), when children come to public spaces like school, they need something or someone to mirror back to them for the construction of their self-identity. Talking, hearing, listening, acknowledging, and reacting are core elements of relationships and tools for recognition (Thomas et al., 2016; Graham et al., 2017). Because the relationship is central to recognition; recognition, misrecognition, and struggles over recognition take place within relational spaces (Honneth, 1995; Graham & Fitzgerald, 2011; Graham et al., 2014; Thomas, 2012; Thomas et al., 2016). Honneth (1995) advocates that because recognition comes about within social interaction, self-worth and identity formation appear through

three modes of recognition. The needs of children are to be known as a person, to be cared for as a unique human being, to be respected as individuals relying on equality, and to be valued for their accomplishments and contributions. They expect to satisfy their needs in relationships with their families, teachers, and peers.

On the contrary, getting bullied by peers, being yelled at by teachers, feeling of not having a right to say anything about school matters, and not being allowed to make own decisions and mistakes are also opposite side of the coin that affect well-being negatively (Thomas et al., 2016; Graham et al., 2016), violate self-esteem, self-confidence, and self-respect (Thomas et al., 2016; Graham et al., 2017), diminish the value of the sense of the self, increase loneliness, loss, and sense of social isolation (Honneth, 1995). In such experiences, students do not feel being cared for, being respected, or being valued (Graham et al., 2014; Graham et al., 2016).

In some cases, recognition coexists with misrecognition, such as when needs of individuals are provided, but the rights of them are not respected or when individuals are appreciated for their accomplishment but not loved because of who they are (Thomas et al., 2016). Taylor (1995), claims that misrecognition locks individuals up within a 'false, distorted, and reduced mode of being' (p. 225), and he argues that 'due recognition is not just a courtesy we owe people, it is a vital human need' (p. 226). Therefore, recognition of children is not only about hearing their words and listening to their views when they participate in social and political lives. However, instead, it is giving them an opportunity to discover and mediate the self and their places in the world and mutual clarification of different opportunities and more choices. Thus, children have a space to contemplate on and interpret and reinterpret their own experiences (Graham & Fitzgerald, 2011).

2.3.3.1 Being cared for

Being cared for is reported by children as fundamental for their well-being (Thomas et al., 2016). Children feel being cared for only if they are unconditionally accepted, which affect them positively in times of difficulties (Graham et al., 2017). At school, children feel being cared for, when teachers know and support them; communicate with them about their concerns, notice when they have struggles; when schools prioritize the care of students and provide an opportunity for them to feel a part of the community, to feel belonging and connection with others; when their friends love them (Graham et al., 2014; Graham et al., 2016; Graham et al., 2017; Thomas et al., 2016). Children express that when they are cared for, they feel 'loved, safe, happy, wanted, valued, respected, good inside, part of something, visible, confident, special, supported and accepted' (Graham et al., 2014, p. 15; Thomas et al., 2016), they have a sense of belonging and self-respect and they have an energy to function well at school (Graham et al., 2014; Graham et al., 2016; Graham et al., 2017; Thomas et al., 2016). Because recognition takes place in relationships; relationships with peers, teachers and also group dynamics are topics of "loving" category of the school well-being model (Konu & Rimpela, 2002), loving encompasses being cared for, being valued and being respected. Therefore, to understand children's relationships and their existence within these relationships, recognition theory gives a tool to look closely.

2.3.3.2 Being respected

Children understand respect as something every individual deserves equally, even if it does not happen in reality (Thomas et al., 2016; Graham et al., 2014). Children express that both respects for self as well as for others are essential to well-being.

Being respected is understood by children as knowing that they are listened to, have a say, a privacy, an expression; their opinions are taken into consideration, and they are treated based on equality which fosters children's well-being (Thomas et al., 2016; Graham et al., 2014; Graham et al., 2016; Anderson & Graham, 2016; Graham et al., 2017). When students are respected they feel "amazing, safe, equal, worthy, important, loved, satisfied, content, cared for, secure, useful, accepted, acknowledged, happy, special, understood, self-control, a place in the world, confident, higher, valued and having a sense of authority" (Graham et al., 2014, p. 15) and empowered, strong, and belonging in the school community (Thomas et al., 2016; Graham et al., 2014). However, children complain that while teachers expect to be respected, they do not behave toward students in the same way (Graham et al., 2016); therefore, reciprocal respect with teachers and peers in conjunction with fair treatment is important for the well-being of children (Graham et al., 2017). Because children have equal rights to have a say and an equal treatment, "having" category of the school well-being model (Konu & Rimpela, 2002) related with being respected, on the basis of "having rights." In addition, asking children school-related topics show that they care and value children as not as a student but also an individual who has the freedom to speak. Recognition theory opens a new door to comprehend the meaning and importance of 'having a say' for children.

2.3.3.3 Being valued

Being valued is understood by children as a feeling of belonging, a feeling of individual recognition, and having something unique to offer which is recognized by others (Graham et al., 2014, 2016). Children feel valued when teachers detect their abilities and special talents and support them when teachers make extra efforts for

them when children feel they are listened and heard, and when schools accept a holistic attitude to learning and teaching (Graham et al., 2014, 2016, 2017). Children expressed that they feel "self-confident, good, accepted, smart, included, respected, loved, special, appreciated, worthy, important, "top of the world", joyful, visible, part of something, kindness, happy, empowered, wanted, and that they "have purpose"." (Graham et al., 2014, p. 16), when they are valued. Because children are valued over their values, capabilities, creativities, and contribution; and these take place within relational spaces, these are connected to "being" and "loving" categories of the school well-being model (Konu & Rimpela, 2002).

In summary, according to the theory; to attain well-being; children need three things. Firstly, they need to be cared for (for themselves). Secondly, they want to be respected as a person. Lastly, they need to be valued for their contributions (Thomas et al., 2016). Being cared for, being valued, and being respected categories associated with "having", "loving", and "being" categories of Konu and Rimpela's the school well-being model (2002) due to the fact that both are interested in the importance of relationships children have, whether they can execute their agencies, and whether they seize the opportunities or perceive them as burdens. Therefore, recognition theory is a useful tool to penetrate each category of the school well-being model (Konu & Rimpela, 2002) in detail.

2.4 The present study

This study attempted to gain an understanding and an insight of subjective well-being of among 9 and 12- year- old children at school context focusing on their relationality. We built on our ideas based on the framework of "the school well-being model" (Konu & Rimpela, 2002) which is supplemented with "bioecological model"

(Bronfenbrenner, 1979), and "recognition theory" (Honneth, 1995). However, "loving", one of the three categories "the school well-being model" (Konu & Rimpela, 2002) will be focused on specifically. Thus, our study explored children's relationships with their teachers and friends and their perceptions of those relationships in the school context by using in-depth interview method. This method provides children a space to articulate and discuss their own experiences and their perceptions on their own experiences. Mainly, we aimed to understand the effects of several elements and dynamics of relationships on children's subjective well-being in the school context. Specifically, we wanted to see whether horizontal and vertical relationships of children in school context have a substantial impact on children's subjective well-being. Furthermore, we investigated the reflections of familial relationships on the relationships of children in the school context. Finally, the subjective well-being of children related to relational issues at school is compared based on demographic factors such as gender and socioeconomic status.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

The data of this study came from the project in which I participated as an assistant to do interviews and help the coding phase.[1] I interviewed with 5 children who belong high SES religious families. Other members of the project interviewed the rest of the children in the sample.

3.1 Participants

The study was conducted with 37 children between the 9 and 12 from various ethnic, socioeconomic, and cultural backgrounds. Eighteen children are girls and 19 of them are boys. Among three levels of socioeconomic status (SES), 15 children belong to high SES, nine children belong middle SES, and 13 of them belong to low SES, based on parental education and occupation. There are nineteen children aged twelve, four children aged eleven, twelve children aged ten, and two children aged nine. There are also seven Roma children and 5 Kurdish children who participated in this study. A twin participated in the study. Children from particularly low and middle socioeconomic status were recruited via The Educational Volunteers Foundation of Turkey and Tarlabaşı Community Center. The participants from high SES were recruited via individual access in Istanbul province.

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[1] This thesis uses school interview data from the Turkish research team's sample which is part of the CUWB project. The team consists of Başak Akkan, Ph.D., Serra Müderrisoğlu, Ph.D., Pınar Uyan-Semerci, Ph.D. and Emre Erdoğan, Ph.D. The Children's Understanding of Well-Being: Multinational Qualitative Study (CUWB) which aims for emphasizing local contexts in a comparative national analysis. For more information visit: www.cuwb.org.

3.2 Interview and procedure

For this study, only the school-related questions of a semi-structured in-depth interview with guiding and probing questions on the subject of subjective well-being of children based on Children's Understandings Well-being – Multinational Qualitative Study (CUWB) project was used (Appendix A, B). The questions are about all aspects of children's lives in school context such as; spaces and environmental features, activities and clubs, relationships with teachers and peers, feeling safe, the possibility of participation, favorite spaces and activities within school context.

All interviews were conducted in Turkish and voices of children were recorded during the process. Interviews were conducted at the community centers or at home. In one case, two children are participated in to interview at the same time; the answers were gathered to the same questions one by one.

The purpose of the in-depth interview is to understand others' life experiences and the meanings they infer from them rather than to receive answers to questions, to test the hypothesis, or to assess any feature (Patton, 2002). Moreover, as this study is interested in the subjective experiences of children and the meanings of their experiences for them, an in-depth interview is preferred. In-depth interviews use open-ended semi-structured questions. Thus, participants' responses to the questions are explored (Seidman, 2006).

There are several reasons to prefer to assess subjective well-being of children in school context using the qualitative research method for this study. Firstly, there are limited studies. Notably, there is no study which carried out with 9-12 years old

children living in Turkey to understand their well-being in school context. There are also very few examples of such studies at the global level.

Secondly, there is a need to understand the school lives of children, particularly the experiences they have in their relationships at school. This study aims to provide insight into how children perceive their relationships in the school and how these relationships influence subjective well-being of them. Thus, qualitative methods, through in-depth interviews, can pave the way to capture their unique perspectives on their relationships in the school context.

Thirdly, the qualitative approach allows to explore and analyze differences and commonalities across different age and gender groups in terms of children's subjectivities to form recommendations to increase their subjective well-being.

3.3 Data analysis

The school-related interview data was collected, transcribed, coded, and then inductively analyzed to capture the themes using the NVivo software. Themes that emerged from the analytic frame are presented in the findings section.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this study, the data came from the school related questions of the semi-structured interviews which included various questions about school life including structural and environmental features of schools, relations within schools, participation and agency, and safety issues. Children were asked about their perceptions about the school life, conditions of schools, relationships within school context, and their participation level in school life. Given that aim of this study is to elaborate on the relational aspects of children's subjective well-being in schools, the "loving" category of the school well-being model by Konu and Rimpela (2002) will be used as the framework, while the contribution of the bioecological model and the recognition theory are added in the presentation of the results.

In accordance with Dewey (Dworkin, 1959), school is basically a social institution. Bronfenbrenner (1979)'s bioecological model contains all fields of children's lives. Therefore, when we talk about "loving" aspects, which includes relationships, it is impossible to evaluate them without considering this model. Children have interactive and mutual relationships with their teachers and friends at schools, which belong to the microsystem of the children. These systems have direct influences on them. Because in general, children are also indirectly influenced by the interactions formed by the contact established by parents with the school and school staff. It has reflections on the relationships they found with their families as well as their teachers. Therefore, there is a multilayered structure within these relationships.

Children spend a great deal of time with their teachers and schoolmates at school, even more than the time they spend with their families. Therefore, school is

appeared to be a social space out of home along with its educational value and thereby, it contributes to social, academic and psychological development of children (Lynch & Cicchetti, 1997; Minuchin & Shapiro, 1983; Wentzel & Looney, 2007). For most of the children in all ages, schools are the earliest social context in which they can establish rewarding relationships and fulfill the relatedness needs, which is a primary human motive, along with competence and autonomy. These motives are significant for the well-being of children (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

These relationships of children might be affected by the structure of relationships within the family. However, the reflections might be seen in four ways which inferred from the narratives of children in this study. The first is that in the case of no good relationships within the family, no good relationships can be found with friends. Second in the case of no good relationships within the family, but the personality trait is extraversion, to compensate there are good and satisfying relationships established at school. Third is the example of positive relationships within the family, while there are no good relationships within the school. They might not need more relationships outside of their families. Fourth is the case of good relationships at home and at schools. The various examples can be seen in the coming section.

4.1 Relationships with teachers

4.1.1 Positive relationships with teachers

It is vital to point out that children from all ages, gender, and socioeconomic status agree that they love teachers who are warm, close, and who do not yell at them. Children's narratives revealed four related themes within the positive relationships

with teachers. These are "speaking the same language and being warm", "having fun together", "teaching well", and "treating students well".

4.1.1.1 Speaking the same language and being warm

When children mentioned positive relationships with their teachers, almost a third of all children stated that they like teachers who are warm and who can see the events from children's perspectives. Such teachers become like an older sister or a mother. They are portrayed as being close and intimate with children so that they can share their secrets and have interactive conversations. Children feel comfortable next to them, and they are not ashamed of being seen with their vulnerabilities. They love teachers who are friendly, warm, supportive and have similar interests. These findings are consistent with previous findings (Brazelton & Greenspan, 2000; Good &Brophy, 2000; Larrivee, 2005). Thus, when the hierarchy between students and teachers decrease, teachers may be "included" in student groups.

Another point is the reflections of familial relationships might be seen the relationships of children at school context which can be understood by the bioecological model. The interrelated and concentric systems of the model affect children directly and indirectly. In this case, both microsystems of children like parents and teachers and mesosystems of children such as school and home interact with each other on several levels.

Even though most of the children explain that they feel safe at school, school is not a safe place for everyone. To a large extend, the safety of school comes after the home. There was only one child saying that school was safer than home for her. This child established her relationship with her teacher based on safety. One possible explanation might be that one of her brothers is dead and she might accuse her

parents because of her brother's death. Thus, she might find them neglectful, because, in her narrative, she mentioned that children need protection from their parents. She may not trust her family and thus, she may not feel safe with them. Even though the reason of her brother's death is not clear, she perceives that her parents could not protect him or prevent the event. She probably experiences school as a home where she might find peace and safety. She regards other places as unsafe.

I: Do you feel safe in general?
D: No . . .
I: Where do you feel safest?
D: I feel most safe in my class.
I: In school, class? Why there?
D: Because there is a school there. The school as a family. Our class is a big . . . There are so many people in there . . .
I: I see, but who do you feel most safe with?
D: Most… With my teacher.
I: Which teacher? What's her name?
D: Oznur.
(Dilek, Female, 12 years old, Low SES)

Furthermore, the expectations of children about the relationships with teachers might be related to the deprivation and inadequacy of mentioned relationships within children's family environment. Children may want to satisfy their needs within school environment with teachers. Every child points out the different features to establish a positive relationship with their teachers. For example, in the narrative of Ayşe, it can be seen that she mentioned the cold and detached relationship she had with her parents which is portrayed as being based on only providing material needs. Neither her mother nor her father can understand the meanings of things -computer games- for her. Therefore, teachers who give attention to this adolescent girl may make her feel better in their relationship; thus, the deprivation is compensated through this way.

The similar pattern can be observed in the narrative of Şeyma who has distant relationships with both of her parents. Her mother gives her the responsibility of taking care of her sibling and doing some household chores. This may be a sign of the limited relationship of this child with her parents who desires compassion and love from them. Moreover, responsibilities within the home limit her opportunities to go outside and play with friends. Instead, she shoulders the adult responsibilities within the home. Her father also is seen as a restricting figure in her life. Thus, Şeyma said with astonishment that her teachers prefer to spend their recess time with their students rather than going to teachers' room. It appeared that Şeyma was contrasting her parents' attitudes with those of her teachers.

Cemalcilar (2010) suggested that social relationships between students and teachers are hierarchical with teachers and school managers keeping a distance in their relationships with their students to protect their power status. However, almost half of the children have a different experience in this study. These children stated that they find their teachers to be warm, friendly and attentive. They reported their teachers engagement in student's groups.

Children from all SES groups in the sample offered examples of warm and kind teachers with whom they have positive relationships. For Nesrin, to know that her teachers also went through the same process as she is going through, made her feel close to them and she feels they can understand her and talk the same language. Thus, she might feel valued and cared about, which are components of recognition by teachers.

N: So, sometimes our teachers say that they were also bored in school and they wanted to escape. They make us love this school
. . .

N: My teacher is so sweet, she loves to chat with us. She treated us like a sister or a friend rather than a teacher.
(Nesrin, Female, 12 years old, Low SES)

Being understood implies that Berk wants to be recognized by his teachers. This child is exposed to bullying more than once. Therefore, his friendship needs might not be met by peers as he wishes. Consequently, he wants to compensate this need via his relationships with his teachers.

I: Who is your favorite teacher?

B: My math teacher.

I: Why? What is his difference from others?

B: He understands me very well.

(Berk, Male, 10 years old, High SES)

The importance of the language teachers use is also essential, which can be seen in the narrative of Berra. She might feel the intimacy and closeness of her teacher when she calls them with the warm phrases which are mostly used toward own children.

I: How do you get along with your teachers?
B: Good.
I: Is there a teacher you like?
B: Yes.
I: Which one?
B: My Turkish teacher.
I: You like both the lesson and the teacher?
B: Exactly.
I: Why so? Can you tell me more about her?
B: She is an understanding woman. She talks with us using words such as my baby, my dear.
I: Does she treat you well?
B: She does not shout or get angry with us.

I: That's why you love her.
B: (Quietly) Yes.
(Berra, Female, 12 years old, Middle SES)

If teachers show special attention to children, this is evaluated as a sign of being valued and cared about, which are the indicators of recognition. Why this can be important for these children is that in the narrative of Emel, it can be seen that she cannot do what she wants. Therefore, she is probably frustrated many times. Special attention from the teachers means that "they see me as I am" for this child because no one at home or school pay attention to her. Her father is unavailable and her mother is restricting the choices of her.

I: Who is your favorite teacher at school?
E: Our class teacher, Tuğçe.
I: Why do you like her?
E: She is a lovely and friendly woman. She takes care immediately when something happens.
I: Does she take care differently than other teachers?
E: Yes.
I: Did you have such an event that she cares about you privately?
E: I mean, sometimes, yes.
(Emel, Female, 10 years old, High SES)

In the narrative of Işıl, it can be observed that she is upset at school because she does not have any friend in the school because her all friends have gone to another school, and she feels left alone. Therefore, having positive relationships with someone at school has a significant meaning for her. Thus, she might also pay more attention to the behaviors of her teachers. When her teacher came to her theatre performance, and she showed the awareness of her capabilities and uniqueness, Işıl felt that she is recognized through teachers.

X: Who's your favorite teacher at school?

I: Ebru teacher.

X: Why? What are her differences from other teachers?

I: Well, she always gives close attention to me. For example, I said once that "Would you come to my theatre performance?

X: Did she come?

I: Yes, she came.

X: Hmm.

I: Once, I said that I have an interest in music. She suggested a few places to my mother so that I can go.

. . .

I: So, she helped us a lot. . . I mean, she takes care of me very much.

(Işıl, Female, 10 years old, High SES)

4.1.1.2 Having fun together

One third of all children mentioned that they have fun with their teachers in school context. They have fun together with their teachers in two ways; one is that teachers teach lessons in a fun way. The second is that children have fun playing together with their teachers during class time or during recess.

Children love teachers who teach the lessons in a fun way. Teachers can encolour class time by making jokes and conversations, and playing games and watching films together about the subject. This is a way to get close and get to know each other mutually, which makes recognition possible. Besides, it allows children to love the class and subject. It also strengthens the bond between children within the classroom.

I: Do you have a teacher you like most?

D: I loved our class teacher, Nazan, when I was in the primary school. . . She was a good teacher. We were getting along.

I: Why did you love her? What did you like about her?

D: She is a good teacher. She teaches in a fun way.

(Dilşah, Female, 12 years old, High SES)

I: Who is your favorite teacher at school?

E: Osman teacher, math teacher.

I: Hmm. Why?

E: He is a very good teacher, others love him too. . . He is a very good teacher.
I: How good? What does he do or what does he not do?
E: He's funny. He teaches the lessons in fun way. He sometimes makes us laugh. .
(Efe, Male, 10 years old, Middle SES)

I: How do you get along with your English teacher?
F: Very Good.
I: Good?
F: Funny.
I: Funny? Are English lessons funny? What do you do in English classes? How do you learn English?
F: . . . We watch movies after class is over.
I: Do you watch movies about the lesson?
F: Cartoons.
I: Is that why your class is funny?
F: No. Because we play games in class.
(Fatih, Male, 10 years old, Low SES)

In and out of classroom, teachers having fun together with the children means they are participating in some of children's activities. These teachers do not keep themselves away from the children which makes it possible to establish a close relationship in which both parties can get to know each other.

N: In other recess times, if the teacher we like is the hall monitor… I love Fridays, because as I said, the teacher of Siyer is on duty. Either we spend time with our teacher or we play games.

(Nesrin, Female, 12 years old, Low SES)

M: Some of my friends bring board games for lunch time. We play with them. Sometimes, our class teachers join the group.
I: Do you all play together?
M: Yes, altogether, most of the time. We have fun together by doing such activities with the whole class.
(Mert, Male, 12 years old, High SES)

4.1.1.3 Teaching well

When talked about teachers, teaching well is mentioned as a feature of teachers that children pay attention to by default. The importance of teaching well is pointed out by one third of children from all socioeconomic statuses. There are no gender or age differences. However, compared to other socioeconomic classes, children who belong to high socioeconomic level put more emphasis on the importance of teaching well. Expectations on teachers can change from schools to schools. In addition, the importance of high achievement in the High School Entrance Exam (TEOG) is increased for children from high SES, thus, children emphasize more on the whether their teachers teach the school material clearly. This finding also reflects the suggestions of the bioecological model. The SES of the family makes a difference and influence how children perceive their teachers academically based on the needs and expectations they place on their education.

I: Do you like the teachers?
A: Yes. Yeah, I love the teachers.
I: Why do you like them?
A: I think, for example, the mathematics teacher is a disciplined one and he teaches very well. The science teacher is also so. We get along with the science teacher a little better. Compared to the math teacher, the science teacher is less disciplined, but he does not let us talk. He also teaches well. He is also a very friendly teacher.
I: Uh-huh. When he teaches well and is warm…
A: Exactly, he is warm, yes.
I: You also love the teacher.
A: Exactly.
(Akif, Male, 12 years old, High SES)

However, a relationship based on teaching well can be observed as a kind of relationship in which children might want to be recognized over their success. Therefore, this is less an intimate and warm relationship between children and teachers, but rather, it relies on evaluations from both sides, based on taking and

giving. Children also evaluate their teachers, as their teachers assess them. This result also can be understood via the insight provided by the recognition theory. In this context, children recognize their teachers and make evaluations and criticize their methods; in return, they also expect to be recognized through their accomplishment and capabilities. The course material, therefore, is an appropriate tool to achieve this aim.

N: My favorite teacher at school is Sedat. He is my former teacher.
I: Why?
N: He was our class teacher and because he made a great effort for us.
I: Hmm
N: I love him so much. He taught so well.
(Nazlı, Female, 10 years old, Middle SES)

The interesting result is that even if children who attend low socioeconomic neighborhood schools and their parents have no expectations from school and the teachers, children make an evaluation based on how well they are taught at school. Even though the general expectations of families from low SES are minimal, the individual needs, desires, and expectations of children appeared to be different and they tended to value educational means more than their families. One of the children from low SES, Dilan, wants to be a doctor in the future. Her desire might be triggered because her father is a cancer patient and she is the only girl and the second sibling among four siblings who continues the education in the family. Therefore, she pays particular attention to academic aspects of her school life.

I: Who is your favorite teacher?
D: Mathematics teacher. . .
I: Why do you love him very much?
D: Because he teaches all lessons very well and clearly. He continues to teach us the lessons if we do not understand it.
I: He helps you when you don't understand.

D: Yes, he gives us some tests to solve every day.
I: He is interested in you which is so wonderful.
(Dilan, Female, 12 years old, Low SES)

Notably, some children from low socioeconomic status have some difficulties in understanding and in following their teachers. This might be resulted from the fact that there are limited cognitive and artistic resources at their home in the early years of children which trigger a healthy development. Another impact of the mesosystem may be seen in this story. Therefore, for them, it is more important that their teachers teach the lesson slowly and repeatedly.

I: You get along with your teachers. But is there anyone among them you like the most?

F: Sevgi.

I: Why?

F: Because she was beautiful. She talked slowly and so, we understood what she taught.

(Fatih, Male, 10 years old, Low SES)

As a result, in line with the literature (O'Brien, 2008), in this study, some children especially focused on the teaching aspects of their teachers, specifying that they like teachers who lecture clearly on the course material, who repeat it when children do not understand, and who teach in a fun way.

4.1.1.4 Treating well

Above one-third of the children in the sample stated the importance of good manners of their teachers. These children are mostly from low SES. Treating children well

can be understood from six subcategories children identify. The first one is how teachers use language. Children love teachers who are soft-spoken, sympathetic, and who do not yell. It is worth noting that children tended to like the subjects taught by the teachers they liked. Berra's narrative offered an example:

I: How do you get along with your teachers?
B: Good.
I: Is there a teacher you like?
B: Yes. Turkish teacher.
I: Both her and her class.
B: Exactly.
I: Why so? Can you tell me more about her?
B: She is an understanding woman. She talks with us using words such as my baby, my dear.
I: Does she treat you well?
B: She does not shout or get angry at us.
I: That's why you love her.
B: (Quietly) Yes.
(Berra, Female, 12 years old, Middle SES)

As described by Sointu and colleagues (2017), affectionate relationships between children and teachers have an influence on the academic accomplishment of children. In a similar vein, the statements of Berra and other children show that children are more successful in the courses which are taught by the teachers they liked. They also like those school subjects more than others. Additionally, the school subjects they love can alter following the change of the teachers. Thus, the likability of the school subjects and their academic success in them depends mostly on the children's perceptions of their teachers. This situation can be understood by the contribution of recognition theory to the well-being literature. From the perspective of the recognition theory, this finding is logical because according to the recognition theory, human interaction is fundamental. When children establish warm and reciprocated relationships with their teachers, they sense that their teachers care

about them and appreciate them. Thus, not to lose their teachers' affection and concern, children try to do their best. They do not want to lose the possibility of being recognized, which is essential for the human being, as it is a validation and an acceptance of existence. The previous literature also put emphasis on that children who receive the acceptance of their teachers evaluate school-related matters and relationships positively. Furthermore, their commitment to school work and the possibility of achievement are higher in the school context (Osterman, 2000).

The second feature children mentioned was the attitudes of teachers in the face of academic failure. If teachers do not overreact to the children due to getting low grades, they are liked by children. Thus, the intimacy of relationship between teachers and children does not rely on the success of the children. Children sense this while they contact with their teachers. In addition, it might be appreciated by children because it is rare to be valued without any academic expectations coming from the teachers. Children do not like the opposite attitude. In that case, they do not like the teachers nor do they like the subjects they teach according to Sixsmith and colleagues (2005).

I: Who is your favorite teacher?
B: My math teacher.
I: Why?
B: I like math. The teacher is kind. He treats us well. When he saw our exam results, he doesn't regard it as a problem. I mean, in general, when teachers see that we made only one mistake, they yell at us immediately. . . This teacher does not even ask how many wrong answers we got.
(Betül, Female, 12 years old, High SES)

The third feature mentioned is related to teachers' perceptive approach about the needs of children and behaving accordingly. For example, in the narrative of Gülsüm, teachers take notice of the classroom climate; if children are bored, teachers

give them space and time to relax and pick up their energy levels. They do not force

children to continue in such states. This necessitates recognizing the changes in the

emotional and motivational states of the children moment to moment.

G: There are teachers in the school. For example, when we are so bored, they immediately end the class and put on music. Or we do an activity which makes me happy.
. . .
I: Well, who is the teacher you like most at school?
G: Gülden. And Esra teacher.
I: Why those two?
G: They are very compassionate. They care about us so much.
I: Do they care for the whole class?
G: Yes. There is also the mathematics teacher. Sinem teacher. I love math very much. The teacher looks at us every time. Some teachers never look at you, and they say, "you tell, you tell." But she asks all of us.
(Gülsüm, Female, 11 years old, Low SES)

Also, teachers who are aware of the financial problems of children and are

trying to help out with these needs are also liked by children, as it can be seen in the

narrative of Meltem who has physical hardships. The similar findings also appeared

in the literature (Slade & Trent, 2000) suggesting that in the case of teachers who

know the familial matters and the private lives of children outside the school context,

children establish a positive relationship with them. This situation might be

understood by the recognition theory. In this context, children might feel that they

are valued and cared for by their teachers and their existence is acknowledged by the

recognition of their teachers.

I: What do your teachers do?

M: My teachers try to help me. For example, when we had a housing problem, they

tried to help me.

(Meltem, Female, 12 years old, Low SES)

The fourth feature mentioned of teachers is the loving attitude they show to the children. Children care about being loved by their teachers because teachers are significant people in their lives. Thus, being loved by someone important shows and demonstrates the importance of children. Mainly, for Meltem, who is bullied by her friends because of her clothing, being loved by her teachers is essential for herself to be sure that she is a lovable and valuable person.

I: Is there any teacher you get along with? Who is your favorite teacher?
M: Serpil teacher. She is a science teacher.
I: Why?
M: Because she is our classroom teacher. She always says, "I regard you as my daughter." and "You regard me as a mother".
I: So, do you see her such that?
M: Yes.
(Meltem, Female, 12 years old, Low SES)

On the other hand, for Emrah, there is no role model and no guiding figure at home. His father is in the prison. He is subjected to physical violence at home. He engages in risky behaviors in his neighborhood. And he dropped out of school. However, when he was at school, his teacher's friendly attitudes fill these gaps and it becomes an example of the possibility of unconditional love.

I: Did you have a teacher you liked very much?

E: Uh-huh.

I: Who?

E: Banu Teacher. She is the sports coach.

I: Why did you like her so much?

E: She did not do anything. She always loved us.

(Emrah, Male, 10 years old, Low SES)

To sum up, the statements and experiences of many children from various age and gender groups about the features of teachers with whom they build positive relationships are in line with the existing literature (Weissberg et al., 1991; O'Brien, 2008; Graham et al., 2014; Graham et al., 2016; Sixsmith et al., 2005; Stipek, 2006; Gurland & Grolnick, 2003). Therefore, a warm and intimate environment in classrooms is created, which is good for the subjective well-being of children. The relationships of children with people and institutions in their microsystems have direct effects in their lives.

4.1.2 Negative relationships with teachers

Negative relationships with teachers were also voiced by children in the sample. These relationships contained various kinds of teacher behavior patterns: unfair treatment, the physical violence, the cold teachers, embedded negative relationships with the teacher, restricting, and repressing teachers, and teachers who do not listen.

4.1.2.1 Unfair treatment of teachers

Unfair treatment of teachers can be observed specifically in public schools. Five children attending public schools and two children attending private schools complained about unfair treatment and biased behaviors of their teachers. This situation can result from the fact that while private schools select teachers, they pay attention to the personalities of teachers as well as their academic competence. Therefore, such problems tend to occur less in private schools. If they have experienced such kinds of problems, the administration dismisses teachers who create trouble. However, there is no dismissing of teachers in public schools. Thus,

teachers who have authority over the children treat children however they want. These emerging differences may be understood by the bioecological model. The reflections of SES differences can be observed even in the attitudes of teachers.

Children do not like teachers who treats them unfairly. They criticize this attitude. This stems from the fact that recognition takes place in a relational space and school is one of the relational space children enter in. While they want and expect to be recognized, and then if they are treated in the opposite way, they feel they are misrecognized. As a result, children felt like they are a different person or their existence is not validated.

I: Who is the teacher you do not like much?
N: The painting teacher.
I: Why? . . .
N: So, for instance, if the teacher has students she likes, she behaves them very close. But if she has students she doesn't know; she treats them cold.
I: She treats differently to everyone. I understand.
N: Yes, I don't like this feature of her.
(Nesrin, Female, 12 years old, low SES)

Additionally, children also put emphasis on the fair treatment of teachers in terms of giving equal right to speak or having participation of students into the class decision making procedure. These results are compatible with the literature (Thomas et al., 2016). Altogether, these contribute to the subjective well-being of children in a great deal (O'Brien, 2008). When teachers do not give equal chance to participate in decision processes in the classroom, children do not like this situation.

M: I don't like some teachers' behaviors.
I: Like what? I mean, we wonder which behaviors of teachers you do not like?
M: Hmm, when they are not fair . . .
I: What does it mean to be unfair? How do we describe being as unfair?
M: I don't know. For example, if she makes the decisions by herself, of course, she is the teacher.
I: Doesn't she take your opinion?

M: None.
I: Hmm
M: For example, I speak hypothetically. If he chooses the president by herself, based on success or well-behaving. It would not be good.
(Meva, Female, 10 years old, High SES)

Children sometimes have a bad reputation, such as the laziest student or the most talkative student in the class — this reputation spreads a prejudice among teachers. Then, teachers give their judgment without even knowing their students well and treat them according to this judgment. Children suffer from this kind of attitude.

I: Who do you dislike among teachers?
X: Well, there is a social teacher.
I: Hmm
X: Counselor teacher.
I: Why don't you like them?
X: Everybody talks, but they see me when I just want an eraser from my friend.
I: Why do you think so?
X: I don't know (….?)
(Şevket, Male, 12 years old, Middle SES)

4.1.2.2 Physical violence

It is important to note that physical violence has turned into psychological violence in most of the schools. Teachers do not beat or slap children, instead, they yell at them or intimidate them. The form of violence has changed. However, there are still some examples of physical violence in schools, particularly in the public schools within the low socioeconomic neighborhoods. Three children from low SES and one child from middle SES mention the occurrences of such events. The interaction between the mesosystems in this case- school and neighborhood- indirectly affect the school lives of children. Teachers both yell and beat children as a way of punishment. The common reaction of children to shouting teachers is disliking them.

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Most children who experience physical violence by their teachers belong to Roma ethnic origin. It might be discriminatory and prejudiced attitudes of teachers toward Roma children. Therefore, belonging to a minority ethnic identity affect children's lives negatively in the school context. The dominant beliefs and ideologies which lead children to think and evaluate others prejudicially with a hostile manner shape the way children live and think, which is the effect of the bioecological model.

F: The principal sent us to the disciplinary committee. He hit us with a ruler.
I: What happened?
F: The kids quarreled with us. The boy came. He punched the nose of the other child and some blood came out of his nose. Then the principal saw us. He hit our hands with a ruler. Then, we couldn't even hold a pencil.
(Faruk, Male, 12 years old, Low SES)

Ş: The school manager is very angry.
I: Does he get angry at you?
Ş: Yeah, he even won't permit to run in the garden
I: Does he yell?
Ş: Yes.
I: Does he beat you?
Ş: Yes. It sometimes happens. He pulls my ears.
(Şevket, Male, 12 years old, Middle SES)

Thus, children regard these treatments as disrespect, threat, and as bullying by their teachers (Duckett et al., 2008). They were exposed to incoherent and unfair treatment, and the imposition of punishment by some teachers, which makes them feel frustrated and aggrieved.

4.1.2.3 Cold teachers

Ten children from private and five children from public schools stated that there are

cold teachers in their schools. Instead of physical violence, psychological violence is

more apparent in the narratives of children who attend private schools. Teachers in

these schools become easily angry, yell at children, and behave coldly. They are also

described as firm and smart-aleck by children. Therefore, children do not have a

good relationship with them. Also, it affects the lives of children at school

negatively.

I: Do you have a teacher you do not like?
B: Yes.
I: Which one?
B: My biology teacher.
I: Why?
B: Because he is a petulant teacher. He gets mad at everything. He gets outraged
when there is a noise. . . I mean, when the attention is distracted, he yells.
(Betül, Female, 12 years old, High SES)

The examples of those behaviors are not limited with the private schools, they

are also observed in public schools.

I: Who is the teacher you don't like most?

D: She is Fatma teacher

I: Why?

D: Because she shouts, she gets angry a lot.

(Dilek, Female, 10 years old, Low SES)

These statements of children are also consistent with the previous research

suggesting that shouting is evaluated as common behaviors of teachers in their

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response to children who make a mistake. However, children do not like these teachers and their specialized subjects (Sixsmith et al., 2005). These examples are also explained by 'being respected' mode of the recognition theory. According to the theory, children feel recognized through being listened, being treated based on equality, and being taken into consideration. In this case, misrecognition which damage the identity takes place.

Dilşah regards teachers as cold who give homework without teaching the lessons. She might perceive that her teachers expect them over their abilities. This attitude of the teacher might cause children to lose their interest rather than increase their motivation. After experiencing such treatment, children feel school work as burdens.

I: Do you have a teacher you don't like?
D: Well, yeah, I don't like my language teacher.
I: Why don't you like her?
D: Because he seems cold.
I: Hmm, does he behave you cold?
D: Yes.
I: How? What does he do? Which behaviors are cold?
D: For example, his teaching is not that much. For instance, he gives us homework without teaching it.
(Dilşah, Female, 11 years old, High SES)

Emel states that she does not love teachers who behave like someone smart aleck. She also complains about the same feature of the friends with whom she does not establish a good relationship. She perceives individuals around her through this glass. She might feel belittled in her relationships with others including her family members or she might project this feature toward others to handle it.

I: Do you have a teacher you don't like?

E: English teachers.

I: Why?

E: They talk like they know so much. They talk like someone smart aleck.

(Emel, Female, 10 years old, High SES)

4.1.2.4 Embedded negative relationships

In embedded negative relationships, in appearance, there is a positive relationship. However, when looked carefully, there are signs of negativities in these relationships. Five children from private schools and one child from public schools report these kinds of experiences with their teachers. For example, in the narrative of Betül, it is observed that to a certain degree, her experience with her teachers seems good, but then it gains a restrictive value which she does not like. However, in this story, it is questionable who the real person she is angry with; is it her mother or her teachers? She might be upset because of her mother's disinterest and neglect. When she experiences care by her teachers, she might feel the deprivation more intensely.

I: You said your teachers are like parents. Could you explain this a little bit more?
B: I might say they know us better than we do. They know our behaviors. They get used to us faster than my mother does. They care about us when they see us sad. So, they talk to us for a long time. Sometimes they don't even let me leave for recess until we tell them the truth, just like that.
I: You like to talk to them.
B: Yes. Not really.
I: You don't like it, because you can't go out.
B: Yes, (laughter).
(Betül, Female, 12 years old, High SES)

Another example can be seen in the narrative of Meltem. Her teacher firstly wants something and then refused what she wants. Even if the teacher does not want to put her in a difficult situation after then, Meltem feels as rejected and disvalued. In her narrative, because there are several examples of bullying by her friends, at least she might want to feel to be loved by teachers and thus, she may consider important her relationships with teachers. As a result, because her expectations are high, her disappointments would be also high.

I: Do you love her or not?
M: I do not.
I: Why?
M: So, she once said, "Girls, I want some day-fresh eggs." We have chicken. It always spawns. And then I said, "May I bring it to you?" She said: "If it is with payment, ok." Then, I said, "Then it's ok." But I insisted on giving her the eggs for free. Then she accepted and I brought five eggs. These eggs could not be found anywhere. I gave her the eggs, but she did not want to.
I: Why didn't she want?
M: I don't know why.
(Meltem, Female, 12 years old, Low SES)

4.1.2.5 Restricting and repressing attitudes of teachers

At least one child in each socioeconomic level complained about the restricting and repressing attitudes of teachers toward them. They claimed that some teachers do not permit children to talk freely. On the contrary, teachers criticize children and yell at them. Also, due to the TEOG, teachers threaten not to teach the subjects repetitively though the children are responsible to know these subjects in this exam. Because of repressing attitudes of teachers, children share their fears related to this exam. Furthermore, some teachers might give extra homework as a way of punishment. Thus, the increase in the responsibility of children might contribute perceiving school work as a burden.

In addition, if teachers do not repeat the subject when children do not understand it clearly, children may not like such teachers. They might consider themselves as not important in the eyes of their teachers.

M: I mean, for example, he teaches but not everything. For example, there is a subject of mathematics which I could not understand. He said that you can understand it by solving tests. But, I could not understand yet.
I: He didn't teach it again?
M: Yes.
(Beyza, Female, 12 years old, High SES)

Besides, one Roma child claimed that she is exposed unequal and insulting behaviors by their teachers. Children might consider that their teachers do not carry any empathy or sympathy toward them, and complain that the teachers do not wish to see the world from children's perspectives. This may cause teachers to stay distant to children, and children may not like them much.

I: Is there any teacher you don't like?
G: Özlem teacher.
I: What does she do? Why don't you like her?
G: She is a reading teacher. She cares about being clean so much. We are clean and come to the class as clean. But, she says "What is this, (humph) …". She throws out it if the somewhere of the book is ripped.
I: Does the teacher intervene with you too?
G: Yes.
(Gülsüm, Female, 12 years old, Low SES)

Children consider the respectful manner of their teachers as important; and hence, they do not like teachers who are humiliating, teasing, and making fun of something about the children. In the present study, children also described how they become upset or frustrated after experiencing an unfair or disrespectful manner by their teachers. It has been also suggested in the literature that children suffer from the

unfair implication of school rules and power (Thomas et al., 2016), which damage the subjective well-being of children.

Another restricting behavior is observed in class time. Two children stated that they are not happy because they do not use their own time, not attend their desired activities and not speak freely. Teachers usually interfere to the activities of children and they direct children in their own way. However, this prevents and restricts the development of children's dreams, imaginations, and thoughts. Therefore, this limits the cognitive, artistic, and psychological development of children.

M: He seems to restrict us about painting.
I: I understood. You can do it more freely.
M: Yes. That was the same in ITU. But he was more restrictive. For example, I remember it clearly that I had drawn a very nice picture. She used to say, "Paint her back to pink". She always makes us paint the background."
I: I get it.
M: I had drawn a beautiful picture before, but this is not . . .
I: Yes, dear.
M: So, he said to me that "paint its back to pink," and the picture is ruined.
I: Very well.
M: It became disgusting.
(Meva, Female, 10 years old, High SES)

4.1.2.6 Teachers who do not listen to children

In schools, one disliked feature of teachers is their insensitivity toward children's statements. For instance, teachers may not pay attention to the claims of children even if these children try to explain their vulnerabilities to torments of their friends. Teachers may not function to protect all children in their class. Even if children experience terrible things in class environment, they may not consult to any authority. Therefore, it might affect the safety feelings of children in a negative way. If children do not know how to protect themselves, these children become a target of

bullies. One child mentions how his teacher does not listen to his complaints and yell at him.

I: Why do you love one teacher? Why do not you love the other?
E: Because the English teacher is so bad.
I: What does he do?
E: He won't let us complain in class.
I: What do you want to complain about?
E: My friend painted my back. I said to teacher: "my friend painted my back." He said, "Shut up, Efe!". He does not want any complaint or speech in class. And I do the same to my friend; he again does not anything.
(Efe, Male, 10 years old, Middle SES)

In terms of participation, in private schools, there seen two situations; (1) there is no opportunity to state their thoughts; (2) even though children share their thoughts, they are not taken into consideration. Mehmet stated the example to the first type of problem:

I: Is there a thing like a wish box at your school to report what you're not satisfied with?

M: None.

I: None.

(Mehmet, Male, 9 years old, High SES)

Even though they try to make their voices heard by the school counselor, the vice-principal or the school principal, all their effort was in vain because of being not listened and heard.

M: But at school, they don't care too much. For instance, if we complain about something, they don't care.
I: So, your complaints are not listened.

M: Yes, they don't.
I: Do you complain to whom?
M: Firstly, we complain to the school counselor. Then the vice-principal, we can't reach to the principal.
I: What did you complain about until now?
M: I don't remember them very much right now.
(Mert, Male, 12 years old, High SES)

As a result of being not listened, children feel frustrated and angry. Children want to change this situation. They cannot build positive relationships with whom they are not taken seriously. Their right to recognition might be violated through this way.

I: So, they don't ask. Even if you want to say something, you can't have a say. What do you feel in such situations?

R: I suppress my ambition.

I: You suppress it.

(Recep, Male, 12 years old, Low SES)

I: At school, for example, they do not listen to you. What do you think at that point?
M: At that point, I think they need to improve themselves. It would be better if they did.
I: It would be better.
M: Yes.
(Mert, Male, 12 years old, High SES)

4.2 Relationships with friends

4.2.1 Positive relationships with friends

Even if the outlook of the school life consists of the academic aspects such as the exams, the projects, rules, and expectations, there are hidden social lives of children, going on even during the class time apart from social aspects of student clubs and break time activities. Schools are particular social spaces in which children establish

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relationships with both their teachers and friends. Having friendships is very important for children because they may share similar interests, culture, or habits. Thus, they may easily understand each other. Therefore, school is an important space to build a number of friendships for children. In general, children like to go to school. Happiness in the school may be the result of the availability of friendship. It is important to note that friendship is one of the keys for children to be connected to the school.

I: What makes you happy in school?

Ş: My friends.

(Şeyma, Female, 12 years old, Middle SES)

The intimate relationships with friends have an essential position in the lives of children for their subjective well-being (Huebner, 1991; Fattore et al., 2016; Graham et al., 2016). The experiences of children indicate the suggestions of literature.

In the narratives of children, it emerges that children hang out, play, and make conversations with their friends. They might feel close to only one friend or group of friends. However, this does not change based on gender or age according to findings of this study. School space offers many leisure time opportunities such as playing with traditional games, computer or digital games. In the literature, it has been pointed out that spending time with friends means having fun, feeling safe, and laughing (Graham et al., 2016). These relationships contribute to the well-being of children in a great deal (Zins et al., 2004; Graham et al., 2016)

One of the children, Işıl, defined her best friend as someone with whom she did not get cross and they have been a friend in a long time. She had only one best and close friend with whom they were hanging out together within the library or in the class, and they did not go out to schoolyard. They spent their time while reading and drawing. However, Işıl's all friends have changed their schools including her best friend. Therefore, Işıl left alone. In particular, she feels so unhappy and lonely because her best friend has gone. She experiences such separation as a loss. She claimed that their friendship beyond the relationship with the sibling. She does not like to go to school because she has no friend at school anymore. She is probably excluded from friend groups which are already set up. Therefore, having an intimate friend is very important for children in the school context. And she also mentions the experiences of exposure to bullying without giving into detail.

I: I had a very good friend . . .
I: But I mean, because I've always been friends with her, I never had a friend after she left . . .
X: Which change in your life would make you a happier child?
I: If Ecenur comes . . .
X: If does she come to school?
I: To school. My only problem is I have no friend at school.
X: I understand . . .
(Işıl, Female, 10 years old, High SES)

These statements of Işıl support that having supportive and gentle friends is associated to children's satisfaction with life (Bradshaw et al., 2011) and protection of children from bullying and loneliness (Ladd et al., 1996). Thus, they feel a part of the school culture or they feel accepted with having at least one intimate friend (Osterman, 2000).

Furthermore, paralleled with the existing literature (Bradshaw et al., 2007a), in the present study, children described 'the best friend' as a person with whom they

have intimate relationships and can share their secrets as well as their hardships. Twenty children out of 37 children mention that they have at least one intimate friend with whom they can share their secrets. Gender or age differences do not emerge as a factor in having a friend to share secrets. However, the number of children who share their secrets with friends is higher among the ones belonging to high SES. In high socio-economic conditions, there are many opportunities to enter to the new social environment in order to enlarge their friendship networks. Therefore, they may find at least one close friend among their friends. On the contrary, children from other SES levels have limited opportunity to socialize and their social groups are relatively small. They even can't afford the minimum amount of the fee to accompany their friends, and they are left behind in times of school trips, which makes them fearful of losing their friendships or of being excluded from peer groups. Also, they have no other option to establish a new relationship (Ridge, 2002). These children enter the first social environment through school, as school opens an important space for children to meet with friends. The literature also mentions that organized times of children outside of class is limited, and so they can spend their times with their friends mostly in the school context (MacDonald & Marsh, 2004). Therefore, SES of the family creates a difference in terms of providing plenty of opportunities and correspondingly new social environments in order to establish new friendships (Coulton & Irwin, 2009). As bioecological model by Bronfenbrenner (1979) posits, children are again indirectly affected by the socioeconomic conditions of their families.

Children told that some conditions have to be fulfilled in order to share their secrets with their friends such as trust, understanding, tolerance, intimacy, and

sharing similar interests. The experiences of children can be understood in line with the existing literature (Settertobulte & Matos, 2004).

One example from each SES:

G: Kardelen is like my sister.

I: So, she is your very close friend.

G: So close.

I: Can you tell everything to her? Your secrets?

G: Yes.

(Gülsüm, Female, 11 years old, Low SES)

I: Is there someone you tell your secrets? …
K: Mostly, I told to Cem. . .
I: Why are you close to him?
K: I mean, he is understanding. He empathizes with me.
I: Is he so?
K: He is. I mean, he's hiding our secrets very well. He's a good friend.
(Kaya, Male, 12 years old, High SES)

I: You have a lot of friends. But is there any very close friend among them?
Ş: Yes, there is.
I: So, you can share your secrets with them?
Ş: Yes.
I: Who are they?
Ş: Emirhan. He is also a football player . . .
 (Şevket, Male, 12 years old, Middle SES)

The importance of having at least one intimate friend on the well-being of children can also be understood by utilizing the recognition theory. Again, being recognized is vital for everyone. As mentioned above, it is significant to have the recognition in the vertical relationships. Here, the prominence of being recognized in the horizontal relationships is evaluated. Because similar aged children have similar

interests, worries, dreams, and goals; and they were born into nearly the same culture and sociopolitical order, and thus, they understand each other more comprehensively. Therefore, recognition by someone who understands you means that you are acknowledged and mirrored back.

When positive relationships within the large family are present, some of the children might be less able to feel that they have good relationships within the school with peers. Children who have those kinds of relationships might not need more relationships in the school context. For example, in the narrative of Beyza, it can be observed that she has no intimate friend to share her secrets because she has a twin brother with whom she attends the same school and same class for years. She does not need to have another friend. Her twin-brother plays a role as a substitute of a best friend. Also, now, she has a cousin in the same school. She seems to satisfy her friendship needs by her relatives.

I: Is Dila your intimate friend? Do you feel closest to?
B: No, I have no close friend. Sometimes when I'm bored, I go up to Melike [Her cousin], I sometimes go up to Ömer [her twin-brother] or I hang with other girls. Just like that.
I: Do you have someone you share your secrets at school?
B: None . . .
I: Is there anyone you can tell your secrets among your friends?
B: None. I don't tell my secrets to my friends.
(Beyza, Female, 12 years old, High SES)

If children have a good family bonds, their relationships are also affected by these experiences, and they might establish positive and satisfying relationships within school context with their friends and teachers. This finding is in concordance with the findings of the literature (Settertobulte & Matos, 2004). One of the children, Mert, who have satisfying relationships at home also build several positive relationships at school context.

M: I spend time with my friends. I again spend time with my friends in the break times, particularly, in the lunch times.
I: What do you do with your friends?
M: We walk around the corridor while chatting. We joke with each other and we find and play some games.
(Mert, Male, 12 years old, High SES)

Furthermore, in line with the literature (Roffey, 2012), it appeared that in the narratives of this study, some children had limited positive relationships out of the school context. Thus, they rely more on the relationships they establish in the school context. One of the children, Ayşe, who is disconnected with both her mother and father and contacts with her mother are based solely on material needs, have more positive relationships at school both with teachers mentioned above and with her friends. She evaluates her friend the most important thing at school.

I: What do you like at school?
A: I like Nihan.
I: Your friend?
A: Yes, I love her so much. We have a necklace.
I: Is it a best friend necklace?
A: Yes. . .
I: Can you meet with her outside of school?
A: We can meet at school or school trips.
(Ayşe, Female, 12 years old, High SES)

4.2.1.1 Feeling supported and cared

Friendships function as support at the time of stress and hardship (Currie et al., 2012). In this study, six children from all SES mention the importance and value of having friends who are supportive and caring. Children establish positive relationships with the ones who support them physically and psychologically, understand them, prefer and choose them as a friend instead of being with other children.

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Being supported in times of trouble and hardship is very important and meaningful for them. They feel that their friends see their difficulties and distress; and try to help them. They like being cared and valued, which is the signs of being recognized.

In the narrative of Meltem, it can be seen that she loves her friend because she helps and supports her when she needs it.

I: Who are your closest friends in school?

M: Meryem is the closest to me. Because they were very helpful in the day we moved our home. . . I loved her so much. (Meltem, Female, 12 years old, Low SES)

Besides, children have positive relationships with someone who really understands them. The feeling of being understood is a way of knowing that they are acknowledged. They consider that their existence, ideas, perceptions, and experiences are meaningful for others. It is a way of knowing that they are valuable.

I: Well, those close friends, why do you like them most? Is there a reason?

M: Because they understand me better. Others seem a little bit pretended. Some of them, hmm, I don't know.

(Meva, Female, 10 years old, High SES)

Another critical point, which is mentioned by Fatih, is being chosen as a friend by another child. In this case, he realizes that there is a possibility of hanging out whenever they want. Therefore, he has a positive feeling about his friend. Such a consideration implies two things; one is being someone who is noticed and preferred

over others, two is if someone chooses to hang out with a child, which signifies that other children also might want to hang out with him. Hence, he may feel as being someone who can be liked. This condition opens the doors to socialize and to feel confident. Fatih does not share his life and personal experiences as much as he wants at school context. He might be exposed to exclusion because of his father's current situation, but he does not give much clues on the subject.

I: Would you like to talk about your friends? Who are your friends in school?

F: I mean, I have one friend. I love him because he always hangs out with me. (Fatih, Male, 10 years old, Low SES)

4.2.1.2 Getting along well

In this modern era, high technology usage influences children' lives in many ways, even their games. Digital and computer games have become popular instead of playing in traditional ways in the streets within groups. Nowadays, children usually spend long hours playing online videos games.

One of the private schools which defines itself as a highly technological school permits students to play games during the midday recess with their Ipads. It is interesting that they may become friends if they get along with each other while playing online. This comes out as the new way of being socialized.

However, in other public and private schools, children talked about playing traditional games with their friends, such as hide-and-seek, fight as a fun, tag, football, volleyball, basketball, piggy in the middle, and also play some board games. Besides, children spend their time talking or walking, hanging out with their friends. Children, in general, go to school to spend time with their friends. Similarly, the

literature suggested that the essential motive of children in order to go to school is hanging out with their friends (Engels et al., 2004).

In total, six children mention that they get along well with their friends. Interestingly, five of them are boys. This situation may be explained by that boys mostly spend time in groups without being intimate with them, while girls hang out with their close friends. Therefore, the meaning of friendships would be more than solely getting along well.

In the narrative of Mert, he mentions that they hang out together with both boys and girls. Also, he thinks that they behave like they have no gender differences. They do not discriminate against girls based on gender and they play together. He does not prevent himself from touching girls, and they behave towards each other as friends, nothing more. Even though he belongs to a religious family; he shares such statements about the gender issue. The need for expressing that may come from two possibilities. The first is that he might feel guilty, otherwise, there is not necessary to mention it repeatedly. The second reason might be related with my outfit as a researcher, I am a religious woman with a headscarf, he may try to make an excuse for me. I may have triggered guilty feelings related to gender issues in him.

4.2.2 Negative relationships with friends

4.2.2.1 Annoying children

On the opposite direction, children who participated in this study also delineated a picture of negative relationships with their friends. One-third of the total 37 children mentioned that there are annoying children in their classrooms. Children do not like those who are described as smart-aleck, jealous, liar, mocker, annoying, and gossiper. Such kinds of behaviors might result in fighting among children.

Sometimes they target only one child, whereas sometimes they target the whole class. These kinds of relational patterns diminish their subjective well-being, which is also suggested in earlier studies (Finch et al., 1999; Hirsch & Rapkin, 1986; Rook, 1984). Ayşe defines an annoying child as someone who behaves adversely to friends and snitches other children to teachers. Children do not like such children and do not have positive relationships with them. A good relationship requires to be constructed on trust. Friends who complain to teachers may harm this trust. Beyza, on the other hand, described annoying children from her perspective as those who disturb others through touch and the ones who do not follow the rules set by the class president.

In the narrative of Betül, it can be seen that there are children who talk positively about their friends when they with them. However, when they walk away, they may talk negatively behind their backs. This is reported as a hypocrite behavior by children. Betül stated that she does not like peers who have these qualities because one can't trust such children, which is the basis of good relationships.

B: Girls often gossip. That's why I don't go up to them.
I: Don't you love gossip?
B: No, I don't like to talk behind people.
I: Why?
B: Because they go up to them and say "you are my best friend", and then, I don't like it because they gossip very badly. They are biased.
I: Does everyone do this in school? Are you the only one who stay away or are there someone else like you?
B: Yes, Deniz stays away.
I: That's why you don't like the behaviors of your school friends.
B: Yes.
(Betül, Female, 12 years old, High SES)

Some children seem as cruel in the relationships with their friends. One example of cruelty is mocking. There are lots of examples of mocking in the schools. Children do not have positive relationships with mockers. Exposure to mocking

might be experienced as the example of disvaluation about styles, manners, interests, and features children have.

Ş: One day, my hairstyle was a tidy bun. . . A boy said. . . He said, "she put an antenna to her hair or something." He made fun of my hair.

(Şeyma, Female, 12 years old, Middle SES)

I: Who are your closest friends at school?
A: Actually, I don't really trust the people in school lately?
I: Hmm. Why is that?
A: I don't know, I've broken the bonds a little bit. I have no idea why it happened suddenly.
I: Did you live through something?
A: No. I did not, actually. They were sometimes just making fun of my name. I did get irritated so much. They did not mock actually, but I did start to not talk with them, I don't know why.
I: What were they mocking about? What did they say?
A: So, I don't want to say it.
I: Ok.
(Akif, Male, 12 years old, High SES)

Şeyma and Akif experience such unpleasant events at school. However, Akif does not want to give any details about it, because remembering and expressing unpleasant events may cause to maintain his suffering longer. Furthermore, he may not want to be seen by the researcher from this perspective. On the other hand, he mocks another child who annoys and bullies him in return.

Moreover, if there are no close relationships between children, they do not share their secrets. To illustrate, one example from each SES:

I: Can you share your secrets with your friends?

E: I never told anyone my secret in my life.

I: Why?

E: I can't trust. I didn't tell my mom and my father, either.

(Mete, Male, 12 years old, High SES)

B: (Silence) I don't really trust Batu.

I: Why? Does he tell others?

B: He can say, he is not something . . .

(Batu, Male, 10 years old, High SES)

I: For example, can you share your secrets?

M: I don't have the best friend. Okay, I have friends, but I don't have good friends to share my secret. I can't share.

(Meltem, Female, 12 years old, Low SES)

In this point, Meltem and her experiences are valuable to give emphasis to. Because, in the above statements, it has been already mentioned that she has one intimate friend who supports her physically and psychologically. However, she says that she cannot share her secrets even with this friend. She says that she does not have any intimate friend to share her secrets.

On the other hand, Meltem complains that her friends always lie to them and teachers. However, reactions of teachers do not prevent this situation.

M: They lie to teachers, they lie to me, and they lie to others. They always lie to me.
I: So, what do you do when they lie?
M: I go up to the teacher and I tell that. The teacher says, "You'll slowly get used to it."
I: Does she say that?
M: The teacher also interferes with them. She calls them over. She says, "Don't do that." They went to discipline many times. Well, I kept quiet then. I've never talked.
I: Why?

M: They speak when I speak. I can't stand them later . . . But I'm not happy with these bad friends.
(Meltem, Female, 12 years old, Low SES)

Işıl complains about jealous friends. Because she was a class president and she thought that she is quite good. However, she thinks that her friends are jealous of her, thus, she has a problematic relationship with them. Şeyma lives through similar things:

Ş: Every time we talk to Berra, she tells the mother and father of Berra. I think what she did is wrong. She does it because she's jealous of us.
(Şeyma, Female, 12 years old, Middle SES)

4.2.2.2 Bullying

In all school types, there are various occurrences and reasons for bullying. In this study, about 50% of children state that they are exposed to physical or psychological bullying. Physical violence and fighting are usually common in public schools of low socio-economic neighborhoods. However, there are examples of bullying in psychological forms such as teasing, mocking, and gossiping, excluding, being selfish in private schools, whereas the real physical violence is not commonly observed. As a total, psychological bullying appears more than physical bullying in schools, which is consistent with previous findings by Pişkin (2010) who examine bullying among primary and middle school children in Ankara.

M: They used to be so much. I used to that other children make fun of my weight, now I lost my weight, but I got used to it, so there would be nothing.
I: They used to do it, but they don't do now.
M: They gave me hard times in summer.
I: Why did they do that?

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M: I was attending the water polo course. I spent all my days there. They always made fun of me there, and I was feeling upset. But I am not sad anymore. I don't even care.
(Mete, Male, 12 years old, High SES*)*

I: You know, there are bullying in schools. Are there bullying or maltreatment in your school? Or something like that happened to you or your friends?
B: Yes.
I: Nicknaming, teasing?
B: Slander. . .
I: Hmm, how?
B: Yes. For example, a few days ago, my friend saw a cigarette in the hand of a child at school. After that, you know, there are fake cigarettes or something, and then they laughed and passed. A child came that day and said that "you had seen the cigarette in the hands of my friend and you did tell others," even though the girl did not tell anyone. My friend, I know her for years. She does not tell anyone. But, they made her cry that day. She became outraged. There is a child called Burak who looking for mistakes to complain about in my school.
(Berra, Female, 12 years old, Middle SES)

On the contrary, in public schools within the middle and particularly low socio-economic neighborhoods, bullying appears as one of the aspects of their communication to understand each other, which is resulted from the influence of arabesque culture on them. It seems like the adult culture and nurturing culture surrounding them reflected on children's behaviors and language. It is a normal part of their daily lives. Thus, another effect of the bioecological model might be observed. As a result, even if they encounter bullying from their friends and they do not feel safe, they still want to go to school eagerly.

In the narrative of Gülsüm, it can be interpreted that her behaviors in her relationship might be the reflections of her ethnic identity and culture. She is Roma and there are strong prejudices against the Roma population in the society. Other children who attend the same school with Gülsüm come to school with preconditioned beliefs. Gülsüm might know these prejudices and might have the same expectancies from them. Thus, she begins to defend herself before the attack

comes by others. Children are intimidated by such behaviors, and they do not dare to annoy her.

I: Well, are there big fights such as bullying at school?
G: Yes.
I: What does go on?
G: We do it so much, in our class. Especially, I start it.
I: Why? Tell me how it happens?
G: For example, when they say I love this, and I hit the girl.
I: Why do you hit?
G: I hit them when they do something wrong to my best friend.
I: Do you beat them?
G: Of course, I beat them. As soon as I put them in the bathroom.
(Gülsüm, Female, 11 years old, Low SES)

Furthermore, when exposure to bullying is considered with the factor of gender, girls prefer to use psychological violence more than boys, whereas boys enter in fights and physical violence more than girls. Moreover, girls are exposed to psychological bullying more than boys, whereas boys are exposed physical bullying more than girls. These findings are consistent with the previous studies conducted in Turkey (Burnukara & Uçanok, 2012; Çankaya, 2011). This result may stem from biological differences in the first hand. For girls, making a verbal argumentation is a powerful tool they have. They try to use what they know best. However, in terms of age, there is no difference in the prevalence of physical and psychological bullying.

Ş: Somethings happened, but we had an adverse event with Hünkar over Aleyna. The teacher told us not to throw her notebooks. She said to us, "didn't throw her notebooks, her files, or whatever." We messed her cupboard, notebooks up…. Because what she has done to us before. Asli was here; she couldn't dance. But Hünkar was forcing us to dance. She said, "You have to do it." You see, I don't want to tell that. . .
(Şeyda, Female, 10 years old, Middle SES)

It is crucial to note that the statements of children indicate that children who are exposed to being bullied, bully other children in return most of the time. The examples might be seen in the narratives of children from all SES. In the narrative of Berk, it can be observed that Berk exposed to bullying in many times at school, and he suffers from these events. His friends try to bully other children, and he states that he does not like the situation. However, he does not do anything to prevent it. He does not intervene in their business. In this context, he becomes one of the quiet supporters of the bully unintentionally.

I: What did he do?
B: Sometimes, he nicknames me. He even tried to hit me in physical training. . .
I: Do you have other friends like Tunç you don't get along with?
B: Yes, there is. Cem.
I: What does Cem do?
B: Cem is worse. Cem does things worse.
I: Does he do these things to you or everyone?
B: He does these to me specifically and other people rarely. He picks me as a target without even a reason. . .
B: There is a person named Noal. When my friends do that to him, I don't like it.
I: What do they do?
B: They bully Noal which I don't like never.
I: And do you say anything to your friends?
B: I don't want to make fun of them. I really don't want to break the hearts of my friends. They think it's good, but it's a bad thing. That's why I don't get involved.
(Berk, Male, 10 years old, High SES)

This situation can be understood better taking the clinical paper into account by Twemlow, Sacco, and Williams (1996). According to them, bullying happens not dyadically between bully and victim; instead, it composes of tripartite; bully, victim, and bystander. In addition, there is not only one type of bully, victim, and bystander. But rather, there are three types of bullies; sadistic, depressed, and agitated; four types of victims; submissive, provocative, masochistic, and rescuer; two types of bystanders; bully-bystander and victim-bystander, and thus, a number of different

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combinations of the triplet (Twemlow et al., 1996). They become diversified according to each other's features. They sometimes create and trigger the behaviors of others. The tense interpersonal relationship does not end after bullying happens; on the contrary, the presence of bystander affects relationships' dynamics variously (Twemlow et al., 1996). The position of bystanders and the types of bullies in the interdependent relationships affect how victims respond regardless of their typology. In reality, apart from the bully, the victim also matches with one type of the bully profile, which also explains the transformation of a victim into a bully.

On the one hand, there are many underlying dynamics and variances of bullying. However, the most basic explanation about why victims become bullies comes from "the identification with the aggressor" concept by Anna Freud (1989). According to the concept, the victim, through exposure to bully, engages in the process of identification with the aggressor, and then, he behaves like a bully. Thereby, they transfer from a position of being threatened toward a position of becoming a threat and gaining power.

The literature proposed that as people exposed to victimization, their capacity to protect their selves diminishes (Twemlow, 1995a, b). This argument is parallel with the conceptions of the recognition theory. Because like everyone else, children need to be reflected in others' mirror to construct their identity when they enter in social spaces like school, according to Bingham (2001). This becomes possible in a relationship which is fundamental for recognition and misrecognition, and conflict over recognition occurring in relational spaces (Honneth, 1995; Graham & Fitzgerald, 2011; Graham et al., 2014; Thomas, 2012; Thomas et al., 2016). Consistent with the arguments above, exposure to bullying violates recognition. In line with the literature (Thomas et al., 2016; Graham et al., 2014, 2016, 2017),

children who are victimized by their peers feel their self-respect and self-confidence violated, feel psychologically bad, disrespected, not valued or cared, and as a result feel lonely. In our study, because most of the children who are bullied become bullies later on, first of all, they are misrecognized. Also, then, according to Taylor (1995) after misrecognition, as individuals are locked up into a false and deformed mode of being, they also borrow the characteristics of the bully and become a cruel and aggressive victimizer to get recognition from a different way.

On the other side of the coin, there are few bullies among children we interview. It is kinds of a way to protect the self before any harm comes from others. Aforementioned that Mete was bullied before by other children due to his weight in his summer course. In this case, he bullies others before he exposes to bullying. This situation might be interpreted that in the previous experience he suffers from the disturbing attitudes of his friends and become frustrated. When he gets a chance to have power by being a bully, he took advantage from it.

I: Do you have any bullies at school?
E: I usually do bully.
I: Do you? What do you do?
E: There are foolish people in our school. They're really stupid.
I: What do they do?
E: They don't know the result of 2 + 1. They think they're smart. They behave like they're a smart aleck. It's annoying.
I: Do you mock with them?
E: Yes.
I: I get it. When you do such things, don't they feel upset?
E: I don't care. . .
(Mete, Male, 12 years old, High SES)

Akif seems to have some prejudicial thoughts about people who belong to different ethnicity and people who have different physical features. He belittles such people and plays a role as initiators of a fight when they encounter. According to his

statement, there is nothing meaningful to trigger a fight, however, they find themselves in the middle of it. These behavior patterns might be derived from his relationships with family members. As we understand from his narrative, there is no mother in the scene; thus, there is a lack of relationship with her and lack of any wish to be close with her. As already mentioned before, the relational patterns at home might have some reflections on the relationships at school context, which is also a reflection of the bioecological model's systems. And if there are not any satisfying familial relationships of children, this effect can be seen in the relational patterns in schools. In this case, he might keep a distance with others through having prejudicial and negative thoughts about them. He might avoid them due to fear of harm and damage.

Moreover, there is a conflictual relationship with his father who spends many special times with him. However, Akif gets angry at his father because he does not listen to him. As a researcher after the interview, I witnessed with the scene that when Akif speaks in a prejudiced way about something or someone, his sisters stated that this is not good to talk and think in that way. However, Akif does not care what his sisters said. It can be a way to try finding his voice and way so that he can be a psychologically mature person. It is essential to point that some of those children we interviewed are at the gate of puberty, which is an excruciating time of life. These explanations over the statement of Akif is in line with the existing literature by Totan and Yöndem (2007) who found that the increase in the adolescents' relationships with their parents decreases the possibilities of being a bully. However, Akif might be at the opposite direction according to literature.

B: One time, there's a boy Muhammad who is irritating me so much.
I: Why?

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B: Once. I mean, he made stupid things. He spoke in Kurdish or something, such as he said nonsense or ridiculous, silly things. He did strange things, like that. He looks like a little bit the type, "keko." He is a tiny thing; his height is a fifty-five. He freaked me out once we fought.
(Akif, Male, 12 years old, High SES)

In the narrative of Meltem, there is a story of being bullied by cruel friends who regard herself to have a right to insult other people due to their lacks and financial problems. It can be seen in the narrative that even if she exhibits herself as being in the center of attention among her friends, she has many experiences of being bullied. Siyez and Kaya (2011) suggested that emotional and cognitive empathy variables may be used to discriminate bully from victims. They found that there is a difference between them in terms of empathy. Bullies have less cognitive and emotional empathy compared to others. In the story of Melek, bullies exhibit some non-empathetic features.

I: Are there bullies in your school?
M: There are four children. I don't like them at all. They always disparage me. I try to treat them well, they always try to treat me bad. I'm trying to be warm, but they're cold. What will I do?
I: Why do they do that?
M: I don't know. They always do something to me even if I don't do anything to them . . .
They always do bad things to me. Then, I ever came to school wearing casual clothes... I could not come to school with school uniform because I already have problems at home. And then I said those bad girls that "I told Serpil teacher and Yıldız teacher." I felt comfortable inside. Then they came and made me cry so much. Then Meryem said them "She might have financial trouble." I cried much. Then they were slowly becoming warm to me. Later they became cold again.
I: Did they do this because of your clothes?
M: Yes.
(Meltem, Female, 12 years old, Low SES)

Even if some children attend the same school, they evaluate their schools differently. For example; Mert and Akif attend the same religious-based private school. While Akif mentions many bullying and violent events, Mert states that there

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is no bully in his school. He thinks that his school is good from this aspect, because he has no difficulty to establish and maintain satisfying relationships with friends. He mentions many positive and entertaining experience; and group plays with his friends, because he has satisfying and positive relationships with family members at home which protect him to stay away from bullying and become a bully (Totan & Yöndem, 2007). On the other hand, Akif has no intimate friend to trust and to share his secrets. His relationships with friends have conflictual features, thus, he is more aware of bullying and violent events than Mert.

In the lives of children, numerous factors affect their subjective well-being. One of them is exposure to bullying, which severely decreases the well-being of children according to the literature (Goswami, 2012). In line with the existing literature (Sixsmith et al., 2005; Nansel et al., 2001), the findings of the present study also showed that bullied children experience several negative feelings such as anger, fear, sorrow, and frustration. They might feel that their safety is violated. As a result, the number of friends around them decreases, and they feel lonely and isolated.

All in all, relationships influence children's well-being both positively through supportive and kind relationships with teachers and peers; and negatively through the experience of bullying, exclusion by peers or conflictual relationships with teachers. Previous research results suggest that subjective well-being of children depends on the proportion of mutual positive affect and cognitions by the people in the schools (Hascher, 2008). Similarly, in this present study, when the relationships which children have in the school context are evaluated as a whole, the presence of positive relationships goes beyond the negative relationships in children's experiences. In this case, they seem to be happy.

As a result, school lives and the subjective well-being of children have been affected by the emotionally attached and rewarding relationships with both teachers and peers (Bernard et al., 2007; Redmond et al., 2013).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

In conclusion, this study was conducted to understand the subjective well-being of children in the school context. Children participated in this study as active agents who have a right to say anything about their lives. Positive relationships with both teachers and friends have the most significant value for subjective well-being of children. The reflections of family relations might be seen in the relationships established at school context. Positive relationships with teachers have important functions to love school and school subjects, thus, the academic achievements of children. Furthermore, children basically come to school to hang out with their friends. Thus, at least having one friend functions as a support and protection against bullying and being lonely. The main reason of being not happy in school context is not having an intimate and good friend under the "loving" category of the school well-being model by Konu and Rimpela (2002). Furthermore, bullying emerged in many different forms as a common problem in the narratives of children. Children may take part as a victim, or a bully, or a bystander in this relational tripartite. Also, victims transformed into bully. As a whole, being exposed to bullying affect negatively the subjective well-being of children in school context. To sum up, subjective experiences are significant to understand well-being of children because schools have a multilayered structure and interrelated dynamics.

Relied on the findings of the present study, there might be given some recommendations for school management, guidance services, families and the governmental policies to protect the mental health of children in the school context.

Firstly, the statements of children show that relationships of children in a school context have a vital value for subjective well-being of children, particularly relationships with their friends. Therefore, to build and maintain a positive and nurturing school climate is important. Thus, school management and guidance service need to collaborate on to provide children such a positive climate. They can assess the perceived school climate occasionally by asking children via using surveys and individual interviews. When the school climate is perceived as negative and disturbing by children, they may apply intervention programs to create a more positive school climate.

Secondly, being cared and valued by someone important like teachers, are considered important for children. These contribute to their subjective well-being substantially. They may compensate inadequacy of good familial relationships through these relationships, or they may find out various things in intrapersonal and interpersonal meaning. Therefore, an education program for teachers about the importance of being kind, friendly, lovely, and caring toward children needs to be applied. Teachers need to be informed about how they make an impact on the subjective well-being of children.

Thirdly, bullying is an increasing problem in all school in Turkey. According to previous literature, children who are bullied feel frustrated, fearful, and they might be terrorized and feel unsafe. Thus, they might be isolated by their friends (Sixsmith et al., 2005) and then feel lonely (Nansel et al., 2001). According to statements of children, there are various forms of bullying in the school context. Their subjective well-being is damaged severely after exposure to bullying. Therefore, firstly, governmental policies need to take a step to start prevention and intervention programs in country-level after having statistical data about prevalence rate of

bullying in schools. Secondly, school management, guidance service, teachers, and families need to collaborate to deal with this problem. Thirdly, some educational and intervention programs need to be applied for teachers and children in order to teach them the nature (Which behaviors include into bullying, in what ways it happens, who is under the most significant risk, and how they are affected) and prevalence of bullying so that they are aware of such situations and might take an action. Fourthly, teachers need to take an active role to prevent bullying in the school context. Fifthly, school-based social-emotional learning intervention programs might be applied in schools. In addition, group therapies might be carried out by guidance teachers to improve mentalization, emphatic thinking, and mindfulness of children. Sixthly, children who have the potential to be exposed bullying need to be supported. Also, schools need to provide an opportunity for children so that they can know each other mutually and closely under the supervision of a teacher. For this, group studies and activities might be organized.

The last recommendation for enhancing and protecting the mental health of children is school classes might be transformed into a social laboratory for children in order to know each other and to have productive and extensive knowledge about the world and to learn how to criticize things around them in a logical way. This space needs to be constructed by taking the opinions and thoughts of children.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

(Only school related questions included)

Hi,

Thank you so much for accepting to participate in the interview with us. Your views are precious to us.

First of all, let us tell you what we want to do. We do research to learn through children's own eyes how they spend their time, what they do, and what they think.

There is no right or no wrong answer, everything you say is valuable for us. If there is any question you do not want to answer, please tell me. If you have a question, please ask me.

I will record it because it's hard to write what you tell me. But I can hang up anytime you want.

-Well, shall we start getting to know you?

-What is your name? How old are you? Are you going to school? Which school? Which grade? Do you have any brother or sister? How many and how old are they? What do your parents do?

1) School

-Well, shall we mention a little bit about school?

-What are your favorite things at school that make you happy? (Explore them with reasons behind them)

- What's your favorite place in school? Why?

- Who is your favorite teacher at school? Why is that? What makes him/her different?

- Is there a teacher you don't like? Why?

- Do you want to talk about your schoolmates?

- Do you have any close friends at school? What are their names?

- Do you tell your secrets to them? (Is there anyone else you share your secrets with? Your family? Someone out of school?)

- What do you do with your friends at school?

(Prompt: Do you meet outside of school? What are you doing?)

-Are there any kids with whom you do not get along well in the school?

(Prompt: We hear that there is bullying in some schools, does it exist in your school? Did it happen to you or your close friends?)

- Well, let's talk about something else, is there anything you don't like in school that makes you unhappy? Like what? Why?

(Prompts: Some friends, bad relationships, exam worries, by age group TEOG anxiety, adverse conditions of schools…. School way ...)

- Are there any other activities besides the lessons that you participated in the school? Why you choose these? Are there any activities you want?

2) The right to speak / Listening to what they say (At School)

One of the things we wonder is how much ideas and discourses of children are listened to. Some children say and think that their words are not listened and their opinions are not asked at home or school.

- What do you think? For example, your ideas and opinions are listened at school? Do you have an example?

3) So, how did you feel in these situations?

(Prompt: For example, when I was younger, we used to choose the president of the class. Can you select the courses, the clubs you want? Is there any suggestion box at school? Vs.)

4) Agency/ Feeling free of children

- Is there anything you want to do at school but you couldn't? For example, can you tell us? Is there anything you want to do too much and you can do?)

5) Safety

- Is there any place in school you feel restless, scared? Why?

6) Termination

- What is your favorite feature about yourself?

- What do you want to be or to do in the future?

- Well, thank you very much, it was a pleasant conversation, I hope you enjoyed it too.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (TURKISH)

(Sadece okulla ilgili sorular dahil edildi)

Merhaba,

Bizimle görüşmeyi kabul ettiğin için çok teşekkürler. Senin görüşlerin bizim için çok değerli.

Öncelikle biz sana ne yapmak istediğimizi anlatalım. Biz çocukların zamanlarını nasıl geçirdiklerini ne yaptıklarını ve ne düşündüklerini onlardan dinlemek, öğrenmek için araştırma yapıyoruz.

Doğru ya da yanlış bir yanıt yok, her söylediğin çok kıymetli. Cevap vermek istemediğin soru olursa söyle lütfen ve sormak istediğin bir şey olursa sor. Anlattıklarını yazmak zor olduğu için kayıt yapacağım ama istediğin zaman söyle kapatırım.

_____

Peki, seni tanıyarak başlayalım mı?

Adın ne? Kaç yaşındasın? Okula gidiyor musun? Hangi okul? Kaçıncı sınıf?

Kardeşin var mı? Kaç tane, kaç yaşındalar? Annen baban ne iş yapar?

1) Okul

- Peki biraz okulundan bahsedelim mi?

- Okulda en sevdiğin, seni mutlu eden şeyler neler? (Bunları nedenleri ile açmak)

- Okulda en sevdiğin yer neresi? Neden?

- Okulda en sevdiğin öğretmen? Neden? Onu farklı kılan ne?

- Aranın kötü olduğu, sevmediğin öğretmen var mı? Neden?

- Biraz da okul arkadaşlarından bahsetmek ister misin?

- Okulda yakın hissettiğin arkadaşın var mı? Adları ne?

- Sırların anlattığın? (Burada sırlarını paylaştığın başka biri var mı? Ailenden? Okul

dışından?)

- Neler yaparsınız arkadaşlarınla okulda?

(Anımsatıcılar: Okul dışında görüşüyor musun? Neler yapıyorsunuz?)

- Okulda aranın kötü olduğu çocuklar var mı?

(Anımsatıcılar: Duyuyoruz ki bazı okullarda zorbalık varmış, sizin okulda var mı?

Senin ya da yakın arkadaşının başına geldi mi?)

- Peki biraz da başka şeylerden bahsedelim, okulda seni mutsuz eden sevmediğin

şeyler var mı? Neler mesela? Neden?

(Anımsatıcılar: Bazı arkadaşlar kötü ilişkiler, sınav endişesi, yaş grubuna göre TEOG

stresi… okullarının kötü koşullarından …. Okul yolu...)

- Okulda dersler dışında katıldığın başka aktiviteler, faaliyetler var mı? Neden

bunlar?

- Olmasını istediğin aktiviteler var mı?

3) Söz Hakkı/Söylediklerinin dinlenmesi

Bizim merak ettiğimiz şeylerden biri de çocukların söylediklerinin, fikirlerinin ne

kadar dinlendiği. Bazı çocuklar okulda hiç sözlerinin dinlenmediğini fikirlerinin

alınmadığını düşünüyor, söylüyorlar.

- Sen ne düşünüyorsun? Mesela senin okulunda fikirlerin, görüşlerin dinleniyor mu?

Aklına gelen bir örnek var mı?

- Peki, ne hissettin böyle durumlarda?

(Anımsatıcılar: Mesela ben küçükken sınıf başkanını biz seçerdik, istediğin ders

seçebiliyor musun? Kendin gideceğin kulüpleri seçebiliyor musun? Şikayet kutusu var mı? vs.)

4) Faillik/Çocuğun özgür hissetmesi

- Okulda yapmak isteyip de yapamadığın şeyler var mı? Örneğin bize anlatabilir misin? Çok yapmak isteyip yapabildiğin bir şey var mı?

5) Güvende hissetme

- Peki okulda huzursuz olduğun, korktuğun bir yer var mı? Neden?

6) Sonlandırma

- Kendinle ilgili en sevdiğin özelliğin?

- Gelecekte ne olmak istiyorsun?

- Peki çok teşekkürler, çok keyifli bir sohbetti, umarım sen de keyif almışsındır.

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