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CONSTRUCTION OF CHILDHOOD AND CHILD PARTICIPATION
IN THE TURKISH LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS

GÖZDE DURMUŞ
109611018

Prof. Dr. Kenan Çayır

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Construction of Childhood and Child Participation
in the Turkish Language Textbooks

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Çocukluk Kurgusu ve Çocuk Katılımı

Gözde Durmuş
109611018

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Kenan Çayır
İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
Jüri Üyesi: Prof. Dr. Pınar Uvan Semerci
İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
Jüri Üyesi: Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Zeynep B. Erdiller Yatmaz
(Boğaziçi Üniversitesi)



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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims at examining the relationships between adults and children in the context of childhood construction and child participation in Turkish language textbooks by using the methods of content and critical discourse analyses. It was analyzed the textual and visual samples in eight Turkish language textbooks from 1st-grade to 8th-grade within the framework of the theories about childhood and child participation. The textbooks, which is defined as “official knowledge” of the society by Apple, reflect and support the dominant normative discourse in the societies. In this thesis, there is an inquiry to find out the childhood perceptions of adults, the existing childhood construction, the power relations between the adult and the child and the forms of the children’s right to participate considering their representations in Turkish language textbooks. The child is mostly represented as a “passive”, “needy” and “adult-dependent” figure in the examined Turkish language textbooks whereas the adult is constructed as “perfect” and “powerful” figure in the same textbooks. The effect of *adultism* is observed in most of the findings, in other words, the adult’s power and oppression on the child constitutes the main part of the findings. This thesis argues that the textbooks do not approach the children as a right-holders individual, a subject and a social agent and that this approach poses an obstacle to the realization of meaningful child participation. In the context of child participation, one of the remarkable findings is that there is a charity-based approach rather than a right-based approach in the child-initiated examples. This study demonstrates that the textbooks should include the contents in which children are represented as “right-holders”, the adults question their own power on the children, and children’s views are taken into consideration by the adults.

ÖZET

Bu tez, içerik ve eleştirel söylem analizleri yöntemlerini kullanarak Türkçe ders kitaplarında yetişkinler ve çocuklar arasındaki ilişkileri çocukluk dönemi inşası ve çocuk katılımı bağlamında incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. 1. sınıftan 8. sınıfa kadar sekiz adet Türkçe ders kitabındaki yer alan yazılı ve görsel içerikler; çocukluk kurgusu ve çocuk katılımı arka planı ve çocukluk çalışmaları teorisi çerçevesinde analiz edilmiştir. Apple tarafından toplumlara ait “resmi bilgi” olarak tanımlanan ders kitapları içerikleri; toplumlardaki baskın ve “norm” kabul edilen söylemleri yansıtmakta ve desteklemektedir. Bu tezde; yetişkinlerin çocukluk algıları, mevcut çocukluk inşası, yetişkin ile çocuk arasındaki güç ilişkileri ve çocukların katılım haklarının formlarının Türkçe ders kitaplarındaki temsili üzerinden değerlendirmeler yapılmaktadır. Çocuk, incelenen Türkçe ders kitaplarında çoğunlukla “pasif”, “muhtaç” ve “yetişkinine bağımlı” olarak temsil edilirken, yetişkin aynı ders kitaplarında “mükemmel” ve “güçlü” olarak inşa edilmiştir. Çoğu bulgunun merkezinde “yetişkinlik (adulthood)”in etkisi yani yetişkinin çocuk üzerindeki gücü ve baskısı olduğu görülmektedir. Bu tezde; ders kitaplarındaki hakim anlayışın çocukları “hak sahibi birey”, “özne” ve “eyleyen” olarak ele almadığını ve bu anlayışın çocuğun katılım hakkının anlamlı şekilde hayata geçmesi önünde engel oluşturduğu ileri sürülmektedir. Çocuk katılımı bağlamında çocukların inisiyatif aldığı kısıtlı sayıdaki örneklerde göze çarpan önemli bir bulgu ise hak temelli yaklaşımdan ziyade yardım temeli bir perspektifin yer almasıdır. Bu çalışma, çocukların “hak sahibi” olarak temsil edildiği, yetişkin iktidarının sorgulandığı ve çocukların görüşlerinin yetişkinler tarafından dikkate alındığı içeriklerin ders kitaplarında yer alması gerektiğini ortaya koymaktadır

INTRODUCTION

This thesis looks into the childhood construction and child participation in Turkish language textbooks from 1st grade to 8th grade with the methods of content and critical discourse analyses. The starting point of this study relies on my observations and experiences in the field. Since 2002, I have been working with children both as a volunteer and a professional. Turkey signed the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN CRC) in 1990 and ratified in 1995. This convention included not only protection or fulfillment/welfare rights of the children but also their participation rights under the influence of new developments on childhood studies. My motivation for studying and writing about child participation is that it is defined as a children's right. When working with children, I have been observing that children's right to participation is given less importance and even ignored compared to other rights. The right to children's participation is seen as a favor of the adult but it is, in fact, an obligation for adults. The people who are studying and producing new knowledge about children's participation rights, commonly insist on the fact that adults' perceptions and approaches have a great impact on the implementation of participation rights.¹ Particularly, disregarding children's abilities and considering them as incapable are encountered in adult's relations with the children. When taking the influence of adults' perception in into account, this study is not going to be only about the analysis of child participation but also about the construction of childhood in society.

The argument based on the idea that childhood is socially and culturally constructed is accepted commonly today in new childhood studies.² Firstly, in his

¹ Laura Lundy, "Voice'is not enough: conceptualising Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child," *British educational research journal*, 33(6) (2007), 927-942.

Roger A. Hart, *Children's participation: From tokenism to citizenship* (Papers inness 92/6, Innocenti Essay, 1992).

Gerison Lansdown, G. *Promoting children's participation in democratic decision-making* (Papers innins 01/9, Innocenti Insights, 2001).

² Allison James, A. and Adrian L. James, *Constructing Childhood, Theory, Policy and Social Practice*.(Basingstoke:Palgrave, 2004),10-28.

historical study regarding children, Ariès argued that there is not a childhood in a modern sense at medieval times. And he demonstrated that childhood differentiates according to the time, the culture and the place.³ In the 19th century, childhood was described as non-adult and becoming-human, especially, by the disciplines of psychology and biology. In the historical background of childhood, giving more importance to schooling and education changed the children's daily lives and the understanding of childhood. By the effect of John Locke's conception of "*tabula rasa*" (the mind of the newborn child is blank sheet), the schooling became a requirement for children. But all children were not able to go to school, only the *white* boys from high-middle class could go. The effects of the understanding of modernist society and some new developments like the schooling, the change of division of labor in the family or the dissemination of printing paved the way for a new childhood understanding.⁴ In the thought of modern childhood, the children's needs are accepted that they are different from the adults' needs. Therefore, childhood is seen as a special category. This thought created a dichotomy between adulthood and childhood and thus, this dichotomy is compared with women-men relations due to the hierarchy created by this dichotomy by nature. The history of childhood has been written by adults, therefore it is impossible to hear children's voices. Since 1997, studying on childhood has been an interesting area for the different disciplines like sociology, anthropology, etc. and the new childhood studies appeared. One of the most important emphases of the new childhood studies is that children are affected by society and they also affect the society as a social agent.⁵ The common assumption is that the child is an active subject.

One of the preconditions of meaningful implementation of children's participation is that children are active subjects and right holders. Children's participation is a right for children as mentioned before and this right is also related to the emancipation of children as a social category. Nowadays, children don't have certain political rights such as voting in national and local elections. They must live

³ Philip Ariès, *Centuries of childhood: A social history of family life* (1965).

⁴ Kemal İnal, *Çocuk ve demokrasi* (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2014), 68-96.

Neil Postman, The disappearance of childhood. *Childhood Education*, 61(4) (1985), 286-293.

⁵ James & James, *Constructing Childhood, Theory, Policy and Social Practice*, 23-28.

in a society in which the adults made decisions. The children's single space which has an impact on the adults' decisions is their participation rights. There are many problems and obstacles to realize children's participation. One of the most remarkable obstacles is that the adult prefers to keep his/her power in the relationship with the child. But, indeed, the adult should change and adapt his/her approach by giving up his/her power for meaningful child participation. Hence, there are many examples of tokenism, manipulation, and decoration which are defined as non-real participation by Roger Hart⁶. In the UN CRC, two aspects of child participation are explained. Children's participation is not only that children express their views but also that adults must take these views into consideration. Accordingly, only children empowerment is insufficient and at the same time, adults' capacities (listening and taking children's views seriously) should be developed. The adults' paradigm based on that children are incomplete human and that they cannot make good decisions should be changed.

The aim of this study is to examine the relationships between adults and children in the context of childhood construction and child participation in Turkish language textbooks. The questions of the study are at below:

- What kind of childhood is represented to the children in textbooks?
- How are the child-adult relationships portrayed in textbooks?
- How are children's participation rights shown in textbooks?

The reason for analyzing the textbooks in the context of childhood construction and children's participation shares some similarities with the arguments of other textbook studies around the world and in Turkey. Textbooks are figurative and powerful resources to determine the limits of handling which topics in the education system, to reflect the dominant and "normal" discourse of the society, and to shape the understandings of the children.⁷ So, they can produce the dynamic and strong contents to discover the childhood perceptions of adults, the

⁶ Roger A. Hart, *Children's participation: From tokenism to citizenship*

⁷ Micheal Apple, *Official Knowledge*. (London: Routledge, 1993).

current childhood construction, the power relations between the adult and the child and the forms of the children's right to participate in Turkey society. They reflect what the adult wants to teach about childhood and child participation.

Methodology

The content and critical discourse analysis are used in this thesis to analyze texts and visuals in Turkish language textbooks. Eight different Turkish language textbooks were selected from the 1st grade to 8th-grade level, published by the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) and a private publisher. All textbooks belong to the 2018-2019 academic year. This study especially focuses on Turkish languages textbooks because the number of Turkish language lessons in weekly chart is 8-10 hours for primary level and 5-6 hours for secondary level. This lesson is taught in every class of primary and secondary school and its intensity in the curriculum is very high⁸. The Turkish language textbooks include various good examples about the representation of child-adult relations. The visual and textual contents in Turkish languages textbooks have a strategic position to analyze profoundly the relationship between adults and children. The examples related to child participation is not certainly limited to Turkish language textbooks. The textbook of Social Studies and of the lesson of Human rights, Democracy and Citizenship, which are taught as a compulsory lesson in 4th grade, include several texts on child participation. However, instead of these two lessons directly related to the problem of child participation, this research tries to carry out an analysis on the question of how to approach the problem of child participation within a discipline that is indirectly related, as such in Turkish language textbooks. List of analyzed and reported textbooks are shown in Appendix 1.

A mixed methodology was preferred in this study in order to get both qualitative and quantitative data. Because this study includes different analytical purposes and each methodology meet the different needs such as “identifying the obvious content coverage, didactical approaches or uncovering the hidden

⁸ “Weekly Course Charts”, Ministry of National Education, accessed May 10, 2019, <http://ttkb.meb.gov.tr/www/haftalik-ders-cizelgeleri/kategori/7>

curriculum, the underlying assumptions and the connotations which a text may evoke in the student's mind".⁹ Content analysis is used for quantitative data and it is defined by Berelson that "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of the communication."¹⁰ The questions of this methodology are about how many times a term or a person mentioned or how much space is allocated for a topic. During the research, eight Turkish language textbooks were examined how much space is allocated to the relationship between adults and children by content analysis. 120 different child-adult relations in the texts and the visuals were coded in divergent categories. The content analysis will determine the research universe and will provide to have a general idea about the state of childhood construction and children's participation in child-adult relations.

As a qualitative approach, critical discourse analysis is used and studied in detail with the findings of the content analysis. The content analysis does not include the intentions of the authors, meanings, and messages in a text or an image. Besides this, the critical discourse analysis creates special opportunities to ask the questions based on the interpretation; *what does a text express us, what messages does it transmit?*¹¹ While studying on child-adult relations; critical discourse analysis is facilitated to depth analysis of child-adult relations. Because, this kind of analysis is important for *under-standing the nature of social power and dominance*¹²

Outline

The thesis includes three chapters. In the first chapter, there will be a theoretical framework for childhood and child participation. Under the title of "Understanding childhood," the perspectives and different approaches will discuss.

⁹ Falk Pingel, *UNESCO guidebook on textbook research and textbook revision*. (Langenghan: Unesco, 2010), 67.

¹⁰ Bernard Berelson, *Content analysis in communication research*, (Illinois: Free Press, 1952).

¹¹ Falk Pingel, *UNESCO guidebook on textbook research and textbook revision*, 68.

¹² Teun A. Van Dijk, Principles of critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & society*, 4(2) (1993), 249-283.

Firstly, the discourse which childhood is a social construction will be dwelled on and then the historical background of childhood will be summarized, and finally, the modern child paradigm will be presented. The following parts of the first chapter include Sorin's study on different kind of the child images, İnal's criticism on modern childhood paradigm through the adults' different approaches, namely paternalism, romanticization and instrumentalization, and the discourses of new childhood studies. Another subtitle of the first chapter is child participation. In this section, child participation will be taken as a right, the scope of meaningful child participation will be drawn and lastly, the relation between education and child participation will be examined.

The second chapter of the thesis will start with the developments on child rights in Turkey. Subsequently, this chapter will continue to discuss the current circumstances of adults' childhood perceptions and child participation in Turkey context. At the end of the second chapter, the current dominant approaches in Turkey's education system on childhood construction and child participation will be looked over and the related literature will be presented. The study will be completed with the third chapter which includes research findings and analysis. In the conclusion of the thesis; all findings and analysis will be discussed and evaluated and some remarkable key results and suggestions for future works will be listed.

CHAPTER 1: THEORIZING CHILDHOOD AND CHILD PARTICIPATION

1.1 Understanding Childhood

1.1.1 Childhood as a Social Construction

Childhood, commonly defined as an early phase of human life, is not a concept as clear and evident as it seems at first glance. The definition of childhood in the Dictionary of Turkish Language Association is precisely an indication of the deficiency in its conceptualization: “the period of human life between infancy and adolescence”.¹³ Although this definition is able to point out the apparent aspect of the childhood very well, it reduces childhood into an inevitable biological fact of a certain but transitive period of human life and necessarily results in a deterministic and biological approach to childhood. Childhood turns into a specific stage in human life which has in itself a ‘linear’, ‘progressive’ and consequently ‘hierarchical’ order. Given that departing from a concept of childhood as a natural biological period may hinder a sound analysis at the very beginning, in this study we will try to offer a more profound and sophisticated perspective on childhood, which may allow to discover multiple aspects of being a child in the contemporary world. Above all, childhood is a cultural concept which is historically and politically conditioned and hence, is subject to change.¹⁴ Every person undergoes this politically and historically constructed cultural ‘transition’ process either this or that way in her/his life. Therefore, it is necessary to emphasize that childhood is not a matter of isolated and purely biological development but rather a multidimensional (not only biological but also social, psychological, political, and cultural) and interactional process embedded in entire human life.

However, the attempt to understand childhood involves a fundamental paradox: Childhood is mostly experienced by children but defined by adults who are not children anymore. Although it is children who live through childhood, they

¹³ “Güncel Türkçe Sözlüğü”, Türk Dil Kurumu (TDK), accessed May 14, 2019,), www.tdk.gov.tr.

¹⁴ James & James, *Constructing Childhood, Theory, Policy and Social Practice*, 10-28.

have no claim on defining it. They experience and express it in their own way. Since adults generally assume that children now are just like they had been once, they expect them to behave as they did in their own childhood. They tend to ignore all the differences in childhood experience between past and present as engendered by changing conditions and contexts. Hence, it is not possible to suggest that childhood is a universal experience. Childhood experiences change depending on generational, historical, political, cultural and social factors. It is never a universally fixed experience safeguarded against the external factors, but a flexible, dynamic and differential experience. The childhood experience is always shaped by necessary or contingent conditions. Accordingly, it can be said that childhood is a social construction embodied in various realities the status and significance of which are also always controversial not only because different childhood experiences are already different realities in themselves, but also because people's different thoughts and perceptions about childhood have a great impact on how this experience in everyday life is understood and discussed.¹⁵ Different societies in different historical periods have developed various ideas about what a child is or what should be expected of a child. The idea of childhood is conditioned by time, space, and culture. Childhood is never exempt from economic, political and cultural, etc. factors that constantly shape society. In medieval society, as the historian Aries¹⁶ suggests, the concept of childhood had not been established yet, which proves again that childhood is a socially constructed phenomenon. Although Aries' work is usually regarded as a controversial and incomplete work, his claim that childhood has different meanings at different times within different cultures is widely accepted. As the pioneer of historical studies on childhood, Aries' work will be discussed in detail in section 1.1.2.

According to another prevalent approach closely associated with the idea that childhood is a socially constructed cultural phenomenon rather than a biologically compulsory process, childhood is a journey to adulthood.¹⁷ In this

¹⁵ Allison James, A., & Adrian L. James, *Key concepts in childhood studies*. (Sage, 2012),15-16.

¹⁶ Philip Ariès, *Centuries of childhood: A social history of family life* (1965).

¹⁷ Sultana Ali Norozi & Moen, Torill, Childhood as a social construction. *Journal of Educational and Social Research*, 6(2) (2016), 75.

approach structured around an idea of finalism, childhood has a goal to realize, which is to become an adult. Childhood is here regarded as a transitional period. Childhood refers to a state of imperfection in the human developmental process whereas adulthood is considered as a state of perfection. Hence any attempt to understand childhood in itself has to focus on adult-child relations. Given that children are usually accepted as non-adults; it is reasonable to consider the meaning of childhood with respect to children's relationship with adults who tend to define them. Here the question becomes who describes childhood or who decides who is a child. It is obvious that both the history and the present conception of childhood have been created by adults, which has certainly created both possibilities and limitations for children.

Once childhood is assumed to be a social construction, suggesting a rigorous definition of it becomes harder than ever. In his critical analysis of the existing definitions, Franklin¹⁸ underlines five key points:

- “Childhood is not a single universal experience of any fixed period. It is a historically changing cultural construction.
- The age separation line between adult and child is not only arbitrary but also inconsistent.
- Children are defined as negatively non-adults.
- The term child is more related to power than to chronology.
- Childhood is a fairly new invention.”

1.1.2 The History of Childhood and Modern Childhood

The meaning of childhood has changed in the course of history, and it will keep changing, as a social construction dependent on cultural structures. The studies on the history of childhood do not date back to very old times. Its appearance in European-centered thought as a field of study in itself is very much related to its historical development. Aries' well-known book *Centuries of Childhood* is

¹⁸ Bob Franklin, (Ed.), *The rights of children*, (Basil Blackwell, 1986)

accepted as the first work in this field. In this book, Aries studies medieval art, painting, and literature in terms of childhood and child-adult relations. He argues that “childhood, as we know today, did not exist,” and the sources from medieval times (like medieval paintings) suggest that children were considered like miniature adults.¹⁹ Aries’ argument was inevitably subjected to criticism. His arguments seemed overstated since art and literature of a certain period by themselves could not authorize us to conclude that there is no childhood.²⁰ Although Aries has been criticized not only for his research method but also for the conclusions he arrived at, his work which presented childhood as a social construction has been acclaimed for opening up new and creative ways of thinking in childhood literature in particular, and in social sciences in general.

Renaissance and Reform movements are two major historical turning points in the conceptualization of childhood. In the 15th and 16th centuries, the considerable spread of the printing press, the transition from oral/verbal education offered in churches to public literacy and schooling were some of the major social consequences of Renaissance and the Reform movements. These developments served to divide cultural life into two spheres in terms of age and the distinction between children and adults made its first appearance in the history of civilization.²¹ It is still this distinction which underlies the modern understanding of childhood. Since children are seen as the founders of the future, and as the progressive power of society, the strong belief is that they should be governed for the organization the modern society. However, identification of childhood with a cultural and biological stage of human life is nothing but the end result of a hierarchical way of thinking. If this way of thinking is carried to its logical extreme, then the middle class and bourgeois boys will be assumed to be the first children to be separated from adulthood as they are also the first children sent to school.

¹⁹ Ariès, *Centuries of childhood: A social history of family life*

²⁰ İnal, *Çocuk ve demokrasi*, 80-82.

²¹ Postman, *The disappearance of childhood*, 286-293.

In the Enlightenment era, John Locke²² and Jean Jacques Rousseau²³, two major thinkers of the time preoccupied with the problem of how to sustain a society, proposed two different approaches to childhood and children's education. Locke and Rousseau both argued against the church's rhetoric of "sinful child", which is grounded on the belief that humanity is sinful since their birth because of the original sin of Adam and Eve, and hence they should be baptized. However, the church accepted only boys as a child.

John Locke, in his book *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*,²⁴ furthers his idea of *tabula rasa* by illustrating the child as a blank sheet as well. The mind of the child is an efficient blank space, which is ready to receive ideas and experiences. For this reason, education and discipline are considered essential to the shaping of the blank mind in accordance with the needs of society. In which way a child is to be perceived is very much related to the way he/she will be shaped by education to be offered by his or her adult; that is, the knowing subject. In other words, the responsibility of shaping children is directly related to the viewpoints and needs of adults. The father as the 'eldest' adult in the family is actually the projection of the church. In the end, the child is to be raised by the power (church, state, etc.) in the society with the mediation of the father.

Conversely, Rousseau, in his book *Emile*²⁵ where he focuses on the problem of child-rearing, argues against the idea of adults shaping children. He suggests that children are closer to nature than adults, and adults tend to damage this natural side of children and destroy their creativity. The goal should not be to tame and to educate the children, but to protect their original selfdom and to support their inherently natural existence. For Rousseau, it is the state as "the common good" who bears the responsibility for achieving this goal.

All these changes in the conception of childhood have left their marks on social and cultural life, contributing to modification of the adults' attitudes within middle-class families, especially towards boys. Privileged middle-class children

²² John Locke, *Some thoughts concerning education*, (A. and J. Churchill, 1712).

²³ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile* (Vol. 2). (A. Belin, 1817).

²⁴ Locke, *Some thoughts concerning education*.

²⁵ Rousseau, *Emile*.

were sent to school. However, children of proletarian families still had to go to work. These children were treated as proletarian adults rather than as children as their physical labor became increasingly more valuable for modernity and the industrial commonwealth.

During the Industrial Revolution, the transition from farming to industrialization brought with itself new ideas on childhood. The forced migration from rural to urban areas started with industrialization. Adults and children in migrant families were employed in different sectors of production. Except for middle-class children, these child workers/exploited children were not considered to be a group that should be treated differently from adults, hence they could never benefit from the available schooling opportunities. In short, they were not defined as children.²⁶ The intense exploitation of children during the Industrial Revolution is taken as the starting point of the children's rights movement. The most obvious changes that took place were the institutionalization of caring services for children, the regulations about children's work life, standardization of schooling, and the protection against child neglect, exploitation, and abuse in the family. The pioneers of this movement were certain non-governmental organizations and philanthropists. It is only afterward that the idea that the state is also responsible for child welfare became widely accepted. The modern conception of childhood made its first appearance at the beginning of the 19th century. This modern conception is closely connected to dissemination of schooling from the work, the nuclearization of the family, the dramatic decrease in infant death rates, the decrease in parental control over children because of schooling, and the reinforcement of the separation between adulthood and childhood. All these developments served to bring the children's rights on the agenda. Correspondingly, after World War I, the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child was adopted in 1924.²⁷ The declaration was the first international document on the children's rights. After World War II, the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child, an updated and advanced version of the

²⁶ İnal, *Çocuk ve demokrasi*, 83-90.

²⁷ "Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924, *adopted* Sept. 26, 1924", League of Nations O.J. Spec. Supp. 21, at 43 (1924). accessed May 14, 2019.

<http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/instree/childrights.html>

Geneva Declaration, was adopted in 1959. In an attempt to go beyond the purely protective approach adopted in the Geneva Declaration, this second declaration treats children not “as precious things to be recovered in case of danger” but as “the right holder citizens whose families and states have responsibility for protecting them.”²⁸ Lastly, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child,²⁹ in which the protective and the libertarian approaches are integrated, was adopted in 1989. The last updated version of this convention is the one most widely adopted by the contemporary states.³⁰

The decisive moment in the construction of “childhood” as a distinct social experience is obviously the modernism, which has also set the ground for the development of children's rights. Although the contribution of modernism to increasing perceptibility of children cannot be denied, adoption of childhood as a special social category is not sufficient to recognize children as subjects with rights.

Kemal İnal³¹ argues that there are three basic assumptions underlying the modern paradigm of childhood:

- “Children are different from adults; they belong to a specific biological category. Because this biological phase has different special needs.
- Children are prepared for adulthood. So adulthood is a final point, a goal for the children.
- The responsibility for rearing children belongs to adults.”

The 20th and the 21st centuries³² are distinguished with their opposite approaches to childhood: respectively, the century of children, and the end of

²⁸ Declaration of the Rights of the Child, G.A. res. 1386 (XIV), 14 U.N. GAOR Supp. (No. 16) at 19, U.N. Doc. A/4354 (1959). Accessed May 14, 2019 <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/instreet/k1drc.htm>

²⁹ Convention on the Rights of the Child. Accessed May 14, 2019. <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CRC.aspx>

³⁰ Although the UN CRC is historically very critical for the development of children's rights, it also has inadequacies to ensure that children are treated as a individual and a right holder. Today's, many researchers working in the field of childhood studies criticize this position of the UN CRC.

³¹ İnal, *Çocuk ve demokrasi*, 68-96.

³² The modern childhood paradigm is a conception of childhood that is produced under the influence of the UN CRC. Interdisciplinary perspectives of new childhood studies in the 20th and 21st centuries create a break in the definition of modern childhood and this leads to the emergence of new perspectives about childhood. Contemporary understanding of childhood will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

childhood. New regulations targeted at increasing child protection, new studies on childrearing, the decrease in the rate of infant deaths, increasing interest in children's social-emotional development, the rise of new educational methodologies, etc. are recent developments that all contribute to the improvement of children's lives. However, this does not prevent Neil Postman³³ from maintaining that childhood, as we know, is disappearing; that the distinction between adulthood and childhood is narrowing. In order to justify his claim, Postman points to the fact that the difference between child and adult becomes socially and culturally indistinguishable because of the increasing participation of children into the proliferating media. Children can easily and directly access the "adult world" via television and the internet. Among others, there are especially three factors that reinforce change in the conception of childhood, and in child-adult relations. Firstly, new communication technologies situate children into the same cultural space as adults.³⁴ Secondly, children are treated as consumers like adults: They wear the same jeans, the same clothes, and the same accessories. And the last factor is closely related to the changes in the school life of children. Today children start attending school at ages 3-4 and continue their studies almost till they're 18-21 years old. The extension of the length of schooling results in an increase in children's dependence on their parents and contributes to the perception of children by parents as a matter of investment.³⁵ All three factors combine to produce the same result: "The child is being valued not for her childlike qualities, but as a mini-adult or future adult."³⁶

Last but not least, the historical background of childhood has always been written by adults. As the voices of 'others' such as black people or women, children's voices are also absent from historical researches. Not surprisingly, the history of children takes part in 'his' story; that is, the history of European, white and male adult, which is certainly not due to children's particular way of existence,

³³ Neil Postman, *The disappearance of childhood* (2nd ed.). (New York: Vintage Books, 1994)

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Helen Seaford, "Children and childhood: perceptions and realities" *The political quarterly*, 72(4) (2001), 454-465.

³⁶ ibid

but to their constant disempowerment just like women, blacks or other marginalized groups.

1.1.3 Different Perspectives on Understanding Childhood

In the previous section on the historical background of childhood, three prevalent images of the child were introduced: the innocent child, the evil child, and the miniature adult. However Sorin³⁷ indicates that “these images alone do not cover the varying ways that children and childhood are constructed by adult society,” and adds seven new constructs: the savior child, the snowballing child, the out-of-control child, the adult-in-training, the child as commodity, the child as victim, and the agentic child. The *innocent child* is depicted as inadequate, vulnerable, needy and dependent on the adult. In the name of protecting them, adults keep children under surveillance and control, usually blocking their rights and acting on their own behalf. *The savior child* is similar to the innocent child, with the only difference that he/she has the capacity to undertake the adult’s responsibility to save others from bad fate. The most distinctive feature of the noble/savior child is that he/she must sacrifice him/herself for the good of others. *The evil child* who is a product of adult-fear serves as an opposite image. The evil or sinful child has evil tendencies, and hence needs adults’ discipline. The adults should impose restrictive rules, and maintain discipline and control over the children. *The snowballing child* enjoys some degree of control in the adult-child relationship. The child is not automatically evil, but he/she can go crazy and overstep his/her bounds while counting on the adult’s help to obtain what he/she wants. Adults usually perceive this kind of children as “spoiled brats” and “dissatisfied.” The adult can still maintain control over “the snowball child” even if he/she draws on the weakness of the adult. *The out-of-control child* renders the adult incapable of preventing him/her from harming him/herself and others. It is an unwanted, excluded image of the child widely propagated in sterilized environments (at schools, on the playground, even in whole society). *The miniature*

³⁷ Reesa Sorin, *Changing images of childhood: Reconceptualising early childhood practice*. (Faculty of Education, University of Melbourne, 2005).

adult represents a child who is no different than an adult. The borders between childhood and adulthood are blurred. This image is most apparently imposed on child workers employed in the industry or those who make appearance in fashion/TV sectors. The image of *adult-in-training* is based on a specific conception of human becoming which presents childhood as a practice for adulthood. Here childhood is not totally ignored as in the image of miniature adult, but it is still considered only as a means to reach the final point (adulthood), which, in turn, reduces childhood into a “pending” situation before becoming an adult. *The child as a commodity* is almost nothing but a decorative object ready to be consumed by the adult audience. *The child as victim* portrays the children exposed to war, terror, and poverty caused by social and political conflicts. This image which is strongly inspired by a feeling of pity represents children as weak and silent subjects and therefore is usually utilized to promote sympathy and charity for them. *The agentic child* is a relatively new image of childhood, which demonstrates children as actively involved in matters of their own lives, and hence radically breaks with the image of innocent and weak children.³⁸

The primary determinants in the construction of childhood are the adult-child relations and the role of the adult. In ten child images offered by Sorin, the child is mostly portrayed as dependent on the perspective of adults. Among them, only the agency child, who has equal power with adults, and the snowballing child, who can have the adults to do what he/she wants, exhibit a certain degree of independence.

Although the rights of the child were first introduced by modernity, they usually conflict with the conception of childhood constructed by modernism and capitalism. İnal refers to five factors that give rise to these conflicts: Paternalism, Romanticization, Instrumentalization, Objectification, and Rationalization.³⁹ In the modern understanding of childhood, childhood and adulthood are first assumed to be two different classes, and then the rights of the childhood-class have been abandoned to adults, that is to say, to the other class. Considered from the

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ İnal, “Kapitalizm, Modernizmve Çocuk Hakları”, *Çocuk ve demokrasi*, 269-288..

perspective of class theory in general, this can pose a serious danger and threat in terms of maintenance of the rights of the child. In fact, *Paternalism* can be taken as another portrayal of this dangerous and threatening situation. Franklin (1986)⁴⁰ defines paternalism as follows: “*in an attempt to raise or secure the interests of an individual, even if he/she does not see any benefit in the intervention, even if they think it is harmful, it is to interfere with the freedom of choice and/or action of that individual.*” The adults are tempted to justify their paternalist approach by claiming that all they do is to try to protect children from dangers that might arise because of their incapability, that the children will admit that they were right to interfere when in the future they understand the truth in their decisions, that the children are dependent on them since they are incapable of caring themselves.⁴¹ However, none of these claims is strong enough to disprove the fact that paternalist relationship is always one-dimensional, vertical, top to bottom, and extremely protective.⁴²

Instrumentalization can be best defined as degrading children into research objects in the name of adult values. In research projects, childhood is usually defined with reference to adult goals, tendencies and thoughts rather than from children’s perspective. *Objectification* is the inability to consider the child as a right-holder individual or agency. Adult-oriented approaches are generally aimed at rendering children more efficient for, and more adaptive to the market. As one of the sources of the image of “innocent children” and “savior child”, *Romanticisation* contributes to the deployment of an idealized and exalted view of children.⁴³

All the images of children are strongly related to adult positions and the relations between them in daily life. They are continuously constructed and reconstructed on the basis of the beliefs about childhood.⁴⁴ Accordingly, Alderson categorizes three child-adult pairs: *the providing adult and the needy child; the protective adult and the victim child; mutual respect between the participating child*

⁴⁰ Franklin, *The rights of children*.

⁴¹ *ibid*

⁴² İnal, “Kapitalizm, Modernizm ve Çocuk Hakları”, 273-276.

⁴³ *İbid*, 276-288.

⁴⁴ Allison James & Alan Prout, *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood*. (Routledge:1997).

and adult.⁴⁵ These pairs correspond to three different kinds of responsibility in the maintenance of children's rights: to respect, to protect and to provide, or to fulfill. In order to understand childhood, Mayall⁴⁶ offers to consider child-adult relationships from the perspective of feminist theory and practice. She argues that the concept of "generation", which allows recognizing the active role of children in formation of a particular social order, should be employed as a key concept in childhood studies. In the child-adult relations, the construction of adulthood and of childhood constitutes two different social groups. The settled performativities of these two groups stemming from the power relations in daily life can produce age-based discriminative practices and even transform them into a culture. Flasher firstly introduces *adulthood* as an explicative concept for the age-based discrimination against the children in his work, titled as *Adulthood*⁴⁷. This concept becomes gradually a significant concept for the academicians, the experts, the researchers and the activists within the scope of child rights movement and childhood sociology.⁴⁸ Bell defines this term: "adulthood refers to behaviors and attitudes based on the assumption that adults are better than young people, and entitled to act upon young people without their agreement."⁴⁹ Another definition is done by LeFrançois as "adulthood is understood as the oppression experienced by children and young people at the hands of adults and adult-produced/adult-tailored systems"⁵⁰ In child-adult relations embedded in adult-produced systems, the children are mostly taken as a homogeneous group and the uniqueness of the child and different childhood experiences are disregarded. In this sense, there is a need for new theoretical perspectives which criticize adulthood and handle the children with their similarities and differences.

⁴⁵ Priscilla Alderson & John Mary, *Young Children's Rights : Exploring Beliefs, Principles and Practice*, (London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2008).

⁴⁶ Berry Mayall, *Towards a sociology for childhood: thinking from children's lives*, (Open University Press, 2002)

⁴⁷ Jack Flasher, "Adulthood", *Adolescence* 13.51 (1978): 517.

⁴⁸ Brenda A. LeFrançois, Adulthood. *Encyclopedia of critical psychology*, (2014), 47-49.

⁴⁹ John Bell, Understanding adulthood. *A key to understanding youth-adult relationship*, (1995).

⁵⁰ LeFrançois, Adulthood, 47-49.

Apart from the analysis of child-adult relations, the studies on childhood must also focus on the ways the terms “child”, “children”, and “childhood” are used. All these terms can be used as a substitute for each other in daily speech. These terms are also freely used to describe people who are considered not mature enough since they do not display the behavior prescribed by the cultural codes, or who physically looks small and pretty. James & James discuss in detail that these terms represent quite different concepts and reveal different analytical problems: “...in our view, “childhood” is the structural site that is occupied by “children”, as a collectivity. And it is within this collective and institutional space of “childhood” as a member of the category “children”, that any individual “child” comes to exercise his or her unique agency.”⁵¹ Qvertrup⁵² underlines that childhood refers to a structural social group composed of children sharing many common characteristics. Childhood is an experience that always manifests both common and different features.⁵³ Kehily⁵⁴ notes that different disciplines tend to introduce different approaches into the field depending on the concept they prefer to employ. For instance, sociology and cultural studies usually focus on the term of childhood whereas psychology and educational sciences refer to child or children as key concepts. Or psychologists focus on the individual child whereas sociologists treat children as a social group. Given that each discipline contributes to the field with its own specific approach, it is necessary that we deploy different perspectives in order to arrive at a better understanding of childhood. In addition to the studies on childhood and children conducted from the perspective of various disciplines or theories such as lifespan theory, psychology, sociology, anthropology, feminist theory, and Marxist theory and law, as Woodhead⁵⁵ observes, future childhood

⁵¹ James, & James, *Constructing Childhood, Theory, Policy and Social Practice*, 14

⁵² Jens Qvortrup, “Childhood Matters: An Introduction”, *Childhood Matters: Social Theory, practice and politics*, (1994).

⁵³ James, & James, *Constructing Childhood, Theory, Policy and Social Practice*.

⁵⁴ Mary Jane Kehily, “Understanding childhood: an introduction to some key themes and issues,” *An Introduction to Childhood Studies*, (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2004).

⁵⁵ Martin Woodhead, “Childhood studies: Past, present and future” , *An Introduction to Childhood Studies*, (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2004), 17-34.

studies will certainly serve to advance critical and interdisciplinary research on children and childhood, which may in turn trigger applied researches, policy analysis and development of professional practice focused on children's rights and well-being. He also confirms that current childhood studies have three main focuses: childhood, children, and lastly the relationship between childhood and adulthood.

What all these studies suggest in common is that the existing conception of childhood needs to be reconstructed. Alison James, Adrian James, and Alan Prout's work can be seen as part of the attempt to construct a new paradigm for childhood studies. James and Prout define the basic premises of their paradigm as follows:⁵⁶

- "Childhood, as a social construction and as distinct from biological immaturity, is not a natural or universal character of human beings. But it emerges as a particular structural and cultural constituent of the societies.
- Childhood is a variable of social analysis.
- Children's social and cultural relations should be examined for their own right, far from the opinions and concerns of adults.
- Children are active in the construction and determination of their own social lives, their environment. Children are not just passive subjects in social structures.
- The useful methodology for the study on childhood is especially ethnography because it provides that the children can raise directly their voice and participate in the process of production of sociological data instead of being a passive object of data analysis by experimental or survey styles of research.
- The announcement of a new paradigm of childhood sociology requires involvement in the process of reconstruction of childhood in society."

⁵⁶ James & Prout, A. *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood*, 3-5.

It seems that the ongoing studies intended to contribute to the conceptualization of childhood adopt the same premises. This new paradigm also acts as a catalyzer for the promotion of the children's right to actively participate and to have a say in their own lives, which would also enable them to become active subjects in construction of childhood and to be recognized as social agents.

1.2 Child Participation

1.2.1 Child Participation as a Right

The concept of child participation has arisen concomitantly with the recognition that the rights of the child should be taken separately from human rights, and opened up a new area of research in the historical development of the rights of the child. The priority of the first standards determined for the maintenance of the rights of the child was to protect the child.⁵⁷ Children's right to participate; that is, to have a say on the matters affecting their own lives, has been acknowledged in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). Included in a human rights declaration for the first time, the rights of the child have been universally recognized at least on paper.⁵⁸ The history of the development of the concept of children's rights is characterized by the equality-difference dilemma as in feminist theory. This dilemma, closely associated with the way child-adult relations are dealt with in childhood studies, can be formulated as follows: Given that they are different from adults, should children have specific rights, or should they have equal rights in conformity with the principle of equality? In the literature on children's rights, there are especially two schools of thought distinguished by their perspective on this dilemma: paternalism/protective and libertarian. These two schools differ in terms of their image of childhood, and their approach to the capability of the child, rights of the child, and equality-difference dilemma. The child is portrayed as an incompetent human in becoming by the

⁵⁷ Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924, *adopted* Sept. 26, 1924, League of Nations O.J. Spec. Supp. 21, at 43 (1924). Accessed May 14, 2019.

<http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/instate/childrights.html>

⁵⁸ Convention on the Rights of the Child. Accessed May 14, 2019.

<https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CRC.aspx>

paternalist/protective perspective whereas the libertarian approach adopts a competent image of a child. The paternalist/protective approach argues for a definition of special and different rights for children with a focus on their protection whereas libertarian approach emphasizes the child's right to actively participate, and their equal rights with adults.⁵⁹ In any case, the debate on the rights of the child should not be confined to the alternatives of the definition of equal rights with adults or granting special rights to the child. Although the concept of "human rights" provides a general framework for the definition of any rights, the need has arisen to treat children rights separately according to children's own specific needs. However, this does not mean that children do not have human rights. The historical evolution of the rights of the child may suggest that there is such a conflict between the rights to participate and to be protected that when participation increases, protection decreases. The perception of such conflict leads to outbalancing of protection concerns against participation. In contrast, UNCRC, both in its wording and spirit, consider participation and protection as two irreplaceable principles, which should support each other, meaning that when one of them increases, the other would increase as well. The conditions for both protection and participation must be maintained first by the adult responsible for child care, secondly, by the State with its all relevant institutions, and lastly by the child who must be provided the necessary space and mechanisms for it.

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child is the fundamental document that defines and guarantees the rights of the child and determines who is responsible for the realization of these rights. In UNCRC, the most widely signed agreement by the states, the participation is defined in article 12:⁶⁰

1. States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting

⁵⁹ Karl Hanson, "Schools of Thought in Children Rights" in *Children's Rights from Below: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, edited by M. Liebel. (Springer, 2012), 73-75.

⁶⁰ Convention on the Rights of the Child. Accessed May 14, 2019.
<https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CRC.aspx>

the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.

2. For this purpose, the child shall, in particular, be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law.

The particular goal of the article 12 is to remove the barriers that adults may build before the children's rights to participate. This is why we cannot find this article in other human rights agreements which include other relevant articles of the convention. Offering not only a clear definition of the right to participate but also the terms according to which it will be implemented, this article underlines the juridical and social status of the child as a subject of his/her rights. The child has the right to express her/his opinions about all matters regarding him/herself. However, it is acknowledged the level of participation of the child might vary in relation to the child him/herself and to the context he/she finds him/herself in. The convention does not pose any age limit for participation. And it refers to the State as the main actor responsible for the care to be offered to the child in order to encourage him/her to express him/herself and to build his/her opinions in any context, including juridical and administrative proceedings.

The child's right to participate is one of the four essential principles of UNCRC which must be taken into consideration in the realization of all the rights defined by UNCRC. In other words, unless participation of the child actualizes, the realization of the other rights of the child cannot be maintained. Although all UNCRC articles have been defined in terms of the principle of participation, the 'children's rights to participate' is specifically defined in the article 12 of CRC and further elaborated in the articles 13-17 in relation to freedom of expression, of thought, of religion and conscience, of association and the rights of the protection of his/her private life, and the right of access to information.⁶¹In the Lundy model

⁶¹ *ibid.*

developed for the implementation of article 12 of UNCRC, the right to participate is promoted by five complementary articles: the articles of non-discrimination (Article 2), of best interest of the child (Article 3), of parental guidance (Article 5), of freedom of expression (Article 13) and of protection from all forms of violence (Article 19).⁶²

The right of the child to participate is indispensable not only for the individual development of the child but also for empowerment of the democratic society. This is why participation is defined in the introduction of the Revised European Charter on the Participation of Young People in Local and Regional Life as follows:

“Participation in the democratic life of any community is about more than voting or standing for election, although these are important elements. Participation and active citizenship are about having the right, the means, space, the opportunity and the support when needed to participate in and influence decisions and engaging in actions and activities to create a better society”.⁶³

This definition which assumes a direct relationship between citizenship and participation underlines individual and social responsibility. One of the misperceptions that surround the concept of child participation is that children are essentially irresponsible actors who do what they want. This misperception, detaching participation from responsibility breaks off children’s connection to citizenship and hence turns the relationship between the child and the State authority responsible for his/her rights’ protection and improvement into a hierarchical relationship. It is important to expand the scope of the rights to the participation of children who are non-voting citizens beyond voting and to create for them other ways of enjoying their civil rights.

⁶² Lundy, “Voice’is not enough: conceptualising Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child”.

⁶³ Council of Europe, Revised European charter on the participation of young people in local and regional life, (2003).

1.2.2 Meaningful Child Participation

Participation is not only a right among others but more importantly a precondition to be sustained to ensure the effectiveness of other rights by the services designed according to the needs. Since children are experts in their lives, in any initiative to promote children's rights, it is necessary to learn the children's needs from themselves. And effective child participation is the only way that children can express their needs.

Effective child participation can be maintained only through a radical change in adults' beliefs about children's capacity to think and to act.⁶⁴ The adults may constitute an obstacle to children's participation by assuming that children cannot be subjects of their lives, which may be in turn utilized by adults as a justification for their desire to maintain their power and to consolidate their own cultural habits and behavior. This is why they tend to define children as becoming and 'not yet completed.' This allows them to argue that they always think the best for children. Much of the deficiency in the maintenance of child participation derives from the lack of clarity in the definition of child participation, and the inability to discern that most of the practices assumed to be embodiments of the right to participate are not actually participation. The problem is usually that children are called to express themselves even if only for once, but their opinions are never taken into consideration.

Roger Hart offers an eight-rung ladder to be able to identify the levels of child participation more accurately. The first three steps of this ladder refer to levels of manipulation, of decoration, and of tokenism. In contradiction with their pretension of contributing to child participation (*göstermelik katılım*), they are indicators of lack of effective child participation. These three levels together refer to the cases in which the child is not well informed, he/she does not express him/her own opinion but presents the adult's opinion like her/his own opinion, or his/her voice is not heard and he/she is objectified.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ UNICEF, *The state of the world's children 2003*. Accessed April 22, 2019
<https://www.unicef.org/sowc/archive/ENGLISH/The%20State%20of%20the%20World%27s%20Children%202003.pdf>

⁶⁵ Hart, *Children's participation: From tokenism to citizenship*.

The Lundy model presented below offers a quite comprehensive perspective on effective child participation through an analysis of how the article 12 of UNCRC can be practiced.⁶⁶

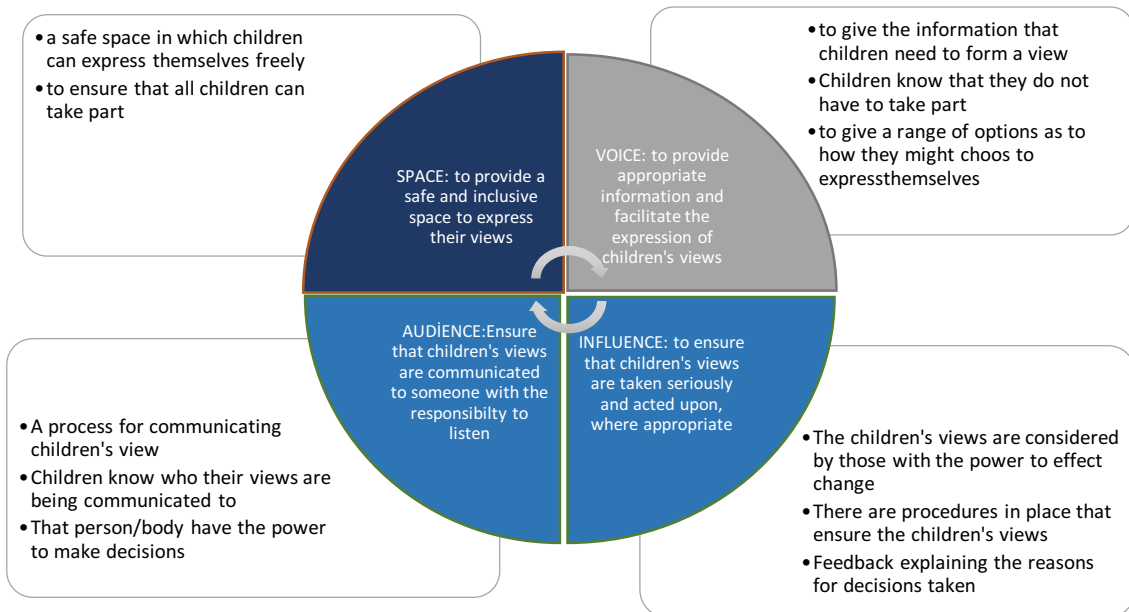


Figure 1: Conceptualising Article 12⁶⁷

Below certain important points about the Lundy model are mentioned briefly:

- Adults should ask children about which subjects concern them, instead of making predictions themselves.
- It is important to ask whether children want to be involved and how they want to be involved in the process. The child has the right not to participate.
- All children need an area where they can express different views and where the child should make sure that he or she is not exposed to scolding and disdain when expressing his/her view.
- Adults are responsible to facilitate to express children's views.

⁶⁶ Lundy, National Strategy on Children and Young People's Participation in Decision-Making 2015-2020 (Ireland Department of Children and Youth Affairs, 2005), 22.

⁶⁷ *ibid*

- The adult who listens to the child or needs to produce an effect must listen to the child's opinion with regard to her/his age and maturity, and this certainly cannot be interpreted as giving less importance to his/her view. Children's right to express depends not on their capacity to express a mature view, but on their ability to develop a view which is mature or not and each child has this ability. For this issue, the adult's responsibility is guidance and orientation.
- Adults need to adapt themselves with patience and creativity to children's benefits, understanding stages, and ways of communication.
- Adults have the responsibility of listening to the child, not of hearing; adults' listening skills should be strengthened.
- It should be specified and clarified the institution or the person who has the responsibility to listen to the child and to guarantee the opportunities of this communication between the child and the institution or the person. Besides, what will happen after listening should be clarified.
- The views of children need to be able to produce an effect so then the adult who listens to the child has the capacity to make a decision.

In child participation, taking their view seriously seems directly linked to the maturity and the age of the child. However, the fact that the decision-maker is still an adult leads to a conflict, which can be resolved by internalization of the concept of developing capacity by adults. Childhood is a continuous process of development, which must be promoted by children's rights. Drawing on children's rights to promote development requires to trust in children's capacity, to respect their abilities, and to transfer the responsibilities that children can take to them while keeping them away from decisions and experiences for which they cannot take responsibility. The actualization of children's rights and development of child participation both depend on the promotion of the rights to participate and to be protected by means of and for the sake of the child's "developing capacity." In this dynamic process, State authorities, as also required by UNCRC, should strengthen and support both the institutions and the personnel in order to render children's

participation more effective. This is not only a necessity but also a liability for them.⁶⁸

The principles that should guide the maintenance of effective child participation are listed and explained in the General comment No. 12 prepared by the UN Committee on the rights of the child.⁶⁹

- Child participation must be transparent and informative. Children must be provided with full and age-appropriate information about the status and the process of participation in terms of its purpose, scope, and potential impacts, etc. And this informing must continue throughout the process.
- Participation should be voluntary for children. Children should never be coerced to express or not to express their own views, and they should be informed that they can discontinue their participation at any stage.
- The participation requires to be respectful to the existence of the child as an individual. The child must be able to exist with all his/her differences in the process of participation.
- The participation should be relevant to children's lives, knowledge, and skills. Thus, it can protect the children against their self-alienation and support their empowerment.
- The participation should be inclusive and comprehensive. It should include the children, with regards to the content and the method, in the process in spite of their differences. Accordingly, the opportunities that provide socially, economically and physically, etc. disadvantaged children's participation should be developed and special arrangements should be made if necessary.
- In any case, the opportunities for children's participation should be supported by child-friendly environments and methods – even if their structures can differ depending upon participating children.

⁶⁸ Gerison Lansdown., *The evolving capacities of the child* (Papers innins05/18, Innocenti Insights, 2005).

⁶⁹ UN CRC General Comment No. 12, The right of the child to be heard (2009) Accessed May 13, 2019. <https://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/crc/docs/AdvanceVersions/CRC-C-GC-12.pdf>

- For the realization of all this, the process of the participants should be absolutely supported by training. Child participation is a new process that should be learned and developed for everyone. Therefore, the subjects should be prepared for the participation process by effective training including both children and adults.
- The environment of participation should be safe for the children in all conditions and sensitive to risk because expressions of views may involve risks. Responsible adults should take the proper steps to prevent the risks and should inform the children about where they can get support when they need it.
- The last principle of participation is that the process is conducted in an accountable way for children. Being accountable for the children simply means giving feedback to children about each stage of participation. The most negligible principle in the implementation of child participation is that children receive a reply from the adults about their views, expressions, and explanations or their decisions on their own lives.

It is possible to maintain effective child participation at different levels with regard to the above-mentioned principles. ***Consultative participation*** is initiated and managed by adults. Although adults play a major role at this level of participation, they consult with the children as subjects and experts of their own lives in order to make correct and effective decisions by taking children's views and needs into account. The consultation process is planned in a way to enable children to develop and express their views. The fact that the authority to make the final decision is the adults does not mean that children's views are not taken seriously. The adults that initiate the consultation process are responsible for making decisions and generating outputs from the point of view of children. Furthermore, children are informed about all these decisions or outputs at the end of the process. ***Collaborative participation*** is also initiated by adults but this time in cooperation with children who are well-informed about, and hence enabled to influence the results obtained from the entire process. Subsequently, this cooperation is expected

to allow children to play an increasingly active role in the management of the whole process. Collaborative participation is distinguished with children's involvement in the whole process from the early design phase to the last phase. The process must be planned with appropriate means and methods to allow the adult and the child to have an equal contribution and responsibility. In *child-led participation*, it is children themselves who not only initiate, lead, and manage the process but also take decisions and determine when and how to receive the support of adults according to their needs. The initiatives and associations established and managed by children themselves are the best examples of child-led participation in which the role of adults is limited to facilitating child-led activities. The adult facilitators are expected to provide support to children in line with the purpose and the agenda set by children themselves and with regard to their needs and characteristics. Adults do not have the power to influence decisions; they can only give advice if children request.⁷⁰

Child participation processes are important especially because they enable children to notice their power to influence and to make choices about the matters affecting their lives, and hence to feel equivalent with adults, to become more self-confident, and to develop their communication, discussion, negotiation, and decision-making skills. Effective participation support children in their effort to become modern subjects who are aware of others' and their own rights and can request to protect others' and their own rights, who express their own needs, achieve their autonomy, and become gradually independent from adults.

1.2.3 Child Participation and Education

“Küçükken eğitim hakkı resmen hayat hakkıdır.”

“When we are very young, the right to education is definitely the right to live.”⁷¹

A 5th-grade student

⁷⁰ Claire O’Kane, “Children’s Participation in the Analysis, Planning and Design of Programmes” *Save the Children* (2013).

⁷¹ A. Zeynep Kılıç, *Katılımcı Okul Uygulamaları: Eğitimciler için El Kitabı*, (İstanbul:İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2015).

The above quotation explains very well the indispensable and critical role of education in children's lives. In this section, we will focus on the child's right to have a say on such a critical matter for him/her, the relation between education and participation, and lastly, development of an educational perspective based on child participation. For this purpose, different approaches to the relation between education and society will be discussed first, and then the relation between the rights to education and to participation will be analyzed, which will enable to reveal the obstacles to the child participation in the education system.

Among the two major theories dealing with the relation of education with society, the functionalist theory is based on the idea education has a crucial function in keeping society alive.⁷² Durkheim explains education as an action taken by adult generations on the ones (the children) who are not already prepared for social life.⁷³ Children are expected to adapt themselves to the society and to prepare themselves for a profession they are going to hold in the future for the sake of economic development of the society. When education is considered only as a matter of formation of children for the future of society, child participation becomes a useless concern. Far from being acknowledged as a right-owner capable of making his/her own choice, and whose views should be taken into consideration, the child is instrumentalized as an object to be shaped for the sake of stability of society. Unlike this functionalist approach, the conflict theory focuses not on the order but on conflicts and inequalities within a society. It argues that education serves to sustain these inequalities and conflicts. Among the two major strands of the conflict theory, the theory of reproduction claims that education is a mechanism for the reproduction of hegemonic groups' values in society.⁷⁴ Although this theory is powerful in rendering social inequalities visible, it may also result in curbing the active role of education and strengthening the power of the hegemon in society. In contrast, the critical theory affirms the active role of education, and argues that

⁷² Lynn Michelle Mulkey, *Sociology of education: Theoretical and empirical investigations*. (Harcourt School, 1993).

⁷³ Jeanne H. Ballantine, Floyd M. Hammack, & Jenny Stuber, *The sociology of education: A systematic analysis*. (Routledge, 2017).

⁷⁴ Mulkey, *Sociology of education: Theoretical and empirical investigations*.

oppressed people, i.e., non-hegemonic people can become aware of their own reality through education. Thanks to its contribution to consciousness-raising and hence to the empowerment of the oppressed, education can trigger struggles against the inequalities in society.⁷⁵ The critical educational theorists such as Freire, Gramsci, Groux, and Apple offer a more emancipatory perspective on education, which encourages to take initiative to liberate education from the conventional structures in place.

However it must be admitted that today education is still under the domination of the conventional structure, which is very much related to the way the position of children in society is defined. The attempts to adapt children to society, and prepare them for their professions in the future, or attributing them only passive roles in the elimination of social inequalities, etc. are all consequences of a certain conception of education. Children are not assumed as individual right-owners and decision-makers but as passive, adaptable and obedient subjects eager to learn. However this should not lead to underestimate the significance of the ongoing transition induced by the functionalist approach from the mission-oriented, conventional and conservative education system to more democratic and participatory education. This transition is confirmed above all by the increase in studies on the democratization of education systems and the emergence of democratic schools in the 20th century. Hecht and Greenberg are two major thinkers who have contributed to the discussions on the democratization of education with their studies on democratic school. Hecht's critical analysis of the malfunctions in the current system of education, and Greenberg's study on the learning approaches adopted in traditional schools are both distinguished with their emphasis on child participation in the decision-making process, their ability to freely express their views and choices about education. Hecht argues that current systems of education targeted at preparing children for a profession in order to maintain the social order miss the fact that they risk destroying the creative and entrepreneurial dispositions of children, which are what today's business world needs most. He also criticizes

⁷⁵ Paulo Freire, "*Ezilenlerin Pedagojisi. [Pedagogy of the oppressed.]*" 6. Basım. Çev. Hattatoğlu ve Özbek. (Ankara: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2008).

the current systems for not keeping pace with the recent developments in the field of children's rights.⁷⁶ In the same vein, Greenberg offers a critical analysis of the four assumptions that learning strategies adopted in traditional schools are based on. These assumptions are related to the following questions which need to be decided by adults: the child learns what, when, how, from whom.⁷⁷ He argues that deficiencies in theory and practice of learning are caused by inadequate child participation.

The article 29 of UNCRC, explaining the motives behind the right to education, states that the education shall be structured in a way to develop child's capacity and respect to human rights, his/her own culture, and other cultures and natural environment, and to give the responsibility to the child in a free society. Through education, children not only produce knowledge but also empower themselves to create a change in their environment through active participation by claiming their own rights, protecting democratic values and human rights, and projecting these values on their daily lives.⁷⁸ The participation of the child into the decisions on his/her life can be promoted if only he/she is empowered through education and his/her potentials or capacities are developed. The increase in the child's capacities will naturally encourage him/her to use his/her rights to participate more extensively. The General comments from No.1 to N. 12⁷⁹ drafted by the UN Committee on the rights of the child strongly insists that all stakeholders, particularly children, should participate into the every stage of education process throughout the country, and that participation should not be seen as a technical detail but as a crucial part of the learning process.

In order to increase child participation in education, the obstacles and the limits to it must also be paid special attention since awareness of the challenges can facilitate benefiting from existing opportunities. One of the most important

⁷⁶ Burçak G. Morhayim, "Bir alternatif okul türü olan demokratik okula dair öğrenci yatkınlığının değerlendirilmesi" (Master's Thesis, Marmara University, 2008),15-16.

⁷⁷ Daniel Greenberg, . *A New look at Schools*. (The Sudbury Valley School, 1992).

⁷⁸ Kenan Çayır, "Ders kitaplarında insan hakları ve demokrasi bilinci" *Ders kitaplarında insan hakları: tarama sonuçları*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2003), 90-105.

⁷⁹ CRC General Comment No. 12. (2009). The right of the child to be heard. Accessed 13 May, 2019. <https://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/crc/docs/AdvanceVersions/CRC-C-GC-12.pdf>

obstacles to child participation in education or other fields is adults' perceptions and concerns. Lundy distinguishes three kinds of concerns on the part of adults:⁸⁰

- To distrust children's potentials and to find their capacity insufficient
- Giving control to the children disturb the balance of the school by the discretion of the adults
- Putting child participation into practice needs much more time and effort (rather, it is better to spend this time and effort for the education)

The educational environment provides an area for children to show and develop their capacities. However the benefits to be drawn from the educational environment are dependent on how much adults trust in the capacities of children. Unfortunately, teachers, parents, and school administrators usually focus on children's inabilities rather than their abilities. Moreover, most of the adults prefer to retain their power for the sake of protection of children, which necessarily increases children's dependency on adults, and reinforces the image of the child as an incomplete being for today. This paternalistic approach renders children disadvantageous in taking actions, such as expressing themselves or involving in decision-making. Therefore effective child participation requires a radical change in adults' approaches and habits. Lastly, time and effort are necessary to put child participation into practice. The previous experiments reveal that one-time studies in which children's views are only asked but not put into practice or those which are not designed as a process do not produce the expected results. Effective child participation can only be maintained by offering children an accessible and qualified education, encouraging them to express their needs, listening to their views, taking them into consideration, and integrating their choices into decisions taken. Besides, it should not be forgotten that a more democratic and participative educational environment also increases academic achievement.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Lundy, "Voice'is not enough: conceptualising Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child".

⁸¹ Elisabeth Bäckman & Bernard Trafford, *Democratic governance and educational institutions*, (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2006), 11-12.

In schools, there are basically two resources that help children learn: teachers and textbooks. Certainly, they also learn from their relations with friends, school administrators, and teachers. As mentioned above, effective child participation cannot be maintained as long as the adults' perceptions and approaches do not change. The same also goes for the contents of textbooks as the other major source of information for children. Textbooks can lend pedagogical support to child participation by introducing children with different experiences of participation and motivating them to employ their rights to participate. Given that children learn from textbooks not only information but also ethical values and practices, they must be written and structured according to children's needs and opinions.

Finally, the relevance of education and child participation to each other, both of which must be respected as the essential right of the child, is also confirmed by different disciplines and approaches. It is not accepted that children do not get involved in the decision making processes in the education system. To put it in Z. Kılıç's words: "whether we take the schools quantitatively (who is the majority), or qualitatively (who is the right owner?), or functionally (who is benefiting in which manner?), they primarily belong to children. That being so if we speak of a democratic society, it is unacceptable generally that the children generally do not have a say at any point of the daily function of the school and of the system of education." ⁸²

⁸² Kılıç, *Katılımcı Okul Uygulamaları: Eğitimciler için El Kitabı*, 29-30.

CHAPTER 2: CHILDHOOD AND CHILD PARTICIPATION IN TURKEY

2.1 Child Rights in Turkey

This section will discuss the current situation and the developments regarding the rights of the children in Turkey. Three topics are examined within the context of children's rights movement: the legislation, the public policies and NGO's works about the rights of the child in Turkey.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN CRC) went into effect in 1995 in Turkey. Turkey signed the convention subject to make reservations to the articles 17, 29 and 30 by justifying the articles of the treaty of Lausanne. Besides, Turkey approved the UN CRC Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography in 2002, and the UN CRC Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict in 2004. In addition to these, the Law on the Approval of the Optional Protocol on the Application Procedure of the Convention on the Rights of the Child was promulgated in April 2017. According to article 90 of the constitution of the Republic of Turkey, international treaties are superior to all domestic legal norms. This article is crucial in terms of children's rights to make the UN CRC part of the domestic law in Turkey. As for the national legislation about children's rights, the constitution of the Republic of Turkey began to involve the definition of the rights of the child by the amendment in 2010. The rights of the child in the constitution are defined only in relation to the care, the relationship with the parents and the protection against child abuse in the article 41 of the law on the protection of the family. And the child is not seen as the right owner individual and there is not any expression about child participation in the content of this law. Comprehensive legislation about the articles in UN CRC can be considered as the Law on Juvenile Protection in 2005 and the relevant provisions of the updated Turkish Civil Code in 2002. The issues like parental responsibilities, name giving to children, adoption are involved in the Turkish Civil Code. Moreover, article 1 of the Law on Juvenile Protection, which was prepared and promulgated in the period when the number of the works about children's right increase, express the purpose

of this law. According to this article, the purpose of the law is to protect the rights of the children who are in need of protection or pushed to crime. Besides this purpose of the law, this article should be actually considered as a regulation including all children's rights in Turkey because it made a wide definition of the child that is in need of the protection.

When the article that is added recently and the above-mentioned legislation is taken into account, it is possible to say that the national legislation consisting of general regulations concerning children's rights mainly concentrates on the protection, rather the participation. When considering Article 4 of UN CRC and the articles that remark the charges of the States, it is expected that Turkey revises its own legislation with respect to the articles of UN CRC. In this context, 'the Comparative Analysis of legislative regulations in Turkey with the UN CRC Convention on the rights of the child' is a remarkable work that reveals the situation of legislative regulation in Turkey according to UN CRC.⁸³ This study, which includes many proposals, points out the legal gaps and modifications considering the fundamental principles of the Convention, such as the priority and best interest of the child and child participation, etc.

According to the approach based on the children's rights, the children are the right holder individuals and the States are duty-bearers. The States have the duty of respecting the rights of the child, of protecting their rights against the violence of rights by third parties, of providing the services and the opportunities that help them to use their own rights.⁸⁴ The States that have signed the UN CRC regularly send their national reports to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child. The national reports are prepared by the foundation that has the responsibility of coordination for the observation and the implementation of UN CRC. In Turkey, General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection Agency (SSCPA) was charged as a coordinator foundation when it signed UN CRC for the first time. In

⁸³ Birleşmiş Milletlerin Çocuk Haklarına Dair Sözleşmesi ile Türk Hukuk Mevzuatı Karşılaştırmalı Analizi Yönetici Özeti. Accessed May 13, 2019. <http://www.unicef.org.tr/files/bilgimerkezi/doc/yoneticiozeti.pdf>

⁸⁴ Kathryn, O'Neill, (Ed.) *Getting it Right for Children: A Practitioners' Guide to Child Rights Programming*. (Save the Children UK, 2007): 9-10.

2011, Directorate General of Child Services affiliated with the Ministry of Family and Social Policies (MFSP) took over the responsibility of this coordination from SSCPA. Lastly, in 2018, this responsibility was taken by Directorate General of Child Services of the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services, which was established by uniting MFSP with Ministry of Labour and Social Services. Turkey conveyed the first report in 1999 and the second and third reports are given to the Committee in 2011 by joining the latter two reports. The last report, which was prepared in the coordination of Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services (MoFLSS) with the participation of relevant public institutions, was presented to the Committee on March 29, 2019, by joining the fourth and fifth national reports including the years between 2012-2017.

The people and the institutions relevant to this field of study, has expressed the need for integrated child-policy for the real implementation of their rights in Turkey for a long time.⁸⁵ For a holistic child-policy, all public institutions concerning children's rights should work coordinately and NGOs and the children should be integrated into the process. Several initiations among the public institutions have launched for a holistic child-policy, the coordination in the process and for the observation of children's rights. In 2008, Children's Rights Monitoring Committee was established under the Health, Family, Labor and Social Services Committee as a part of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (GNAT) but the information about current activities of this committee is inaccessible. Since 2016 until today, the different political parties have conveyed the bills of law to the Health, Family, Labor and Social Services Committee as a relevant institution in order to establish a special committee. The suggested names of the committee are differentiated such as the committee of 'Children's Rights Monitoring', of 'the Protection of Children's Rights' and of 'Children's Rights'. Lastly, the bill to establish a 'Ministry of Children's Right' have been conveyed. Unfortunately, the given bills of law are pending in the concerning committee.⁸⁶ It is remarkable that

⁸⁵ Gündem Çocuk Derneği, *Türkiye Çocuk Politikası: Çalıştay Sonuçları*. (Gündem Çocuk Derneği: 2009)

⁸⁶ Sağlık, Aile, Çalışma ve Sosyal Hizmetler Komitesi, TBMM. Accessed May 13, 2019. https://komisyon.tbmm.gov.tr/tasari_teklif.php

the will to establish a separate committee, of the deputies coming from different political parties, is left hanging in GNAT.

In Turkey, the most important national document related to the implementation of the rights of the child is the ‘The National Strategy and Action Plan on the Rights of the Child, which was completed in 2012 and promulgated to be applied between the years 2013-2017. This plan is based on romantic protectionism by focusing on the innocence of the child while it also contains the action plans directly related to the child participation like ‘developing the culture of the child and the respect for the child’, providing the participation of all children to the decision process on children’s rights.⁸⁷ One of the most important results of this work is to create a Child Rights Monitoring and Evaluation Committee under the presidency of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies with the representation of 12 Ministries.⁸⁸ Although the given strategy plan expired in 2017, it couldn’t have been found any report about the evaluation of this strategy and action plan and the works of Child Rights Monitoring and Evaluation Committee prepared by concerning Ministry. Another important development in Children’s rights in Turkey is the Ombudsman Institution established in 2012. The Ombudsman Institution, differently from the other institution, has adopted new legislative regulations to facilitate the children’s project application about the rights of the child.⁸⁹ The Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) play a significant role in the development of children’s right in Turkey and the world. Çiftçi separates the NGOs in Turkey into eight groups⁹⁰:

- The Association of Protection and Conservation of Orphanage
- The Associations and the Foundation for the groups-at-risk
- Institutions of Educational Support

⁸⁷ Ulusal Çocuk Hakları Strateji Belgesi ve Eylem Planı (2013-2017). (2013, 10 December). Resmi Gazete (No: 28851). Accessed May 13, 2019 <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2013/12/20131214-15.htm>

⁸⁸ Çocuk Hakları İzleme ve Değerlendirme Kurulu. (2012, 4 April). Resmi Gazete (No: 28254). Accessed May 13, 2019 <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2012/04/20120404-7.htm>

⁸⁹ Kamu Denetçiliği Kurumu Çocuk Sayfası. Accessed May 13, 2019 <https://cocuk.ombudsman.gov.tr/anasayfa/index1>

⁹⁰ Cengiz Çiftçi, “Çocuk Hakları: Çocuklar Adına, Çocuklar İçin İn Gökmen”, Ö (Ed.) *Türkiye’de Hak Temelli Sivil Toplum Örgütleri: Sorunlar ve Çözüm Arayışları* (Ankara: 2011), 209-266.

- NGOs for the Health
- The organizations to increase and promote the activities of children
- The organizations focusing on Family and Child-oriented studies
- Rights-based organizations
- The Associations established by the children

As it's seen in the above-mentioned classification, all NGOs for the children do not emphasize the rights of the child. Most of them produce aid and service-based works. This part of the chapter will deal with the important studies of NGOs to have an impact on the children's rights-based policies in terms of the movement of children's right and get informed about the association established by the children.

Since the 2000s, an increase has been observed in the children's rights based-studies of NGOs in the context of defending their rights. For example, the Foundation of Child (*Çocuk Vakfı*), which is the oldest foundation related to the rights of the child has been established in 1990. The foundation, which continues to carry on its studies for a long time, organized 1st Turkey Children's Rights Congress that contributed to preparing the above mentioned The National Strategy and Action Plan on the Rights of the Child. The collaboration among the NGOs is effective on the influence the policies on human rights. The NGOs, which are in the field of children's rights in Turkey, created Turkey's first Children's Rights Platform, called 'Children's Rights Commission (*Çocuk Hakları Komisyonu*)' (in 2001, it was restructured in Istanbul and was renamed as 'Children's Rights Coalition (*Çocuk Hakları Koalisyonu*)'), in 1993 with their cooperation.⁹¹ Nowadays, the Partnership Network End Violence Against Children (*Çocuğa Karşı Şiddeti Önleme Ortaklık Ağı*) is the platform that has the highest number of members and continues to carry on the studies in the field of monitoring and evaluation of children's right.⁹² In addition to this, International Children's Center (*Uluslararası Çocuk Merkezi*), which takes the responsibility in the foundation and

⁹¹Nükhet Atalay, "Çocuk Hakları için Biraraya Gelenler". *Bianet*, (2004, May 22), accessed May 13, 2019. <https://bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/34299-cocuk-haklari-icin-biraraya-gelenler>

⁹² For detailed information: <http://www.cocugasiddetionluyoruz.net/>

the operation of the partnership network and of other different platforms, have an effective role in the development of children's rights in Turkey with its impressive works on reporting and translation of publications about children's rights.⁹³ Another important NGO in Turkey is 'Agenda Child Association (*Gündem Çocuk Derneği*)'⁹⁴, which consistently expressed a holistic child-policy in different platforms in order to put the rights of the child into practice. It organized a workshop by which experts and academics in the subject of child-policy come together and published the results of this workshop in 2009.⁹⁵ The studies of the NGO's since the date when Turkey signed the UN CRC until today are not absolutely limited by the above mentioned NGOs, rather they are very diversified. The NGOs for the implementation of children's rights in Turkey did numerous studies and continue to do studies in different fields like activism, monitoring, reporting, producing information and education. Apart from the NGOs in children's rights that are established by the adults, the children older than 15 years can found their own associations and the ones older than 12 years can be a member of these associations in Turkey according to the law of associations. According to the latest report of Turkey that is transmitted to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, the number of associations established by the children is 16.⁹⁶ It is needed in the regulations and the policies that will facilitate the implementation of children's right to meet together and to join groups and organizations.

According to the statistics in 2018, the children constitute 28% of the population in Turkey⁹⁷ and their problems still continue. Even though the legislation, the public policies, and the civil society make progress in children's rights with the above-stated improvements after the signature process of UN CRC, it is difficult to say that they have an effective impact on children's lives. In the

⁹³ For detailed information: <http://www.icc.org.tr/>

⁹⁴ This association is closed down by the Emergency Decree no.677.

⁹⁵ Gündem Çocuk Derneği, *Türkiye Çocuk Politikası: Çalıştay Sonuçları*.

⁹⁶ Combined 4th and 5th Periodic Reports as per Article 44 of the Convention Turkey. 2019, March 29. CRC/C/TUR/4-5 Accessed May 13, 2019

https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolNo=CRC%2fC%2fTUR%2f4-5&Lang=en

⁹⁷ İstatistiklerle Çocuk, 2018. Accessed May 13, 2019.

<http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=30708>

doctoral thesis called ‘A Critical Analysis of the Practices towards Presentation, Dissemination and Follow-up of Children’s Rights in Turkey and a Model Proposal’, Erbay (2011) identified fundamental problems in the field of children studies: (1) the national reports submitted to the Committee cannot be prepared in a participatory manner and on time, (2) GNAT Children’s rights Monitoring Committee remains weak from the point of advocacy and legislation, (3) NGOs do not cooperate and have sufficient financial support and a strong collaboration with the public.⁹⁸ For effective implementation of children rights, firstly the State should take an action within the framework of its duties that are determined in UN CRC, including the children and the civil society in the legislative and political studies, be accountable and transparent in its works on children's rights. Another important need for children's rights movements in Turkey is to find more effective and different ways to make the voice of the children heard in public and civil society and to include them in the decisions.

2.2 Childhood Perception of Adults and Child Participation in Turkish Context

In spite of the developments in the rights of the child in Turkey, the weakest link in these developments is child participation. As mentioned in the previous section, the national legislation with respect to general regulations about children’s rights is prepared based on children protection, rather than on child participation. For this reason, it can be argued generally that the national legislation is not compatible with UN CRC with regards to the right to participate. This situation is recognized not only in legislative regulations but also in all public policies and children’s daily lives. Unfortunately, it cannot be found any research to find out the current situation of child participation in Turkey. In the context of Turkey, as indicated in certain studies about child participation, the issue of meaningful

⁹⁸ Ercüment Erbay, E. “Türkiye’de çocuk haklarını tanıtmaya, yaygınlaştırma ve izlemeye yönelik uygulamaların eleştirel analizi ve bir model önerisi”. (Unpublished phd thesis, Hacettepe University, 2011).

implementation of child participation is on the onset and the adults' the perception of the children firstly should change to develop in this area.

Naciye Betül Süt, who presented a report about child participation in 1st Turkey Children's Rights Congress, summarized the link between child participation and the adults' approach to the children in Turkey⁹⁹:

“Adults, parents think that they know everything very well in every respect, and so they don't ask children as they do when they make decisions about their children. But at the same time they want that we grow up in the best way, make our own decisions, are self-confident individuals. How's that going to happen without asking us anything??

...

If they know how much our self-confidence increases and that we feel ourselves how valuable and when they ask our opinion, the families ask us everything. And when they ask, they shouldn't be mad at the answers we give.

...

They're waiting for us to grow up so we can say our opinions. But maybe when we grow up we'll forget our present opinions or we won't have to say anymore. Therefore, it shouldn't be waited for the age of voting to get children's opinions. When we look at the events 'childishly', it can be noticed very different details. And it should be known that children think better, especially, about the issues related to the children.”

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The most important obstacle for the implementation of children's right to participate in a country is the adults' perception of the children because their forms of perception have an impact on their relationship with the children. The current perception in Turkey is far away from the definition of the right holder individual highlighted in UN CRC. For example, in Erbay's study (2011) the experts from

⁹⁹ Naciye Betül Süt, “Hayata çocuğun penceresinden bakmak”. 1. Türkiye Çocuk Hakları Kongresi Çocuk Bildirileri Kitabı. (İstanbul: Çocuk Vakfı Yayınları, 2011).

NGOs based on the children's rights issued their opinions about the perspectives on the child in Turkey. They stated that the adults affirm to value the children, on the other hand, it appears that they exceedingly make the children powerless. Also, the experts thought that the adults are being a hypocrite about the children, that they don't see the children as a right-holder individual and they perceive the children as valuable by the idea that the children are individuals of the future.

In this context, the studies focusing on breaking down the perspectives of the adults about the children positively make a great contribution to the progress of children's rights. First of all, child participation is right. General Comment 12 of UNCRC makes suggestions on the implementation of child participation at the national, international and regional level; in family and alternative care, medical care, in the education, the play, the rest, the activities of sport and culture, media, the cases of violence, the strategy for the prevention, emergency cases, the process of migration and political asylum, workplaces and lastly in the NGOs. In other words, all responsible people, institutions, and organizations for the implementation of child participation must fulfill their responsibilities about this issue. It is needed legislative regulations, supportive documents and mechanisms to implement meaningful child participation. In spite of the deficiencies in terms of child participation in legal regulations of Turkey and the limited availability of supportive documents about the right to participate, there are certain studies aimed at making children's rights possible.

The mechanisms, which are determined to provide child participation at the national level, are the Provincial Child Committee on the Children's Rights. These are found in every province under the coordination of Directorate General of Child Services of the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services and the Child Council, which is constituted by the election among the children who actively worked two years in this committee. The 1st National Children's Rights Strategy Reports¹⁰⁰ is a significative step for Turkey, which gives place to the

¹⁰⁰ Ulusal Çocuk Hakları Strateji Belgesi ve Eylem Planı (2013-2017). (2013, 10 December). Resmi Gazete (No: 28851). Accessed May 13, 2019 <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2013/12/20131214-15.htm>

implementation of child participation at the national level in its goals between the years 2013-2017. The children demanded to organize National Children's Forums near the dates of the 20th November Children's Right Day at the 1st National Children's Rights Congress organized the dates between 20-21 April 2000. The delegates of children's rights committees from all provinces of Turkey have met up every year since 2000. Every year, in these forums, different headings were taken into consideration; the children organize an action plan or a report; various campaigns are presented and the headings considered by the children are transmitted to the decision-makers. In 19th National Children Forum in 2018, the declaration on "the struggle with child labor" was prepared by the coordinators of Turkey children's rights and was presented to the president of the republic. In the opening speech of this forum, the minister of Family, Labor and Social Services express their thoughts with these words: "the children are the source of love and mercy, the assurance of our future and freedom.", "the children are the investment for the future of our country."¹⁰¹ Starting from this speech of the minister, we can say that the children are officially considered as the future of the country, instrumentalized with the mediation of the time and romanticized by regarding them as a source of mercy. Even if this forum opening with this speech seems like an important opportunity for child participation, it demonstrates the perceptions that are dominant among the adults and arising them in different ways and contexts.

The envisaged mechanism for child participation in education and schools is expressed in 'the Instruction for School Councils', which is produced and put into force in 2004.¹⁰² In Turkey, certain projects about child participation in education are run by the ministry of national education, which is responsible for educational policies from the beginning of the 2000s. The studies in this field begin

¹⁰¹Bakan Selçuk, 19. Ulusal Çocuk Forumu'na Katıldı (2018, November 21) Accessed May 13, 2019. <https://www.ailevecalisma.gov.tr/tr-tr/haberler/bakan-selcuk-19-ulusal-cocuk-forumuna-katildi/>

¹⁰² Nazlier, E. (2019, May 6) . MEB, Türkiye Öğrenci Meclisi Çalışmalarını İptal Etti. *Evrensel*. Accessed May 13, 2019. <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/378875/meb-turkiye-ogrenci-meclisi-calismalarini-iptal-etti>

with the project of Democratic Citizenship Education supported by the Council of Europe in 2001 and they continue with the project of Democracy Education and Schools Councils (MECLIS) in 2004, which is a reference to the regulations related to the mechanism of School Councils; the project of Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (DVIHE)¹⁰³ in 2010; and lastly the project of “Strengthening Democratic Culture in Basic Education”¹⁰⁴ in 2018.

The mechanism by which the children can convey their opinions about the services in the neighborhoods or regions where they live is child councils, which constituted under the city councils in Turkey. The child councils are carried out in the direction of certain instructions and regulation in different district and province municipalities. The regulations and instructions of the municipalities concerning child councils are sharing similarities whereas they have important differences in terms of the perspective and the content. These regulations and instructions mainly insist on the issues about the services for children but they have limited information about the decision process in that the children can participate.¹⁰⁵

The mechanisms like Provincial Child Committee on the children’s rights, School Councils and Child Councils are the structures based on the representation. The mechanisms based on the representation for the implementation of child participation give rise to participate in a limited number of children. And also, for children, it is a heavy responsibility that without other supportive channels the elected children as delegate represent all their peers. For this reason, the possibilities for child participation should be diversified by giving supports on consulting different child-groups with different means and methods and creating a new channel to get their opinion properly.

Another mechanism to facilitate the application of children for reporting the violation of a right that they suffer is Ombudsman Institution that was founded in

¹⁰³ For detailed information: http://www.edchreturkey-eu.coe.int/description_TU.asp? (Accessed May 13, 2019)

¹⁰⁴ For detailed information: <http://tegm.meb.gov.tr/www/temel-egitim-kurumlarinda-demokrasi-kulturunun-guclendirilmesi-projesi/icerik/536> (Accessed May 13, 2019)

¹⁰⁵ Yasemin Çakırer Özservet, Çocuklar için Katılımcı Yerel Yönetimler. In *Çocuk Katılımı* Ed. Erbay, E. (Ankara: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, 2016)

2012. Different from other fields, this institution provides the children with an opportunity to be helpful for their applications with respect to the children's rights. Their applications are received through the websites that are prepared with regard to their ages.¹⁰⁶

In Turkey, it was promulgated a law respecting the ratification of Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the ways of application in 2017. By virtue of this law, children and third parties can make individual applications to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child when all national remedies are exhausted. Third parties and legal entities (NGOs) cannot make an application on behalf of the child without the child's informed consent but they can make an application as long as they can prove to act in the best interest of children. This protocol is quite essential for the ways in which children seek their rights.

Another important area in terms of child participation is the inclusion of children in academic research processes. The developing paradigm in the social sciences has led to a transition from child welfare to child well-being approach in the field of social policy. The child well-being approach contains not only objective life conditions of the child but also children's subjective experiences.¹⁰⁷ It emphasizes that children are the subjects of their child well-being. So, in the research process children are not object, they are subject and including children's perspectives to the research is a necessity. The indicators for child well-being in Turkey have started working since 2012.¹⁰⁸ These studies are important for trying to create indicator sets related to child participation and also to use participatory methods that enable active participation of children in research processes.

Apart from abovementioned mechanisms, the regulations regarding the participation of children in their decisions and their opinions are very restricted in

¹⁰⁶ Kamu Denetçiliği Kurumu Çocuk Sayfası. Accessed May 13, 2019
<https://cocuk.ombudsman.gov.tr/anasayfa/index1>

¹⁰⁷ Başak Akkan, Serra Müderrisoğlu, Pınar Uyan-Semerci & Emre Erdogan, "How do children contextualize their well-being? Methodological insights from a neighborhood based qualitative study in Istanbul", *Child Indicators Research*, 12(2) (2019), 443-460.

¹⁰⁸ Pınar Uyan-Semerci, Serra Müderrisoğlu, Abdullah Karatay, Başak Ekim-Akkan, Zeynep Kılıç, Burcu Oy & Şaylan Uran, *Eşitsiz Bir Toplumda Çocukluk: Çocuğun "İyi Olma Hali" ni Anlamak İstanbul Örneği*. (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012).

the areas such as alternative care, child protection system and health system the regulations. And, in this context, it is obvious to need more regulations to implement meaningful child participation. Finally, good examples of child participation such as access to secure information, children's representation and voice in the media, in which we expect the implementation of meaningful child participation, are not satisfactory.

2.3 Turkey's Education System and a Literature Review

Educational environments should create a space for children to be able to demonstrate and improve their capacity and therefore children need adults who believe in their own capacities. Unfortunately, the perceptions of teachers, parents, and school administrators about the child do not always focus on children's capabilities, but they are more concerned with what they cannot do. For example, in a study conducted with pre-service teachers in 2017, there are differences in participants' perceptions about their own childhood and today's childhood. While the participants define their childhood and active, the answers to the question of who is a child were varied. They describe children as more passive, with some abilities, but not yet developed, who need to be shaped.¹⁰⁹

The most important point for the realization of child participation is the approach which regards the children as an active entity and considers the child as rights holders and individuals. Therefore the current education policies will be reviewed in terms of whether that approach is put forward or not. The Ministry of National Education introduced and published the 2023 Education Vision Report in October 2018. The part of this vision report on the basic education policy starts with the expression: "*The starting point in an educational institution is to help individuals know themselves.*" Then it continues "if learning is simply imposed, the child's natural tendencies will disappear, and the normative behavior patterns of adults will come into play rather than the implicit curriculum of the child." Away

¹⁰⁹ Zeynep Erdiller-Yatmaz, Ersoy Erdemir & Fethiye Erbil, "Çocuk ve Çocukluk: Okulöncesi Öğretmen Adayları Anlatıyor" *Eğitimde Nitel Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 6(3), (2019), 284-312.

from the repressive attitude of the adult, the child, who is the determinant of his / her own learning processes, becomes stronger, makes decisions about his / her own and makes choices. Otherwise, the statements like “He/she views all children as valuable members of the learning community.” emphasize the respect for the child. These statements in the report on the vision of education are in line with the approach required for the rights-based child perspective and the realization of the children’s right to participate. It is necessary to follow whether this approach reflects all processes of education, in other words, the fact that this vision is not on paper. However, the vision report does not directly include any statement about the right of participation of the child.¹¹⁰

In the current education system in Turkey, school/students’ councils, school boards, elective courses, and social activities, school clubs; They can be considered as the possibilities by which the child can be active and in that the child participation can be implemented.¹¹¹ Kılıç and Öztürk¹¹² described different arrangements regarding children’s right to participate in primary schools. These arrangements are the executive committee on guidance and psychological counseling services, the students’ council, the social activities commission, the construction of classroom rules, the formation process of school rules, the formation of homework, weekly schedule, the school bulletin boards, the board of interesting ideas, the preparation of classroom bulletin board, the plan for the free activities courses, formations and the organization of playgrounds, the plan for the ceremonies, the organization process of teaching, decision making process with regards to the issues concerning themselves and environmental protection and sustainable development.¹¹³

In the context of the mechanisms in Turkey that enable child participation in the process of decision making in schools, first of all, it will be discussed about schools-councils, which were created as part of the project of MECLİS by Ministry of National Education in 2004. Apart from school councils, other committees and

¹¹⁰ For detailed information: <http://2023vizyonu.meb.gov.tr/> (Accessed May 13, 2019).

¹¹¹ Işık Tüzün & Yaprak Sarıışık, *Türkiye’de okullarda çocuk katılımı: durum analizi*. (İstanbul : İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2015).

¹¹² Ahmet Kılıç & Ayşe Öztürk, “An analysis of children’s right to participation at primary schools in Turkey: a case study” *Qualitative Research in Education*, 7(3), (2018), 265-303.

¹¹³ *ibid.*

commissions that envisaged the participation of teachers, parents, and students in the management process of schools are defined in the concerning legislation. Its purposes is to enable the participation of teachers and students by means of these commissions and committees, which have a broad area of responsibility and authority from the curriculums to social activities, from the behaviors and attitudes of students to the amelioration of school's conditions.¹¹⁴ However, these commissions and committees including school councils cannot function effectively in most cases and teachers and administrators mostly expressed that they are mostly on the paper. On the other hand, these defined committees and commissions provide an important opportunity for educators who want to increase child participation. The functioning of school councils is written in detail in the instruction on the education of democracy and School Councils. In this instruction, even though the process about how to constitute school councils is treated in great detail, there is very limited information about the subsequent functioning.¹¹⁵ School councils have to be on paper in all schools. By the favor of the impact of the aforementioned projects, the process of creating the school councils actualized in most schools through the elections based on the Instruction. In schools, children's experience to elect their own representatives is quite meaningful and the reflections on the electoral processes are very similar to those of adults. The children enter the election process of the school council without being fully informed about what they will do, their responsibilities and thus they find themselves in a competitive environment, and just focus on the process of propaganda. Generally, it is almost impossible to access any information about the preparation process of the election in schools and what is done with the elected children and what opinions are taken into consideration after the election. The district schools councils are constituted by the presidents of the councils, who are elected in the schools of. The works of Turkey Student Council since 2004 can be accessed from the project department of the Education Board (*Talim Terbiye Kurulu Başkanlığı*) under the Ministry of National

¹¹⁴ Tüzün, & Sarıışık, *Türkiye'de okullarda çocuk katılımı: durum analizi*.

¹¹⁵ Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Demokrasi Eğitimi ve Okul Meclisleri Yönergesi (2004). *Tebliğler Dergisi*. No: 2564. Accessed April 30, 2019. <http://mevzuat.meb.gov.tr/dosyalar/286.pdf>

Education. In April 2019, Ministry of National Education announced that the instruction about establishing school councils is abrogated.¹¹⁶ Although the school councils which are being handled and implemented a problematically in the schools, were significant because of being the single official mechanism for child participation at schools. As yet, there is no enough information about the reason of the decision but the reasons should be explained detailed. To enable child participation in schools, it should not be also considered that the only method is school/student councils. For example, the need-driven work groups that are founded to fulfill the needs determined by the children in a secondary school in Istanbul between the years 2013-2015; these workgroups support children's participation in the solution process about their different problems, develop their relationship with the school administration, increase their sense of belonging to the school and have ~~an~~ a positive impact on the activation of the school council¹¹⁷.

When the legislation is considered, one of the areas in that the children can make choice with their decisions is envisaged as the elective courses. In both middle schools and high schools, the children choose elective courses with their own and their parents' petitions. Between the years 2013-2015, it analyzed school life in the eyes of the children with regards to children's well-being by means of the interviews with 81 children and the surveys with 1991 which were conducted in 25 provinces of Turkey. This analysis points out that children mostly do not have any option to choose their elective courses and encounter with some restriction in this process.¹¹⁸ Apart from elective courses, social activities or extracurricular activities are also important areas for children to make choices for their interests and abilities. In this research, there are findings that club activities, which are considered as

¹¹⁶ Eylem Nazlier, (2019, May 6) . MEB, Türkiye Öğrenci Meclisi Çalışmalarını İptal Etti. *Evrensel*. Accessed May 13, 2019. <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/378875/meb-turkiye-ogrenci-meclisi-calismalarini-iptal-etti>

¹¹⁷ Kılıç, A. Zeynep (2015). Katılımcı Okul Uygulamaları: Eğitimciler için El Kitabı. Demokratik Okullara Doğru Projesi Kitapları – No:4. İstanbul:İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

¹¹⁸ Eğitim Reformu Girişimi ve Türkiye Eğitim Gönüllüleri Vakfı, *Çocuklar Gözünden Okulda Yaşam Araştırma Raporu*, (İstanbul:2016), Accessed May 13, 2019. https://tegv.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/cocuklarin_gozunden_okulda_yasam_arastirma_raporu.pdf

extracurricular activities, are not performed in many schools due to time and space limitations, and that they are usually for the sake of formality.¹¹⁹

There is a strong correlation between the studies on the democratization of education and the realization of child participation in educational environments. The Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education Project (DVIHE),¹²⁰ which was conducted by the Ministry of Education between the years 2010 and 2015, and the Empowerment of the Culture of Democracy in Basic Education¹²¹, which started in 2018 and are still-continuing, are the recent studies in this context. The objectives of these projects include; besides the comprehensive legislation and structural changes, the development of education programs/materials and the increase in the level of participation in schools through teacher training and the dissemination of democratic school culture. However, there is no information on the impact report statement prepared after the completion of the DVIHE project. Rather than the impression of a radical change for a more democratic educational environment, the website of the project, the news and bulletins related to the project give the impressions that it creates changes in some of the schools where it is implemented, that it is an occasion for educators to develop good practices, that it motivates relevant people's efforts by making its own purpose a current issue. For example, in the context of the DVIHE project, a child, who took "Citizenship and Democracy" course given to 8th-grade students at a pilot school, stated the effect of the project with the following words: *"I used to be afraid to complain about someone senior because they are strong and we are powerless. But now I'm not afraid, I can claim my rights."*¹²². Human rights education activities with children empower them to claim their rights and contribute to the child's right to participate. It is necessary to follow up with the effect of the ongoing 'Project of Empowerment of the Culture of Democracy in Basic Education'. Apart from the projects carried

¹¹⁹ ibid

¹²⁰ For detailed information: http://www.edchreturkey-eu.coe.int/description_TU.asp? (Accessed May 13, 2019)

¹²¹ For detailed information: <http://tegm.meb.gov.tr/www/temel-egitim-kurumlarinda-demokrasi-kulturunun-guclendirilmesi-projesi/icerik/536> (Accessed May 13, 2019)

¹²² Umay Aktaş Salman, U. (2011, January 3) Bu Öğrencilerin İtirazı Var! *Radikal*. Accessed May 13, 2019. <http://www.radikal.com.tr/egitim/bu-ogrencilerin-itirazi-var-1034938/>

out by the Ministry, it is observed that children are aware of the non-democratic practices in schools, have an idea about the characteristics and dimensions of a democratic school and demands and suggestions about how a democratic learning environment should be.¹²³ Children's views on the education system and schools should be taken seriously in terms of the child's right to participate so as to initiate change

In schools, there are examples of child participation, which are initiated by teachers or school administrators at the individual level. Schools where children design their classrooms, or the panels of the classrooms by which the children can express their questions and interests, are some of inspirational implementations. It is crucial to state that quite problematic to leave these implementations, which increase child participation, to the adults' initiation and approaches. In both of the master's thesis¹²⁴ of Fethiye Erbil and the study of Kılıç and Öztürk¹²⁵, it was revealed that teachers' image of childhood and approaches to the child in the learning environment were determinant for the level of participation. There is a need for fundamental changes in both the actors involved in the education process and the system itself for a more participatory education system and learning environments.

Kemal İnal, in his study, called "A School in the Frame of Historical and Political Analysis: A Preliminary Draft on a Democratic Public School", emphasizes that the education system should move away from the present state and go into a liberating, collective and creative education process in order to realize a public democratic school. And also he thinks that democracy at school should be taught as a life practice, not as a course.¹²⁶

¹²³ Morhayim, "Bir alternatif okul türü olan demokratik okula dair öğrenci yatkınlığının değerlendirilmesi". Kılıç, *Katılımcı Okul Uygulamaları: Eğitimciler için El Kitabı*.

¹²⁴ Fethiye Erbil, "*Children's Participation in the Preschool Classroom: An Ethnographic Study*" (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2018)

¹²⁵ Kılıç & Öztürk, "An analysis of children's right to participation at primary schools in Turkey: a case study".

¹²⁶ İnal, *Çocuk ve demokrasi*, 399-448

2.3.1 Childhood and Child Participation in Textbooks

The approach to the child is decisive for child participation. It is possible to analyze the approach of the society and the state to the child in the system of education through text, images and all other contents in the textbooks. The textbooks are defined as “official knowledge” by Apple and Touraine states that the textbooks reflect the spirit and the organization of the society.¹²⁷ The studies analyzing textbooks in Turkey mostly insist on the subject of the representation of minorities, national identity, and gender.¹²⁸ Recently, there are several studies on discrimination based on age and disability.¹²⁹ Çayır focuses on the representation of elderly people in his work on age-related discrimination.¹³⁰ Studies on subjects such as discrimination based on children's age, childhood fiction, and child participation are very limited in textbooks. The studies on discrimination based on children's age, childhood fiction, and child participation in textbooks are inadequate.

Three studies on children's participation in textbooks have been made in Turkey. In her study, Ayşe Öztürk analyzes the right of participation not in the textbooks but in the Life Sciences Curricula in 1968, 1998, 2005, 2015. She identified that children express themselves firstly in the curricula of 1998 and pointed out that this date follows the adoption of the UN CRC.¹³¹ Zihni Meray, in his work, carried out a study concerning the level of children's right to participation in social studies textbooks in Turkey and the USA. The children's right of participation in 7 different areas has been examined with reference to General Comment No. 12 of the Committee on the Rights of the Child in the family environment, at the school, at the level of general national policy, in the media, in

¹²⁷ Kenan Çayır, *'Biz' Kimiz? Ders Kitaplarında Kimlik, Yurttaşlık, Haklar*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2014)

¹²⁸ İbid. Gürel Tüzün (ed), *Ders Kitaplarında İnsan Hakları II Tarama Sonuçları*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2009)

¹²⁹ Kenan Çayır & Melike Ergün, “Ders Kitaplarında Engellilik”, accessed May 13, 2019. http://secbir.org/images/haber/2012/07/derskitaplarindaengellilik_rapor.pdf

¹³⁰ Kenan Çayır, “Ders Kitaplarında Yaşlılık Temsili” In (Ed.) Alan Duben, *Yaşlanma ve Yaşlılık*. (İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2018)

¹³¹ Ayşe Öztürk, “Türkiye’de Hayat Bilgisi Dersi Öğretim Programlarında Çocukların Katılım Hakkı: Tarihsel Bir Analiz.” *Adıyaman Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, (2017) (27), 864-890.

environmental protection and sustainable development, in health services and in the judiciary. Within the scope of the analysis, it is mentioned that child participation is not sufficiently included in the families, general policies and the judiciary.¹³² The third study written by Nayır and Kepenekçi is related to analyze the children's right to participation in Turkish language textbooks at primary level. In the textbooks which are examined with the subtitles, namely gathering, and organization of the child in peace and the child's self-expression, it has been found reserve more place to children's right to participation in the 6th, 7th, and 8th-grade Turkish language textbooks but to be given less place to peaceful assembly and organization. A proposal for more informative texts on children's rights is developed in Turkish language textbooks.¹³³

The aforementioned studies do not give attention to the adults' approach and the image of childhood which are important for the realization of the children's right to participation. In addition, it is seen that there is not enough attention to the part of the UN CRC article 12 in which the opinions of the children are taken into consideration and whether the adults consider the opinions of the children. There are two different studies about child characters and their childhood construction. The first study written by Yılmaz¹³⁴ focuses on child images in 171 children's books. Yılmaz argued that the assumption that children's characters in books are the absolute "good" would be in fact interpreted as a product of an approach that does not allow them to construct their own reality and it will force the child to meet the adult's expectation.

The findings in another study on the image of childhood in Turkish language textbooks, called 'Turkish Textbooks and Child Characters', suggest that child characters are mostly idealized with their virtuous aspects and exhibit exemplary

¹³² Zihni Meray, "Türkiye ve ABD'deki İlköğretim Okullarında Çocukların Katılım Haklarına Yer Verilme Düzeyinin Karşılaştırılması" *Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler Eğitimi Dergisi*, 2(2), (2012), 95-119.

¹³³ Funda Nayır & Yasemin Karaman Kepenekçi, Children's Participation Rights in Elementary Schools' Turkish Textbooks. *Elementary Education Online*, 10(1), (2011), 160-168.

¹³⁴ Nilay Yılmaz, *A Critical Look At The Children's Realityin Turkish's Children's Books* (Unpublished phd thesis, Istanbul University, 2012)

behaviors, and the child characters are not given priority to ask questions.¹³⁵ At the same time, he makes a proposal about including the content in which child characters was responsible for their positive and negative actions in the Turkish language textbooks.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ There are no studies directly related to the representation of children as rights holders in the textbooks in Turkey. A direct study on this issue was conducted in Colombia..In the study, in which the Colombian English as a Foreign Language (EFL) textbooks were analyzed with critical discourse analysis, it was found that there was a tendency towards representing children as passive and non-rights holders instead of being shown as the rights holder individuals and subjects.

¹³⁶ Oğuzhan Yılmaz, “Turkish Textbooks and Child Characters” *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies* , No: 69 (2018), 49-64.

CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS ON CHILDHOOD CONSTRUCTION AND CHILD PARTICIPATION IN TURKISH LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS

This part will focus on child-adult relations in Turkish language textbooks by using the methods of content analysis and of critical discourse analysis and later there will be a discussion about the construction of child and the representation of child participation in these relations. A mixed methodology will be preferred in this study in order to get both qualitative and quantitative data. 120 contents about child-adult relations and their interactions are found in the examined Turkish language textbooks.

3.1. Content Analysis of Child – Adult Relations in Turkish Language Textbooks

The content analysis concentrates on the interpretation of textual and visual materials regarding child and adult relations. The texts and visuals are limited with the materials only about children and adults. Textbooks are prepared by adults, thus the texts and visual to be used are decided by adults. Therefore, the process of this selection is more about the child perception of adults. In current childhood studies, three main views are highlighted: Childhood is socially constructed, children are social agents who are affected by society while affecting society and childhood is about generational relationships.¹³⁷ In the context of the construction of childhood and child participation, the focus is primarily on the relationship between the child and the adult, which is essential to identify generational power relations, to reveal the adults' perception and to analyze children agency. In total, 120 different child-adult relationships were coded, analyzed and reported in Turkish textbooks from 1st to 8th grade. Book information and page numbers of the coded examples in the context analysis are given as a list in Appendix 2. Although the distribution of the coded child-adult relationships between the grade levels seems

¹³⁷ Leena Alanen & Berry Mayall (Eds.), *Conceptualizing child-adult relations*. (Psychology Press, 2001).

to be balanced according to Table 1, the least number of content including child-adult relationships was found in the 1st-grade (only 9 contents) and 8th –grade (only 6 contents) Turkish textbooks. 37,5% of the coded relationships are only in written texts, 35 % are only in the visuals, 27,5 % are in the sections where the text and the visual are analyzed together. If the same child-adult relations are represented in both text and visual; they were analyzed together in order to avoid repetition.

In the visuals and written texts, the following topics have been coded:

- who is the adult,
- the gender of the adult,
- the gender of the child,
- the action of the adult / his/her relationship with the child
- the child's action and his/her relationship with the adult

	Only Written Text	Only Visual	Text and Its Visual (s)	Total	Frequency
1st grade	1	6	2	9	7,5
2nd grade	1	7	9	17	15,0
3rd grade	7	11	6	23	19,2
4th grade	11	2	1	14	11,7
5th grade	4	7	5	16	13,3
6th grade	6	5	3	14	11,7
7th grade	14	4	2	20	16,7
8th grade	1	0	5	6	5,0
Total	45	42	33	120	100,0
Frequency	37,5	35	27,5	100,0	

Table 1: The distribution of the contents concerning child-adult relationship according to grade level, and content type

This approach was inspired by the bioecological model of Urie Bronfenbrenner to identify who the adult is and the relationship with the child. According to this model, the child's development is reviewed corresponding with the system of relationships around the child. In this model, the child is at the center

and the actors that the child has contacted have been placed on the rings according to their relationships. These rings are identified as micro, meso, exo, macro and chrono systems that affect the development of the child. Family or the school of the child are located in the first ring, microsystem, since their closest and direct contact with the child. Other actors who do not have direct contact with the child but who influence the development of the child take place in more distant rings.¹³⁸ The categorization is presented below:

- Family, caregivers, relatives
- Neighborhoods, the community
- Teachers, Masters, Experts
- Health Service Providers, Doctors
- Decision Makers, authorities
- Others and Undefined

More than half of the adults in the coded relationships are the child's family, caregivers or relatives, from the first ring (micro level), as can be seen in Table 2. In Turkish language textbooks, the communication between the child's family and the caregivers and their coexistence takes more part compared to other categories. Textbooks can be considered as an apparatus that reflects the existing society and vision of future. Thus, in the light of the findings of the content analysis performed, mainly a picture of the state of the child's status and child participation rights at the family relations can be drawn for Turkish language textbooks.

¹³⁸ Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Ecological models of human development", *Readings on the development of children*, 2(1) (1994): 37-43.

	Who is the Adult?						Total
	Family, caregiver s, relatives	Neighborhoods, the community	Teachers, Masters, Experts	Health Service Providers	Decision makers, authorities	Other	
1 st grade	7		3			0	10
2 nd grade	12		1	2	2	5	22
3 rd grade	10	2	5		4	4	23
4 th grade	8	1	4			1	14
5 th grade	7	2	4		1	3	17
6 th grade	9		2			3	14
7 th grade	11		4	2	2	1	20
8 th grade	3	1	1		1		6
Total	66	6	24	4	10	17	128
Frequency	53%	5%	19%	3%	8%	13%	100%

Table 2: The distribution of adult characters in coded adult-child relationships

As mentioned in the above paragraph, the most remarkable point in Table 2 is that adults with whom the children interact be limited with family members. Except family members and relatives, the most part of adults comprises the teachers in education lives of children. According to Bronfenbrenner’s bioecological model, in the development of the child, the more distant rings that are indirectly related to the child are as effective as the rings that are directly related to the child and all these rings are related to each other. In the text titled “Ana İşsiz Kalınca [When Mother Becomes Unemployed]” between pages 20-23 of the 7th-grade Turkish textbook when the child asks his mother about his mother's dismissal, she encounters with her father’s warnings about that this issue does not concern the children. The boss of the child’s mother is not directly linked to the child, but in fact, has a very effective role in the child's life. However, when we look at the relationship between children and adults in the textbooks, there are few examples about children’s relations with the actors in *meso*, *exo*, *macro* and *chrono* systems that have a big impact on the development of children. The fact that children have a say about the issues that have an impact on their lives is limited only to their immediate surroundings. This can be read as a result of the approaches which think

the child only within the family and leave the active responsibility for the implementation of children's rights to the parents. UN CRC defines the responsibility of parents and the protection of children's rights but confers the responsibility to control for whether the parents fulfill their responsibilities to the State. The problem with children's right to participate is here that there is an insufficient relationship between the children and the different actors who are out of the family and responsible for the implementation of children's rights. The child's interaction with the adults in the house or in more private space points out that the child is less visible in the public life and has less contact point with the ones who provide public services. Besides, this point underlines the fact that the child claims her/his right to participate and express her/himself outside of her/his family in a limited manner and also depends on a family member in order to exercise his/her right.

For some examples, children's sexes are obligated to be assigned according to their clothes in order to code their gender in the images and according to their names in the texts. In this way of coding, it is needed to write down that sex assignment had been done considering existing social gender patterns in order to show sexist instances. It is found that more than half (52%) of the coded visuals and written texts are included only in boys. The ratio of being girls and boys together is 21 %. Girls are not visible in the representation of child-adult relations (only 19%). As for the adult, his/her gender was coded through various addresses such as "mother", "father". 46.7% of the adults in coded written texts and visuals are represented as men and 25% women. Women and men are involved together in 13.3% of the coded content. 15% were reported as undefined. In the study of textbooks in respect to gender, it is taken critically that only women are visible about child care and communication with children whereas, a particular emphasis was placed on the involvement of fathers in domestic labor.¹³⁹ In spite of the fact

¹³⁹ Ders Kitaplarında Toplumsal Cinsiyet: İyileşmeler, Problemler, Öneriler (2012), İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Sosyoloji ve Eğitim Çalışmaları Merkezi. Accessed May 13, 2019.

<http://secbir.org/images/haber/2012/03/dekig-toplumsal-cinsiyet-raporu.pdf>

Canan Aratemur Çimen. & Sezen Bayhan, "Değişen Ders Kitaplarında Toplumsal Cinsiyet" *Kültür ve Siyasette Feminist Yaklaşımlar* (Sayı 36, 2018). Accessed May 13, 2019.

that the above percentages may seem impressive in the context of male adults and children relationship, it would be more meaningful to examine the roles and acts of the male adult in the child-adult relationship. Whether he is doing housework or child caring is more important in the context of gender roles and domestic labor.

In the scope of content analysis, child's and adult's approaches in the relationship between child and adult were also coded. Their approaches were coded in order to find out who is the power in child-adult relationships and how this reflects on the relationship between them. Firstly, it was analyzed the adults' approaches as it is seen the table below. When we look at the relationships that the adult has with the child, five different groups have emerged. These;

- Teaching, being a role model
- Communicating and parenting respectfully
- Taking children's views into consideration,
- Violating or obstruction of the right to participate
- Other

Adult Approach	# of content	Frequency
Teaching, being a role model	38	32%
Communicating and parenting respectfully	39	33%
Taking children's views consideration	17	14%
Violating or obstructing of the right to participate	15	13%
Other	11	9%
Total	120	100%

Table 3: The distribution of adult approach in coded child-adult relationships

The grouping of the adult approaches in Table 3 is based on the roles and behaviors of adults in their communication with children. All adults, who have some roles such as teaching children something new, giving advice, correcting the child by doing something wrong, and being a role-model for the child, take a part

https://www.academia.edu/38013262/De%C4%9Fi%C5%9Fen_Ders_Kitaplar%C4%B1nda_Toplumsal_Cinsiyet.pdf

in the group of being a role model. The examples in which adults express their love and affection to the child, meet the needs of the child and have a safe relationship with the child are in the group of “communicating and parenting respectfully”. The examples, in which adults listen to child's views and also continue to communicate with the child by taking into account the child's views, are included in the “taking children’s views consideration” group. And lastly, the examples, in which the adults violate the child’s right to participate with negative attitudes against the child such as getting anger, shouting, silencing, and threatening, come under the group of “violating or obstructing of the right to participate”.

The percentage of adult characters represented as an instructive role model is 32% and it is quite high for this distribution. The adults in this approach can be defined as good-natured people who try to lead the child to the right path and who never make mistakes. It is mostly encountered with this kind of adults’ representation in analyzed examples. This representation draws a picture, with an essentialist attitude, in that all adults are virtuous and wise, and thus produces a generalization about the adults. However, the adults are the agents of many injustices experienced by children in real life. In other words, there is not a direct connection between being an adult and being virtuous and wise. The figuration of adulthood as perfection is a reflection of the understanding that adulthood is a goal and childhood is a process to reach this goal.

It was seen that adult characters have a respectful communication and parenthood with children in one-third of coded child-adult relations. This category comprises the adults who fulfill the child’s needs, take care of the child by kissing and hugging, listen to the child and protect her/him from the negative situations. Although the existence of respectful and caring adults is important for children’s right to participate, unfortunately, it is not found any evidence about that the adults in this category take children’s opinions seriously. For this reason, The status of communicating and parenting respectfully and of taking children’s views consideration are seen as two different groups. The fulfillment of the child's needs, the intimacy with the child such as hugging, caressing are very significant to create a safe space, which is required for the child's participation. However, creating

a safe place for children is only one of the conditions for child participation. Thus, it is not a perfect indication of meaningful child participation. In addition to this, in most cases, when the child meets the expectations of the adult, for example, behaves positively and being successful, the interest of adults is observed. In a sense, adults' respects and cares are not independent of that the children fulfill their expectation.

There are two types of approach in the relationships in which the adult behaves participatory: collaboration with the child and taking the views of the child into account. The examples in that the adults listen to the children's opinions and take them seriously, support them by believing their capacities and receive support from them, etc. take part in this group. Moreover, these examples, particularly the process based on the cooperation with the child, is located on the higher steps of Roger Hart's participation ladder¹⁴⁰. While not all ones of the coded as collaboration are not in the higher steps, it is positive to see the examples. Taking the child's views seriously is important in terms of having an audience and creating/influencing a change in Lundy's model.¹⁴¹ The contents of which the adults significantly realize the children's right to participate meaningfully constitute only 14% of all the coded contents. When comparing the approaches that make up 14% of this part with other approaches, this part is important for that the child can be a subject and a right-holder individual but at the same time it is not possible to say that all this part is evidence for meaningful child participation.

Finally, the group where adults violate or obstruct the child's right to participate will be mentioned. This group includes the examples in that the child is underestimated, is not believed in his/her potential, not listened to him/her, rather the adults get angry, punish the child or they can be overprotective. This group, which covers 13% of the coded contents, can be summarized as adulthood which does not see the child as an active subject. There is no significant difference in the categorization of the adult's approach to the child according to grade level.

¹⁴⁰ Hart, *Children's participation: From tokenism to citizenship*.

¹⁴¹ Lundy, "Voice' is not enough: conceptualising Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child".

When looking at the distribution of adult's approaches in Table 3, the number of examples, in that the adult sees the child as his/her equivalent and has a more participative approach with regards to power relations between adult and child, is quite limited. If the adults in Table 3 are interpreted with protective and emancipatory approaches, which reveal as two different schools of thought, it can be said that the adults are mainly in the perspective of protective approach. When this percentage is considered the sum of the adults who have respectful communication and parenthood and the ones who are instructive role models, it is 65%.

Children's approaches in the relations with the adults, who have a protective approach, is a determinant in power relations between child and adult. The state of the child's approach towards the adult is coded as either active/agency or inactive/passive. The examples including listening to the adult(s), admiration to the adult(s), obedience, meeting adult expectations, finding the right way with the help of the adults are coded as inactive/passive. In the examples of being an active / agent, the child asks questions, demands, expresses his/her thoughts, take the initiative, makes choices and takes action. However, children are more commonly seen as passive (53%) in Turkish language textbooks as can be seen in Table 4.

Child Approach	# of content	Frequency	girl	boy	girl + boy	undefined
Inactive - passive	64	53%	14	31	15	4
Active - agent	52	43%	9	29	8	6
Other	4	3%	0	2	2	0

Table 4: The distribution of child approach in coded child-adult relationships according to gender

The number of examples where adults try to make children's voices heard and take them into consideration is much less than the number of examples where children are an active/agent. Namely, children would like to enjoy their participation rights but the adult does not fulfill their responsibilities and being non-participatory. This finding shows that despite the non-participatory approach of

adults; children are trying to be autonomous and independent of adults. That children are active or passive is also analyzed with regard to their genders. For example, the number of the active boy is 29 whereas only 8 girls were coded as active. Most of girls in coded examples are represented in the passive approach in that the children mostly listen to adults' advice and admire them. To sum up, while most girls are passive, the situations in which the boys are active and passive are almost equal. Children are more likely to encounter with boys character as active and agent in Turkish language textbooks.

According to Alderson's categorization of child-adult pairs, there are three different describing: *the providing adult and the needy child; the protective adult and the victim child; mutual respect between the participating child and adult.*¹⁴² When the table 3 and 4 are examined with this categorization, it is possible to say that it is mainly encountered with providing adult-needy child. The number of examples in which both adult and child participate with mutual respect is quite limited. Besides, it was identified only 33 examples when being crossed the examples in that the children were coded as active and at the same time the adults have a participative and respectful approach. And this comprises only 27,5% of all coded contents.

Content analysis is only done to facilitate seeing the general context and it is limited to the 120 discussed/coded examples and to the subjectivity of the coding conducted by the researcher. Although it is a limited analysis, it gives important results about adult and child relations in Turkish language textbooks. Findings such as being a few examples that adults take into consideration the views of children and portraying the adult as a wise character who constantly exhibit the right behavior prepares the basis for discussing how society constructs the child, how adults perceive children and the current state of children's participation. In this research, the main goal is making critical discourse analysis to discuss in-depth how children are socially constructed and how children's participation rights are included.

¹⁴² Alderson & Mary, *Young Children's Rights : Exploring Beliefs, Principles and Practice*.

3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

In this section, the representations of child-adult relations in the content analysis will be analyzed critically to reveal how childhood is constructed and how the participation rights of the child are evaluated. The critical discourse analysis will be performed under two main titles: reflections of modern childhood paradigm (romantic approach, instrumentation, and paternalism) and examples of meaningful child participation. In the second title, meaningful child participation examples will be found out in Turkish textbooks and the qualitative findings under this title will be grouped as four subtitles: reproduction of obstacles to child participation, “adult controlled/centered” child participation, child participation without an audience and charity-based approach in child-initiated experiences.

3.2.1 Reflections of Modern Childhood Paradigm in Turkish Language

Textbooks

The Modern Childhood Paradigm, the most dominant paradigm in the 20th century, is based on three fundamental assumptions: (1) Children have different needs from adults, (2) adulthood is a goal for children, (3) adults are responsible for child rearing.¹⁴³ Although all assumptions of the modern childhood paradigm claim to bring positive and progressive developments in the sake of children, it is quite open to being interpreted in different ways by adults.

The argument based on the assumption that childhood is a unique period and different from adulthood can lead to myths that the child has no responsibilities and experiences golden age with a romantic approach. On the other hand, the child becomes an instrument for the future because of the assumption that the child as a process of being is a preparation process for adulthood. Lastly, leaving the adults to the rearing of the children lead to be dominated infinitely the children by the adults. This type of domination shows itself as oppression on children and as the

¹⁴³ İnal, *Çocuk ve demokrasi*, 68-96.

disappearance of child autonomy. İnal and Franklin see the root of this domination as paternalism¹⁴⁴. Instead of romanticizing, instrumentalizing and dominating the children with paternalistic approaches, if the adults understand the children, take children's opinions into consideration and fulfill their responsibility to meet children's needs, a more equal and better world will be possible for children.

“Büyükler için yazanların anlaşılır bir dille yazmaları yani çocukların dünyasını anlamaları her zaman kolay değildir ama Tevfik Fikret bunu başarmış.” (Türkçe 4, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, s:38)
[“It’s not always easy for people who write for grown-ups to write for children, to understand their world; but Tevfik Fikret achieved it.”]
(Turkish Language 4, MoNE, p:38)

The quotation above in the 4th-grade Turkish textbook can be seen as an example of how an adult can make an effort to meet different needs of a child without establishing a dependent and hierarchical relationship with a child. However, the number of examples similar to this is very limited in the examined textbooks. In this section, the reflections of the romanticization, instrumentalization, and paternalism in Turkish language textbooks will be discussed and the effect of adult's perception on childhood will be examined.

3.2.1.1 Romantic Approach on Childhood Construction: “Childhood is a Golden Age”

“The Romantic Movement” constitutes the center of the ideas based on childhood at the end of the Enlightenment. After the Industrial Revolution, the idea that children are a special category, which and has special needs, and that children should not be seen as a worker, started to become widespread. This shift in the understanding about childhood give rise to the myth that childhood is a Golden Age in a life period. According to this myth, childhood is the purest, the most innocent and the best period of all the life, in which there is no trouble and

¹⁴⁴ Franklin, *The rights of children*.

İnal, “Kapitalizm, Modernizm ve Çocuk Hakları”, 273-276.

burden.¹⁴⁵ According to John Holt, who discusses the idea that childhood is a Golden Age, this myth defines children as a safe, protected, sheltered, secure garden of innocent childhood.¹⁴⁶ Especially, children heroic characters in the 19th-century children's literature, initiate a renewal and a change for the world by fighting against inequality, evil and immorality. This approach towards the children can be seen as the reflections of Locke's and Rousseau's ideas (Locke's concept of Tabula Rasa and Rousseau's definition of the child as the purest natural being). This new role attributed to childhood is also described as an angel and savior.¹⁴⁷ These two attributions to the child are very similar to Sorin's "innocent child" and "savior child" images.¹⁴⁸ , The images of "angel or innocent child" and of "savior child" frequently appear in Turkish language textbooks, especially in the poetry texts:

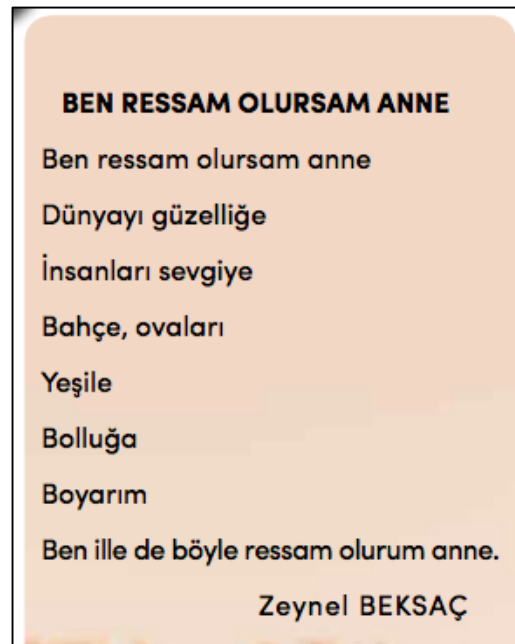


Figure 2: Turkish Language 4, MoNE, p:157.

[IF I WERE A PAINTER

¹⁴⁵ Bob Franklin, (Ed.), *The new handbook of children's rights: Comparative policy and practice*. (Routledge:2001).


¹⁴⁶ John Caldwell Holt, *Escape from childhood*. (New York: EP Dutton, 1974), 5.

¹⁴⁷ İnal, K. (2014). *Çocuk ve demokrasi*, 284.

¹⁴⁸ Sorin, *Changing images of childhood: Reconceptualising early childhood practice*.

If I were a painter mother
I would paint the world to the beauty
The people to love
The gardens and meadows
To green
To Wealth
That is how a painter I would be.
Zeynel BEKSAÇ]

KÜÇÜK MUCİTLER
"Dünyanın en güçlü
Silgisini yapacağım" dedi Ali.
Silip temizleyecek onunla
Bütün kötülükleri.
Elif, çiçekleri hayvanları
Ve insanları sevmeyenlere
Sergi ilacını bulacak.
Herkes birbirini kucaklayacak.
Gökyüzündeki tozu kiri
Temizlemek için Gökçe
Süpürge yapacak büyükçe.
"Kalemler" diyor Yiğit
Sadece barışı yazacak
Barış rengi kalemler.
Küçük bir tohumla
Aşlığı yok edecek Özlem
Onu da insanların kalbine ekecek.
Daha neler neler
"Hiç vazgeçmeyin", dedi öğretmen
"Yaşamı yeniden bulun küçük mucitler"



Aysel K. EKİZ

Figure 3: Turkish Language 4, MoNE, p:104

[The Little Inventors
I will make
the most powerful eraser" said Ali
He will clean up
all the evil with it
Elif will find the cure of love
For who don't love animals, flowers and people
Everyone will embrace each other.
To clean up the sky
Gökçe will build a great vacuum.
"Pens" say Yiğit
Will only write peace
Peace colored pens.

With a little seed
Özlem will end famine
and will sow it to people's hearts.
and what more....
The teacher said
“Never give up,
Create life all over, little inventors
Aysel K. Ekiz]

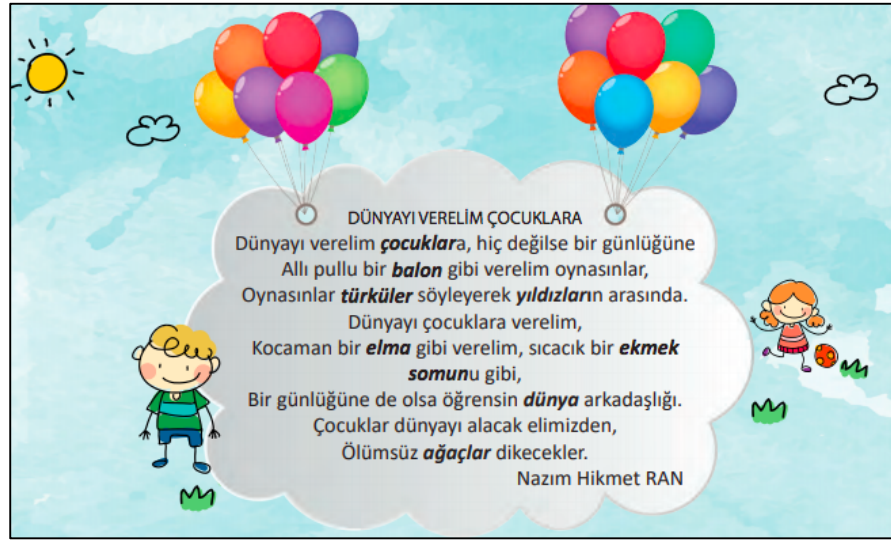


Figure 4: Turkish Language 6, MoNE, p:36.

[LET'S GIVE THE WORLD TO CHILDREN

...

Let's give the world to children
Like a big apple, a loaf of warm bread
Let the world know friendship, even for a day.
Children will take the world from us,
They will plant immortal trees.
Nazım Hikmet RAN]

In the examples above, children are represented as heroes, who can destroy the hunger and the evils, and bring peace to the world and teach the friendship to humanity and thus beautify the world. These representations can be interpreted that adults do not take responsibility for the problems that they created today and expect the children to be a savior by taking the initiation to save the world with their innocence and purity. Particularly, the second poem called “*The Little Inventors*”

in the 4th-grade textbook ended with the advice of the teacher and the children defined as “small”. This end points out that the power imbalance in the relationship between the child and the adult. In other words, it emphasized that the last word always should not belong to children but to adults, although children are the savior for the adults’ life. This supports the idea that adults have the power to make decisions and choices about life without children.

The romantic approach that idealizes and sanctifies childhood, causes that childhood is considered as the most beautiful years of life and exempted from responsibilities. For this reason, adults feel a great love for their own childhood.

“GEÇEN ZAMAN

...

Az yanımda kal, çocukluğum,
Temiz yürekli, uysal çocukluğum...
Ah, ümit dolu gençliğim,
İlk şiirim, ilk arkadaşım, ilk sevgim...

....

Ziya Osman SABA” (Türkçe 8, MEB, s. 164)

[PAST TIMES

...

Stay with me for a while, my childhood
My kind-hearted, dove childhood...
Oh, my youth, filled with hope,
My first poem, first friend, first love...

....

Ziya Osman SABA]
(Turkish Language 8, MoNE, p. 164)

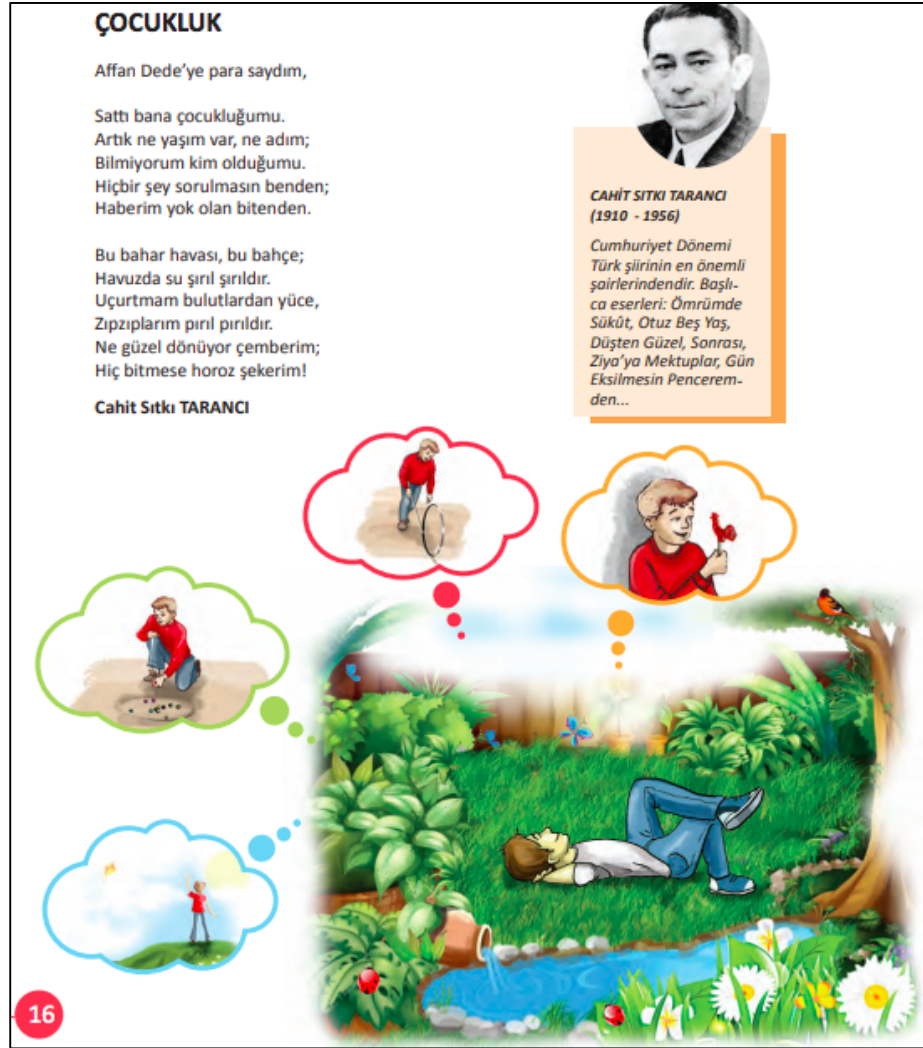


Figure 5: Turkish Language 5, MoNE, p.16

[CHILDHOOD
I paid Papa Affan

He sold me my childhood
Now I have no age nor name
I don't know who I am.
Don't ask me anything
I have no idea what's happening.

This spring weather, this garden
Water babbling in the fountain.
My kite up on the clouds
My migs are sparkling.
Oh, how my hoop is circling,
Wish my candy was never ending!]

Childhood is described as a period in which there are unlimited freedom and happiness and it is constituted based on some characters such as clean hearted, docile, lacking responsibilities, playing games, and candy-eating. This kind of description of childhood leads to the fact that adults ignore injustices and problems experienced by children. The expressions which strengthen the image of an innocent child frequently appear in Turkish language textbooks. At the below there are some quotations as a sample:

“...Ömür boyu dost bildiğim kitap, Seni cüz adıyla tanıdım önce, İlk çocukluğumda, masum çağımda, ...Çocuklar, çocuklar, altın kalpli çocuklar! ...” (Türkçe 7, MEB, s:80)
[... My dear book, my lifelong friend, First I know you as fascicle, In my childhood, my innocent years.....Children, children, with golden hearts!...] (Turkish Language 7, MoNE, p:80)

“Bir bebeğin agularken masum görüntüsü ile gülücüklerle kaplanmış bir yüzün görüntüsü aynıdır...” (Türkçe 8, MEB, s:32)
[...The innocent look of a baby gurgling is the same with the look of a smiling face.] (Turkish Language 8, MoNE, p:32)

“Innocence” or “gold-hearted” attributions are commonly used in a daily speech to describe the children like in the textbooks. These adjectives originate from the stereotype that children are innocent. The children are not a homogeneous group. They have different childhood experiences in different cultures and conditions. For example, the fact of child labor had not disappeared after the Industrial Revolution, it is continuing today with all its brutality. Another example is that the children can maintain their lives in the prisons in case of dispute because they don't look "innocent". For this reason, the reproduction of this stereotype via the textbooks is very problematic for children who are non-innocent or evil in the eyes of society. While the evil/demonized child is punished and even deserving of ill-treatment, the innocent child is desired, loved, and protected. This creates discrimination and opportunity inequality among children. Today, the society's views on children conflict with the law and the punishment processes can be given as a concrete example.

In this section, the images of “the innocent child” and “the savior child” were discussed generally in texts especially poetries in Turkish language textbooks.

These two images are the products of the romanticization of the children approach. The emphasis on the idea that childhood is the most innocent and untroubled period is problematic with respect to being ignored existing problems of the children and to be evaluated the children by adults according to the status of being innocence. At the same time, the idea that children can save the world is nothing more than that the adults lay a burden on the children.

3.2.1.2 Instrumentalization on Childhood Construction: “Children are our future!”

Childhood is usually defined as non-adult, in other words, a social category which is trying to reach the aim of being an adult. This kind of definition see the children as the citizens of the future. The reflection of this understanding in the daily speech or in the society can be noticed in the discourse that “children are our future”. This discourse is often repeated by adults, especially by authorities and politicians.

“Bugünün küçükleri, yarının büyükleridir.” K. Atatürk (Türkçe 4, MEB, s:51)

[“Children are the adults of tomorrow.” K. Atatürk] (Turkish Language 4, MoNE, p:51)

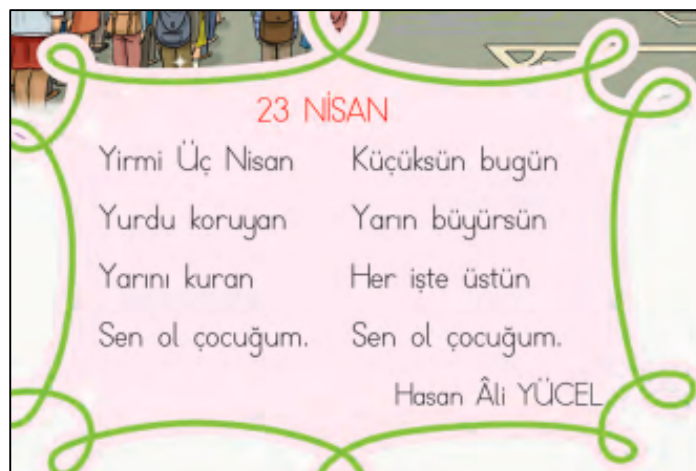


Figure 6: Turkish Language 4, MoNE, p:96

[APRIL 23

April 23

Be the one to protect the homeland

To build tomorrow
My child

You are young now
Tomorrow you'll be grown
Be the top on everything
My child]

In the examples above; K. Atatürk mentions about the biological aspect of childhood by referring to the concept of “generation” whereas the poetry about the April 23 National Sovereignty and Children’s Day in the second example emphasizes that childhood is not only about the early phase of human being but also about the future that will be established by children and the State that will be protected by children. Indeed, while the special needs of today’s children are ignored, the responsibilities that the adults give the children for the future becomes important. This discourse causes that the textbooks, especially primary level textbooks, includes many stories of the adults about “being successful” and “being famous” in their childhood periods. Almost all stories about the success and the ability address to the childhood period of the adults.

“Sevgili çocuklar, ATATÜRK başarısının kaynağını ve kitap sevgisini şu şekilde dile getirmiştir: “Çocukluğumda elime geçen iki kuruştan birini eğer kitaplara vermeseydim, bugün yapabildiğim işlerin hiçbirini yapamazdım.” “ (Türkçe 4, MEB, s.44)

[Dear children, Atatürk talked about his source of success and his love of books as this: “If I hadn’t given every penny I had when I was a child to books, I wouldn’t be able to do anything that I’ve done to this day.”]

(Turkish Language 4, MoNE, p.44)

“Wilson Alwyn Bentley (Vilsın Alvin Bentli), küçük bir çocukken kar tanelerini seyretmeyi çok severdi. .. Böylece kar tanelerinin ilginç şekillere sahip olduğunu ve birbirine benzemediğini keşfeden adam olarak tarihe geçti” (Türkçe 4, MEB, s.132)

[“Wilson Alywn Bentley loved to watch snowflakes as a child. So, he became the first person to discover that snowflakes are not similar to one another and have interesting shapes.”](Turkish Language 4, MoNE, p.44)

İbni Sina çocukken araştırmayı, incelemeyi ve öğrenmeyi çok sevdi. bazı derslerde sorduğu sorularla öğretmenlerini şaşırtırdı. çok meraklı ve çalışkandı. azimle zor işleri bile başarırdı. büyüdüğünde ünlü bir doktor oldu.

Figure 7: Turkish Language 1, MoNE, s.149

[İbni Sina loved research, observation, and learning as a child. Sometimes he would surprise his teachers with the questions he asked. He was so curious and hard working. He would succeed even in difficult tasks. He became a very famous doctor when he grew up.]



Figure 8: Turkish Language 3, MoNE, s.173

[When students went back to school, they shared their day-long observations with their teacher and classmates.

Teacher: "You've made excellent observations, kids, congratulations to all. Your friend İhsan did not only record his observations to his journal but also brought an example with him. Look, this is an andesite rock. Its color could be gray or pink. It is a volcanic rock."

Simit: "I guess İhsan will do something about geology. What do you say, Peynir?"

Peynir: "I guess you are right, my dear Simit. Let's read and find out."

Years pass and İhsan Ketin, a top-of-his-class student, is chosen by the government to study abroad after middle school. He was sent to Germany and studied there in various universities on natural sciences. In 1938 he returns to Turkey as a first geologist with a Ph.D. degree and starts working in Istanbul University.]

The achievements of Atatürk, of İhsan Ketin, of İbni Sina and of Wilson Alwyn Bentley were told by referring to childhood experiences and abilities. This kind of narratives associates with the representation of Sorin's "adult in training" childhood image. In the story about İbni Sina, teachers were surprised by the questions of İbni Sina. This case can be accepted as a good example of İnal's argument that some expressions like "smart kid" (akıllı küçük) or "super child" (süper çocuk) are used according to adults' values system.¹⁴⁹ For the same case, another related argument belongs to İhsan Ketin. He thinks that the passive voices like "is selected" or "is sent" is generally used to describe a child's characters. These arguments about the cases are far away from the view on the child's autonomy and can be interpreted as the result of instrumentalization and also paternalism. Lastly, it should be remarked that all selected successful people in the examples are men. This proves that there is ignorance (knowingly or unknowingly) in the context of gender.

In the theme of National Struggle and Atatürk in the 7th-grade level Turkish language textbook, there is a preparation question about the role of children for the future of society:

"Toplumların geleceğinde çocukların nasıl bir yere sahip olduğunu nedenleriyle anlatınız."

["Explain how children have a place in the future of societies"]
(Turkish Language 7, MoNE, p.52).

This discourse underlined that children should organize the present about what they have to do "for future" and "for their adulthood period". Therefore, it is a disaster that children don't have any interest in their job choices in the future.

"Çocuklarda meslek seçme isteği nasıl doğar? Kesin olarak bilinmiyor. Önemli olan her çocuğun bir şeye merak sarıp onun üzerinde derinleşmesi. Hiçbir konuya ilgi duymamak her genç için felaket sayılmalıdır." (Türkçe 5, MEB, s.136)

[How do children want to pick a profession? We don't know for sure. What's important is that every child becomes curious about one thing

¹⁴⁹ İnal, *Çocuk ve demokrasi*, 277.

and want to go deeper. To have no interest in anything should be considered as a disaster for every young person.]
(Turkish Language 5, MoNE, S.136)

İnal argues that all elements of the education system like curriculums, textbooks refrain the children from a joyful childhood in order to prepare the child for the future. This instrumentalist education arises from the functional education theory. The functionalist theory is based on the idea that education has a crucial function in keeping society alive for the next generations.¹⁵⁰ The child is instrumentalized as an object to be shaped for the sake of the sustainability of a society. The poetry at below is an instance to show this kind of instrumentalization:

Bugün uslandı dünkü yaramaz,
Artık dokuz ay çalış, oku, yaz.

Fazlası eder çocuğu haylaz,
Üç ay eğlence yeter bize,
Ne tatlı, ne hoş geçti bütün yaz,
Gidelim artık okulumuza.

Bugün uslandı dünkü yaramaz,
Artık dokuz ay çalış, oku, yaz.

Figure 9: Turkish Language 3, MoNE, p.12

[Yesterday's brat is now well-behaved,
Now you'll study for nine months, read and write.

More fun would make a child naughty,
Three months is enough for us.
Oh how sweet the summer passed
Now go to our school, let us.

Yesterday's brat is now well-behaved,
Now you'll study for nine months, read and write.]

¹⁵⁰ Mulkey, *Sociology of education: Theoretical and empirical investigations*.

According to Durkheim's functionalist education theory¹⁵¹, the educational institutions produce the individuals for the needs of the society. It focuses on the stability in the society. The reasons for disseminating schooling and increasing the duration of compulsory education are related to growing the individuals according to the society's needs rather than to develop children's individual capacities. Therefore, the "school" is the most important institution and an instrument in order to prepare the children for the future. The poem above shows the functionalist aspect of the school. And it insists that learning can only be in the school. Whereas summer holiday and resting are more helpful to raise children's curiosity and interest which are the key elements of learning, they are limited periods which includes less adult-control for children. It is repeated that children have to be quiet and hardworking for nine months in their school and that 'naughtiness' should be done only in the three- month holiday. In this poetry, the children are defined as a homogenous group who needs adult discipline and a standardization in their school for their future.

All examples in this part correspond to the image of adult-in training and Sorin's definition¹⁵² in which the childhood is constructed as a preparation process for adulthood according to the needs of the society. In other words, if we describe all society as a factory, adulthood is a product of this factory and the children are materials and tools or an unshaped dough. The active role in the production process in the factory, that is to say in the education of the children belongs to the adults. This perspective does not see the children as individuals who have certain needs, certain abilities in different ages and developing capacity. It is more interested in the future of the child. It does not focus on the process of childhood but on being a "favorite" citizen. However, there are many child well-being studies which search the abilities of the child at the present, support him/her and emphasize the importance of care in this process. The focus on the future of the child has a stake in the abilities of the child in the future. It is expected that the examined Turkish language textbooks include the children's problems originating from the adults.

¹⁵¹ Mulkey, *Sociology of education: Theoretical and empirical investigations*

¹⁵² Sorin, *Changing images of childhood: Reconceptualising early childhood practice*.

3.2.1.3 Effect of Paternalism on Childhood Construction: “Savoir Vivre of Adult”

John Locke accepts the mind of human newborns as *tabula rasa* and the filling of this blank mind is defined as the responsibility of the adults as mentioned in Chapter 1. In a society of Turkey, there is a most known proverb that "Ağaç yaşken eğilir [The tree bends while it is young.]" is found in the different grade levels of Turkish language textbooks. The adults' responsibility to educate children strengthens the dependent relations between child and adult. This dependent relations between them combined with adults' paternalistic approach causes an increase in the domination of adults over the children, that is to say, consolidate the perspective of adultism. Adultism is a form of age-based of discrimination which produces an oppression on the children and represents the adults more capable than the children. As a symptom of this discrimination, adults usually think that they know the best for the child, therefore they have the habit of making decisions about the children instead of children.

In two reading texts from 7th-grade and 8th-grade Turkish language textbooks, adults' habit of making decisions instead of children stands out clearly.

“... On altı yaşında bir oğlum var, lisede derslerini yüzüstü bıraktı, kendini resme verdi, bir seneden beri resim ve Akademi diye tutturdu. Ortayı bitirdi ama lisede karşımıza bu resim çıktı. İlle de Akademiye yazılmak istiyor, bugünlerde size gelip danışacak, yardımınızı dileyecek. Kendisine bu yolda istidadı olmadığını söylerseniz bizi abat edersiniz. Onu resimden soğutursanız tekrar liseye dönecek, mektebini bitirecektir; yalvarırım, bütün aile size minnettar kalacak.

...

— Müsaade ederseniz evvela çocuğun resimlerini görelim, dedim.

Muhterem pederi bir korkudur aldı:

— Ya yaptığı resimleri beğenirseniz?

— Hele bir görelim.

Resimleri gördüm. Yaşına göre hiç de fena değildi. Çocuğun rastgele de olsa renk-

lerle oynamaktan sevinç duyduğu, yaptığı işlerde belli oluyordu. Bu işe kendisini pazarlık etmeden tamamıyla verirse iyi bir ressam olacağını, hiç kimseyi dinlemeden Akademiye yazılmasını söyledim. Sen misin söyleyen? Çocuk Akademiye yazıldı ama arkasından muhterem peder

küplere binerek geldi. Lise diyordu, yüksek tahsil diyordu, hayat şartları diyordu, geçim diyordu ve ille de barem diyordu. Şu kadar sene hocalıktan sonra elime geçen parayı son kuruşuna kadar hesaplıyor, acı acı gülüyordu.

Bizim çocuğumuz ressam olmak istiyor. Onun bu arzusunu geliştirmek için ne yapalım, dediğine rastlamadım...” (Türkçe 8, MEB, s:121-122)

[..I have a sixteen-year-old son. He gave up on his classes in high school and became obsessed with painting. For the past year, all he talks about is painting and academy. He graduated from middle school but in high school, we came across this painting thing. He insists on enrolling academy. Soon he will come to you and ask for advice and help. If you could just say that he doesn't have much talent you'd make us very happy. If you help him disincine, he'd go back to school and graduate; I beg you, all of our family will be grateful to you.”

...

- Allow me to see his paintings first, I said.

His father got cold feet:

- But, what if you like his work?

- Let me see it first.

I saw the pictures. They weren't so bad considering his age. The joy he gets from playing with colors, even though they were random, was very obvious. I told him if he dedicates himself to painting and nothing else, he'd be successful and that he should enroll to the academy without listening to anyone.

Well, what do you know? He enrolled in the academy but after that his father came to me, bursting with anger. He kept saying high school, university, living conditions, earn a living, and salary scale... He calculated the money I earned from tutoring after all years and laughing bitterly. But I never heard him saying, our child wants to be a painter, what can we do to help him...]

(Turkish Language 8, MoNE, p:121-122)

At the end of the story above, the child attending the Academy becomes a famous painter in Paris and his father is proud of his child. In this story, the child met another adult who advises him to attend the Academy. If he didn't, he'd probably believe in his father who defends what is the best for his son. He would lose his interest in painting and perhaps tend to be occupied with another profession that would make him unhappy but would have pleased the adults. In the story, the child hasn't an active role, two different adults' opinions are discussed and there is

no voice of the child. That is the summary of paternalism which is the equivalent of adult intervention that ignores the fact that children are experts in their own lives.

Another explicative example of the paternalistic approach is about the education of the child. The child in the next story thinks that his fate was sealed. Because he is very hardworking he cannot play football. This way of thinking actually belongs to adults around the child. But the child internalizes this thought or decision as his own fate, and ultimately, he becomes unable to know what he wants in his own life due to the intervention of the adults.

“Öte yandan da futbol düşkünü bir dolu arkadaşımın aksine gerçekten çok çalışkan bir öğrenciydim. Ders saatlerinin dışında kalan bütün zamanımı top peşinde koşmakla geçirirdim ama geceleri de hemen hemen her gün saat on ikiye kadar çalışır, ödevlerimi bitirirdim. İlk ve ortaokulda notlarım hep pekiyi olduğu için artık yazgım belli olmuştu. Çevremdeki herkes “Sen okursun, okursun.” diyordu çünkü. (...) Liseyi bitirecektim, üniversiteye gidecektim. Okuyup da ne olmayı düşünüyordum, inanın çıkaramıyorum şimdi. Doktor mu, avukat mı, mimar mı?

Yalnız, galiba ta lise ikinci sınıfa kadar mimarlığın nasıl bir iş olduğunu dahi bilmediğimi de söylemeliyim.

...

Tam dokuz zayıfım var. (...) Bütün sömestir kalakaldım evde, tabii futbol takımından da atıverdiler beni. Demek yazgımda yokmuş. Futbolcu olamadım ama üniversiteyi bitirdim, mimar oldum.”

(Türkçe 7, MEB, s:208-209)

[On the other hand, unlike my football-loving friends, I was a really hard working student. I'd spend all my time except class hours on the field, but I would always stay up until midnight and finish my homework. Since I always have the top marks in elementary and middle school, my fate was sealed. Because everyone kept saying “You'll study for sure”. (...) I was going to finish high school and go to university. What was I planning to be when I graduated, believe me, I cannot say now. Doctor, lawyer or architect? Also, I guess until 10th grade, I didn't know what type of job architecture is.

...

I have exactly nine bad grades. (...) All semester, I stayed at home. Of course, they fired me from the football team. So, it wasn't in my fate after all. I couldn't become a footballer but I graduated from university and became an architect.]

(Turkish Language 7, MoNE, p:208-209)

At the end of this story, the child became an architect and drew a convinced profile of the adults. This created discourse in these and similar examples reinforces the fact that children are always passive and dependent on adults.

There are a few adult characters who act “incorrectly” in the examined Turkish language textbooks. Adults are frequently transmitted as “good-natured”, “successful” or “wiseacre” in the textbooks, but it is obvious that there is no equivalence in real life. From a paternalist point of view, adult power is reproduced and presented to children through textbooks. There is a unique example in that the child character who expresses her/his own views to the adult about the adult’s misbehavior is quite unique in all texts of examined Turkish language textbooks. This example is below:

“...
N’olursun oyuncakçı amca,
Bundan böyle bizlere,
Oyuncak tüfekler yerine,
Ak yelkenli bir gemi,
Bir de süslü bebekler getir,
Unutma emi ?”
(Türkçe 5, MEB, s. 14)
[...
Please, toy seller uncle,
From now on,
Instead of popguns,
A white sailing ship,
And fancy babies,
Bring, don’t forget?]
(Turkish Language 5, MoNE, s.14)

These “sophisticated” or “well behaved” adult characters do not only make the adult power visible but also cause children to be portrayed as a kind of “grateful person” in the face of this “perfect” adulthood. For example, the following two poems are described how the mothers are good people by their nature. The expressions at the beginning of the first poem create the idea that is “mom, your help is priceless”. This implication the discourse that the relationship of the child with the parent cannot be independent.

Yalnız biri var ki,
Şefkatte melek sanki.
Canım ne zaman istese
Koşarım kucığına,
Tatlı tatlı okşar beni.
O mutludur, ben bahtiyar.
Şükür,
Canım annem var!

Figure 10: Turkish Language 2, Koza, p.153

[But there is someone whose
Compassionate like an angel.
Whenever I want to
I run to her arms
And she holds me dearly.
She is happy and I am happy.
Thank God
I have my dear mother!]

Sen inci mercan mısın?
Çiçek gibi kokar mısın?
Dertlerime ilaç mısın?
Söyle melek misin, annem misin?

Figure 11: Turkish Language 2, Koza, p.155

[Are you pearl and coral?
Do you smell like flowers?
Are you the cure for all my troubles?
Tell me, are you an angel or my mother?]

Not only mothers but also other “self-sacrificing” adults, who children should feel themselves grateful for, are included in the texts of Turkish language textbooks.



Figure 12: Turkish Language 6, MoNE, p.75

[The mother: Kids, education is the most important wealth of all. An uneducated person's head is like an empty bag. If you want to be useful for yourself, your family, your country and humanity, education is the way. Therefore you must study, no matter the cost!

My mother's words were always a lesson for us. Our parents sacrificed so much for us to study. They raised us with love. We always sat at the dinner table together. My father didn't start eating until all of us were at the table. Younger ones had great respect for the elders without fail.]

In Figure 12, there is a part about the childhood of Aziz Sancar, who received the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 2015, in his own story. Sancar praises the parents who make a sacrifice for the education of the children, give advice and raise children with love, and even the character of the father who waits his children and his wife to start eating before dinner. He uses the expression of "have great respect for someone without fail" for the relationship between children and adults and presents this expression as a response to the fulfillment of their current responsibilities of the adults. This kind of relationship brings about the picture in

which the adult is more active, and the child is portrayed in a more passive state e. Although Sancar later describes himself as a child who loves to research, thinks, and interrogates when he was a child, Sancar, in his relationship with adults, has praised the adults who make the right decisions and think about what is best for him, rather than a state that questions adults. There is a large number of contents similar to the example above in Turkish language textbooks. The examples where the child receives any advice or praise and appreciates the adult are the most common representation of a child-adult relationship in the textbooks. This representation reflects the child perception of the society, it is an ideal form of relationship which adults consider acceptable. In the textbooks, there is no instance for the model, suggested by James and Prout in the studies of childhood, in which the children play an active role in their own lives and they are not only affected but also affecting. Rather, the child who is given shape by the adults and shown the right way at a young age transform an effective person for society in the future. It is insisted on the aspect of the children which have a more impact on the society and his/her environment when he/she become an adult.

As previously noted, children commonly encounter with “perfect adults” and they can start to believe and accept this. In the examined Turkish language textbooks, there are lots of examples including that child characters (have to) accept the adult power and act with the goal of satisfying adults or getting appreciation from adults. In the following poetry called “well done”; the child always gets “well done” from the adults and he says “well done” for his younger brother. This shows that appreciation can only be made from older to younger and reinforces children's “powerlessness” in hierarchical relations.



AFERİN!

Yemeğimi bitirdim.
Annem, _____ kızıma, dedi.
_____ okudum.

Öğretmenim kocaman bir _____ verdi.
Çikolatamı _____ paylaştım.
Babamdan da _____ kaptım.

_____ süt verdim diye
Ayşe teyzeden de aldım bir _____,
Bir sürü aferinim oldu.

Şimdi sıra _____
Bir _____ kardeşime.
Biri arkadaşıma.
Biri de sana.

Hem de en kocamanı:
AFERİN!

Bayza Nur DEMİRCİ

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Figure 13: Turkish Language 2, Koza, p:47-48

[WELL DONE

I finished my meal. My mother said to me, “_____ my girl”.

I read _____

My teacher gave me a big _____

I shared my chocolate, _____
I just got a _____ from my father.
Because I gave milk to the _____, I got a _____ from Aunt
Ayşe too.
I have lots of "well done"s.
Now it's ___ turn.
One _____ for my sister
One for my friend
And one for you.
Also the biggest one:
WELL DONE!]

Another example of satisfying the adult is given below. In this case, when the mother sees the child's room in a mess, she gets angry, and the child tidies his room to make her mother happy. It is seen that he has tidied his room to please his mother and he doesn't tidy his room to fulfill his own responsibility.



Figure 14: Turkish Language 1, MoNE, p.15
[What kind of a table would you like to set for your mother?
Soon the door opened. My mother walked in. She was surprised at the scene. I held her hand and said, there you go madam. I put a pillow

under her waist. I looked at her and was going to ask “what would you like to get”. But she was crying. What did I do now?]

The examples in this part describe the child as the one who is less capable than the adults, obeys and needs a continuous authority under the discipline. The paternalist approach constitutes the biggest obstacle to child participation by justifying the fact the adults make a decision on behalf of the child. Franklin explains the threat of this approach by referring to the idea that adults' responsibility of child-caring produces the case in which a class consigns the protection of its own rights to another class. He discusses the power of the adult and the obstacles to child participation, which is one of the political rights of the child in this approach based on the chronology. When discussing it, he raises some questions: how do the interests of the children determine without asking the? Are the interests of adults and children are the same?¹⁵³ There are few contents that question the paternalistic point of view and the fact that being older is not a very important status and which focuses on the capabilities of children independently from adults in Turkish language textbooks. Here are two examples:

“Akıl yaşta değil baştadır.”(Türkçe 3, MEB, s. 137)
[The mind is not at the age.] (Turkish Language 3, MoNE, p.137)

“1938 Nobel Edebiyat Ödülü’nü kazanan Pearl S. Buck’ın (Pörl S. Bak) şu sözü İkeya’nın durumuna çok uyuyor: “Gençler en olmayacak işleri başarmaya kalkarlar; işin tuhafı, başarırlar da.””(Türkçe 7, MEB, s.138)
[Pearl S. Buck, the winner of 1938 Nobel Literary Prize said this, which is very convenient for İkeya’s situation: “Young people try to achieve impossible things, and what’s interesting is, they achieve them.”] (Turkish Language 7, MoNE, p.138)

Although there is an expression of surprise of the adults for the achievement of young people, these two examples can be considered close to the

¹⁵³ Bob Franklin, *Çocuk hakları*. Türker, A.,(Trans.), (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 1993), 37.

necessary approach for the realization of child participation. In the following section, it will be examined that whether children's participation is visible in the examined Turkish language books and a critical approach will be applied to the existing examples.

3.2.2 To Trace Examples of Meaningful Child Participation in Turkish Language Textbooks

While examining the adult-child relations in Turkish language textbooks, the purpose was to trace the examples of the child's right to participate. It preferred to use the expression of "trace" because; the examples of meaningful child participation with regard to the guiding principles, are not unfortunately encountered in real life. In this chapter; the child-adult relationship will be analyzed in the context of the child's right to participate. The discussions about the examples will be presented under four subheadings in this section. First of all, the approaches and the representations that can be seen as obstacles to the realization of the right of participation of the child rather than the examples where the right of participation will be realized will be discussed. Then the adult control in the content of the child-adult relations, which seems like child participation, will be questioned. In the third subheading, it will be discussed whether the child has the audience or not in the context of the child's right to participate. Finally, the contents including child initiated examples which are very significant examples for child participation will be studied.

3.2.2.1 Reproduction of Obstacles to Child Participation

While trying to find examples in which the participation of the child is meaningful, one of the important points is that there are some approaches and discourses which prevent children's participation in Turkish language textbooks. This section shows certain similarities with the previous section 3.2.1 in which the childhood construction was discussed because adults' perception of childhood is one of the important determinants of the children's right to participate. This section

differs from the other in terms of the aim of this section, which is to examine the relationship between the representation of children and the right to children's participation. These will be discussed in this section under four groups.

The deficiency in the adults' efforts for child participation is an obstacle to the realization of child participation. For a complete implementation of child participation, there should be that adults who take the children's opinions into consideration. That's why the adults should make an effort to implement exactly child participation. They create the space in which the children express themselves freely, listen to the children carefully when they express themselves and take them seriously. Besides the importance of this effort, it is difficult to realize the child participation only with the child's effort but also the effort of the adults is necessary for this. However, as long as the adults do not give up their power and perceive them as an individual, even if they make an effort, their efforts do not contribute to realizing child participation.



Figure 15: Turkish Language 3, MoNE, p.164

Kendinizi büyüklerinize ifade edebilmek için neler yapabilirsiniz?
Düşüncelerinizi aşağıya yazınız.

[THE CHILD WHO WANTS TO TALK.

What can you do to express yourself to your elders? Write down your thoughts below....]

The exercise in Figure 15, named “The child who wants to speak” at the textbook for 3rd-grade level, is an example for that the child is expected to develop strategies on what he can do to express himself to his elders. In this example, we see that the child is eager to speak with the adults, but the adults are not interested in the child. Later, it is expected that the child finds an idea or a strategy to express himself/herself to the adults. The problem is not related to the child's ability to express but the deficiencies of the adults about their attention to the child. However, the center of deficiency is not at the adult but the child. According to this perspective, the child should exert more effort. Shortly, instead of giving responsibility to adults, it is expected that the children should strengthen themselves. Children's empowerment is, of course, valuable in terms of child participation, but the lack of interest of adults should be visible as well. This example can be read as proof that children have problems about being taken seriously by adults.

The thoughts and assumptions of the adults about the abilities of the children produce certain obstacles to the children's right to participate. Even if this is not be found clearly in Turkish language textbooks, two examples above can be read within this framework. As mentioned in the disability studies, when talking about the successes of the disabled people in the news and the textbooks, the expression of "in spite of her/his disability" is mostly used.¹⁵⁴ Here, the use of the expression "in spite of" is used to emphasize unexpected success. There are mostly successful adults as a role model in Turkish language textbooks and it is given information about their childhood. In the textbooks, there are a few examples in which the children are successful as a child. In one of these rare examples, it is emphasized that, *despite his young age*, Mete Gazoz, who succeeded in archery at the age of 17. However, there is no expression like "despite he/she is 40 years old

¹⁵⁴ Kenan Çayır & Melike Ergün, “Ders Kitaplarında Engellilik”, accessed May 13, 2019. http://secbir.org/images/haber/2012/07/derskitaplarindaengellilik_rapor.pdf

or despite his old age” in Turkish language textbooks when talking about the success of the adults. As in the example of a disabled person, when talking about the success of a child, Mete Gazoz, it is needed to express the word "despite” because there is an unexpected success. This is related to the perception that society underestimates the child.

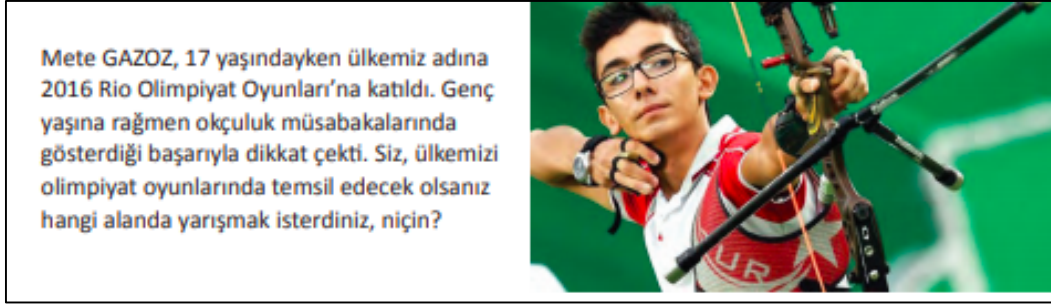


Figure 16: Turkish Language 5, MoNE, p.120

[Mete GAZOZ participated in 2016 Rio Olympic Games at the age of 17, representing our country. Despite his young age, he drew attention with his skills in archery. If you were to represent our country in the Olympics, in which area would you like to compete and why?]

In the second example, there is a child, Hakkı, who gives irrelevant answers to the question. When the dialogue is considered, it is thought that the teacher will not give the right to say if he/she thinks he knows nothing but children who give qualified answers will be given the right to speak. The fact that adults do not believe in the capacity of children is one of the biggest obstacles to child participation.

“Hakkı parmağını kaldırdı. Öğretmen, Hakkı’nın bir şey bildiğini sanarak sordu: – Sen biliyor musun? – Evet, öğretmenim. – Öyleyse söyle bakalım. – Bu onun telefon numarasıdır öğretmenim. “(Türkçe 3, MEB, s.170)

[Hakkı raised his hand. The teacher asked Hakkı, assuming that he knows something: - do you know the answer? –Yes, teacher. –Say it then. –This is his telephone number, teacher.] (Turkish Language 3, MoNE, p. 170)

The third group can be considered as the continuation of the second group. In this group, some statements like “Çocuk ağzına düşecek sözler değil bunlar [These are not things for children to talk about]”, “küçük bir çocuktan ders almış gibi [like taught a lesson from a little kid]” and “Büyümüş de küçülmüş gibisin [Soon ripe, soon rotten.]” are drawn attention. Because the adults underestimate the children, they block children from expressing themselves in certain subjects or they are surprised, and they expect them older when the children express themselves. The given passage below, which is cited from 7th-grade Turkish language textbooks, should be discussed in the context of the expression of "all matters affecting the child" in the article 12 of UN CRC, which defines the children's right to participate. In this example, the adult plays a decisive role whether which matter interest the child. The example implies that the child has a curiosity about a matter which doesn't interest him/her. According to the example, the dismissal of her/his mother is a matter that doesn't interest him/her. Also, there is a disputable question about this case in the questions of the end of the passage.

“Atıl sorularını sürdürmeden duramadı. “Anamı işten ne demeye çıkardılar?” Ana, köylü diliyle art arda birkaç kez izlendikten sonra “İşveren, satışların azaldığını söylüyor.” dedi. “Benimle birlikte birçok yabancı işçinin işine de son verdiler.” Baba kaşlarını çatarak söze karıştı. “Susun gayrı! Kapatın konuyu! Çocuk ağzına düşecek sözler değil bunlar! Dert kocaman. Hem de günden güne daha çok büyümekte!” Ana oğul suspus olup başlarını öne eğdiler.” (Türkçe 7, MEB, s.20)

[“Atıl kept asking questions. “Why did they fire my mother?” The mother cursed with her peasant language, and then said “The employer says the sales are dropping.” And added, “They fired so many foreign workers with me”. The father joined the conversation with a frown: “Shut up already! Stop talking about it! These are not the things for children to talk about! Our suffering is enormous and it is growing day by day!” The mother and child kept silent and bowed their heads.”] (Turkish Language 7, MoNE, p.20)

Two passages above are related to the reactions of the adults in the cases where the children express themselves and present their opinions. In the first passage, the remarkable point is that there is an emphasis on the attribution of "adult". In Turkish textbooks, which is filled the cases where the children can find

the right path by listening to the advice of the adults, the child is never surprised when he/she learn something from the adults because learning proceeds only from the adult to the child. If learning realizes from the child to the adult, this absolutely creates a surprise. This is a result of an approach ignoring the fact that the child is not only affected but also affecting as a social agent in the studies about the sociology of childhood. The second example is similarly related to the reaction of the adult for unexpected but meaningful opinions of the children. In the second passage, the capacity of a child is compared to the adult's capacity and it is emphasized that the child approaches the adulthood. This case reminds Sorin's adult-in training image of the child, in which adulthood is a goal for the children.¹⁵⁵

“İki yetişkin insan, küçük bir çocuktan ders almış gibi şaşkın ama memnundular.” (Türkçe 6, MEB, s.65)
[“Two grown-ups, almost like taught a lesson from a little kid, were surprised but happy.”] (Turkish Language, 6 MoNE, p.65)

“Büyük adamlar gibi konuşuyorsun. Büyümüş de küçülmüş gibisin. Düşünüyorum ana... Düşündükçe de büyüyorum. Tüm düşünen insanlar böyledir.” (Türkçe 7, MEB, s.65)
[You speak like a grown men. Soon ripe, soon rotten. I'm thinking, mother... As I think, I grow up. All thinking men are like this.] (Turkish Language 7, MoNE, p.65)

One of the problems experienced when realizing children's participation is the insistence of adults to present experiences of participation that are similar to their own experiences, without taking into account the specific needs and characteristics of the children. As mentioned in the second chapter, school councils are a mechanism for children to use their right to participate in education. The main problem in the functioning of this mechanism is that school councils are a product of adult-mind, which is inspired by the national assembly of the state, which does not consider the children's own needs and characteristics. The contents of the school council are only found in the 6th-grade Turkish language textbook. The fact that the school council is included in the content is valuable as it creates an opportunity

¹⁵⁵ Sorin, *Changing images of childhood: Reconceptualising early childhood practice.*

for discussion about this subject. However, it may be also troublesome to address the Turkish language textbook since it focuses only on the propaganda and election process. As can be seen below, the election speeches of the candidate children were asked, and the other children were asked questions about which candidate to choose. Although it is positive that children make their choices by explaining the reasons, it is a significant shortcoming to show the fact that participation only consists of the election process. The way that participation is visible in this way prevents children from learning exactly what their participation rights are, and only provides a framework for the election to be sufficient for participation and democracy. Finally, the use of visuals of singing children from a certain socio-economic level rather than speaking to their friends is also troubling in terms of the representation of child participation.

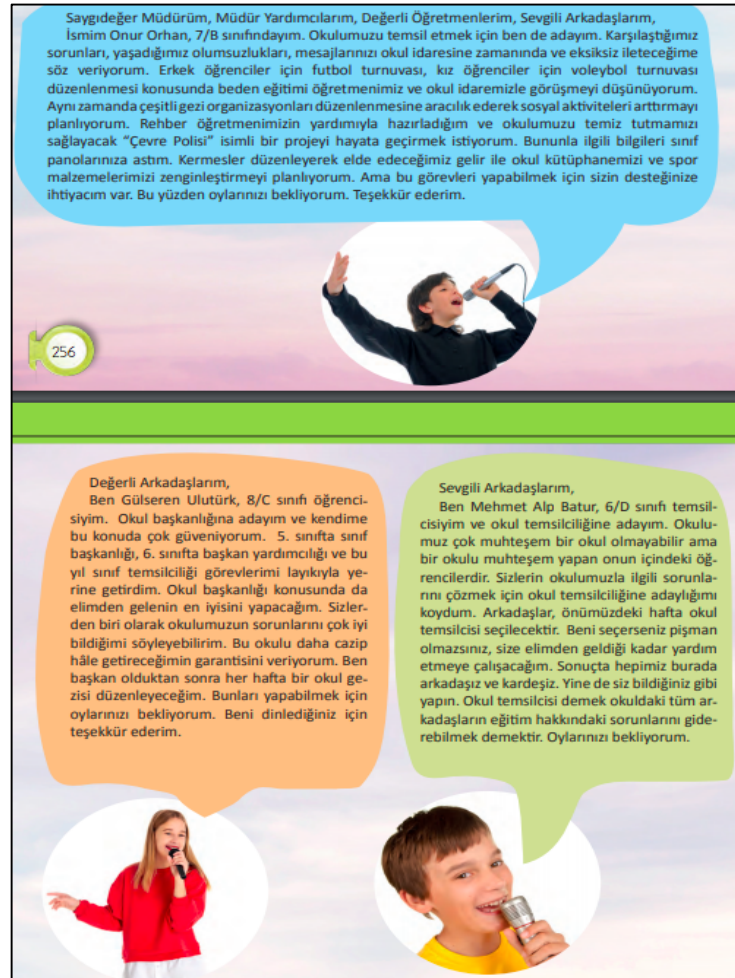


Figure 17: Turkish Language 6, MoNE, p. 256-257

[(The child is wearing black) Respectable Principal, Vice Principals, my dear teachers and classmates,

My name is Onur Orhan, I'm from the class 7/B. I'm a candidate to represent our school. I promise to deliver every obstacle and problem that we have to our school administration on time and in full. I'm thinking about discussing with our PE teachers and school administration about a football tournament for boys and volleyball tournament for girls. Also I'm planning to increase social activities by helping organizing various trips. I'd like to launch a project called "Environment Police" that I prepared with the help of our school counsellor to help us keep our school clean. I put up the necessary information about this to boards in our classes. I'd like to organize fairs and with the income from it, I'd like to develop our school library and our sports equipments. In order to do so, I need your support. Therefore I'm waiting for your votes. Thank you.

(The child is wearing red)Dear friends,

I'm Gülseren Ulutürk, I'm a student of the class 8/C. I'm a candidate for school presidency and I'm very confident of myself. In 5th grade I was a class president. In 6th grade I was the class president assistant and this year I was the class representative. I performed all of these duties successfully. I assure you that I will be the best in school presidency. As one of you, I can say that I know the problems in our school first hand. I guarantee that I will make our school much more appealing. When I become president, there will be a school trip every week. I'm waiting for your votes to make it true. Thank you for listening.

(The child is wearing yellow)Dear friends,

My name is Mehmet Alp Batur. I'm from the class 6/D. I'm the class representative and now I'm a candidate for school representative. Our school may not be great, but students are what makes a school great. I became a candidate so that I can solve your problems about our school. Friends, next week we will elect our school representative. If you elect me, you won't regret it, I'll try to help you as much as I can. After all, we are all friends here, we are brothers and sisters. But do as you wish. Being a school representative means solving all the problems of students related to education. I'm waiting for your votes.]

In this activity of the election process, which takes place in 6th-grade Turkish textbooks, it should be discussed whether the speech of the children is real. It is not important whether children's speeches or ideas are realist or not. Rather, what is important is to discuss whether only children's propaganda speeches in the election process as a candidate is enough for meaningful child participation. The


discussion focusing on whether children's speech is a realist or not depends on the attitudes of school administrators. Despite discussing the "realistic" projects of the children, it is more important to ask the questions that can produce critical thinking about the reactions of school administrators when the children want to realize their commitments. This kind of participation is only made up of an election process and does not confer any responsibility to the adults after the election process. Therefore, such a child participation belongs to the tokenism in the ladder of Roger Hart¹⁵⁶ and is accepted as a non-participation because it is assumed that the effect of children have a real impact on the process by giving some tasks such as giving a speech in the step of tokenism but the children do not have any impact on the decision in the last instance.

3.2.2.2 “Adult Controlled/Centered” Child Participation

Child participation is actually based on the emancipation of the child considering the approaches about the right of the child. It deconstructs adult-child dualism and defends the idea that the children should be seen as an individual and express their own opinions freely. In other words, it supports the autonomy of the child. For this reason, the title of "adult controlled child participation" is against the nature of meaningful child participation. However, there is a need for a new definition for the sections in the textbooks of Turkish language textbooks that pretend to be exhibited as child participation. The definition of “*Adult Controlled/Centered Child Participation*” is used for examples where children talk, but whose words are defined by the satisfaction of adults and where there is a consensus on the wishes and expectations of adults. As emphasized in the sections above, in Turkish language textbooks, there is praise for adulthood and the dominance of adult wisdom are reflected in child participation processes. In the following example, there is a child who expresses his/her thoughts and an adult

¹⁵⁶ Lundy, “Voice’is not enough: conceptualising Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child”.

listening to him/her, but the process does not reflect a consideration about the child's opinion, but rather the adult imposing his/her opinion on the child.



SAĞLIK VE SPOR **08**

Çocuk – Evet.

Anne – Ben gece uyurken seni uyandırıp karanlıkta okul saatin geldi diyerek okula gönderiyor muyum hiç?

Çocuk – Hayır.

Anne – Sen de bana onları yemek istemediğini söylüyorsun. Sen hep sevdiğin yemekleri hazırlamamı istiyorsun ama yanlış yapıyorsun. Çünkü bütün yemeklerden yemelisin, yoksa sağlıklı beslenemezsin yavrucuğum doğru mu?

Çocuk – Doğru anneciğim. Haklısın.

Anne – Mesela sen süt içmezsen, yoğurt ve peynir yemezsen boyun uzar mı?

Çocuk – Hayır uzamaz anneciğim.

Anne – Peki sen makarna, köfte, yumurtalı ıspanak gibi şeyler yemezsen büyüyebilir misin?

Çocuk – Hayır büyümem.

Anne – Peki sen pekmez, reçel gibi şeyler yemezsen güçlü olabilir misin?

Çocuk – Hayır anne.

Anne – Meyve ve sebzeleri yemezsen vücuduna vitamin girer mi?

Çocuk – Girmez anneciğim.

Anne – Vücudumuzun her yiyeceğe ihtiyacı vardır yavrucuğum. Ve bizim de bütün yiyeceklerden yememiz gerekli. Yoksa hasta oluruz değil mi yavrum? Öyle değil mi çocuklar? Yoksa hasta oluruz değil mi?

Öğrenciler – Evet.


Anne – Haydi yavrum şimdi gel yemeğimizi yiyelim. Böylece sağlıklı büyüyebilirsin. Anlaştık mı?

Çocuk – Peki anneciğim. Artık benim için hazırladığın bütün yemeklerden yiyeceğim.

Anne – Canım yavrum. Benim akıllı oğlum. Haydi gidelim.

Çocuk – Gidelim anneciğim.

Anne – Haydi hoşça kalın çocuklar.
(Kuklalar sahneden ayrılır.)



Fatma ÇETİN
(Kısaltılmıştır.)

237

Figure 18: Turkish Language 3, MoNE, p.237

[KID: Yes.

MOTHER: Do I ever send you to school in the dark by waking up you while you are sleeping at night and saying your school will start?

KID: No.

MOTHER: And you're telling me you don't want to eat them. You always ask me to cook your favorite food but you're wrong. Because

you need to eat all kinds of food, otherwise you won't be eating healthy. Isn't that right?
 KID: Yes mommy, you are right.
 MOTHER: For example, if you don't eat pasta, meatball, spinach with eggs, can you grow up?
 KID: No, I can't.
 MOTHER: If you don't eat molasses and jam, can you be strong?
 KID: No, mom.
 MOTHER: If you don't eat your fruits and vegetables, can you get enough vitamins?
 KID: No I can't mom.
 MOTHER: Our bodies need all kinds of food, my dear. And we need to eat all of them. Otherwise we would get sick, am I right? Isn't that right, kids? Then we would be sick, right?
 STUDENTS: Yes.
 MOTHER: Come on dear, let's eat our food now. So that you can grow up healthily. Do we have a deal?
 KID: Yes, mommy. From now on I'll eat all the food you cook for me.
 MOTHER: My dear baby. My smart son. Let's go.
 KID: let's go mom.
 MOTHER: Bye, kids.
 (puppets leave the stage)]

The passage of puppet theatre in the image above is about a process of negotiation between a child and her/his mother after a disagreement about eating. This passage assumes that the child expresses her/his opinions about a matter interesting him/her, the adult listens to him/her and they decide together. However, in this passage, we witness how to make his/her decision change due to the manipulation of the adult and how to be concluded a process upon the adult's request. The child answers the questions in accordance with the request of the adult. In this case, the child's opinions are manipulated and thus he/she is convinced by the adults. For this reason, this is not an example for real child participation. This example is a combination of tokenism and manipulation steps indicated by Roger Hart.¹⁵⁷

In the examples where the children express themselves or take action, the common point is the satisfaction of the adult. There are no child-adult relationships

¹⁵⁷ Hart, *Children's participation: From tokenism to citizenship*

in which children express the kind of a demand that adults do not like, or where children express their views that will lead to a change in adults.

“Babam söze karıştı:

— Oğlumun öğretmeni hangi kitapların yararlı olduğunu öğrencilerine çok iyi öğretmiş. Benim oğlum işte böyledir! Babam bunu söyler söylemez ağabeyim kapağında, elindeki kocaman silahtan duman yayılan korkunç bir adamın resmi bulunan kitabı, okunmuş gazetelerin altına koydu. Sonra ağabeyim heyecanla yanıma geldi.

— Gel, seni bir güzel öpeyim. Benim biricik kardeşim, kitap seçmedeki yetkinliğini görmekten nasıl kıvanç duydum, anlatamam. Bak bundan sonra sana ne kitaplar alacağım. Hemen şimdi, haydi, çabuk giyin! Doğruca kitapçıya gidiyoruz. Annem kahvaltayı hazırlayınca kadar gider geliriz.” (Türkçe 6, MEB, s.26-27)

[“My dad interrupted:

— My son’s teacher taught the students well which books are useful. That’s how my son is!

As soon as my dad said this, my brother put the book in his hand, the one that has a horrible man with a big smoking gun on the cover, under the pile of read newspapers. Then he came to me with excitement.

— Come here, let me kiss you. My dear brother, I cannot tell you how happy I am to see that you are very capable in choosing books. See how great books I am going to buy for you from now on. Now, let’s get dressed, quick! We are going straight to the bookshop. We’ll be back before my mom makes breakfast. “](Turkish Language 6, MoNE, p. 26-27)

..Anne kuşun vuruluşunu apartmanda oturan sarı saçlı bir çocuk görmüştü. O sarı saçlı çocuk, kısa zamanda babasıyla birlikte yanıma geldi. Sarı saçlı çocuk, babasına dönerek: “Anne kuş öldürüldü. Yuvadaki yavru kuşlar da açlıktan ölürlür. Çınara çıkarak o yavru kuşları yuvayla birlikte indireceğim. Besleyeceğim onları, büyüteceğim. Kanatlanmaya durduklarında da gökyüzüne bırakacağım, uçup gitsinler.” dedi. Sarı saçlı çocuğun bu davranışı babasını çok sevindirdi. (Türkçe 5, MEB, s.20)

[...“the boy with a blonde hair saw how the mother bird got shot. That blonde boy came to me with his father shortly. The blonde boy turned to his father and said:”The mother bird is murdered. The babies in the nest would die of hunger. I’ll climb to the plane tree and take them down with their nests. I’ll feed them and make them grow. When they are ready to fly, I’ll let them to the sky”. His attitude made his father very happy.] (Turkish Language 5, MoNE, p.20)

The last two examples above ask the question of what will happen when children make choices and decisions which adults do not enjoy or accept. No adult-child interaction was found in the examined textbooks in which the child insistently expressed his/her opinion on an issue that did not satisfy the adult, then somehow the adult considered the child's opinion and even accepted it. In short, there is a hidden adult control in children's and adults' dialogues and children can express their views under this control. Already, when children say something they think that adult will not like, their uneasiness is reflected in the textbooks:

“OYUNCAKÇI AMCA

....

Sonra oyuncakçı amca,
Senden aldığım tüfekleri,
Bozarak onlardan kuş yaptım,
Bana kızmazsın değil mi?
Abdülkadir BULUT “
(Türkçe 5, MEB, s.14)

[UNCLE TOY SELLER

...

Then Uncle Toy Seller,
The guns I bought from you
I broke and turned them into birds
You won't get mad, would you?
ABDÜLKADİR BULUT]
(Turkish Language 5, MoNE, p.14)

This kind of participation, which is centered on adults, should not be considered as real participation, as defined in the first three stages (manipulation, decoration, and tokenism) of Roger Hart. In that, it is the representation of a discourse in which the child is not in the center of his / her autonomy but in the center of the adulthood discourse. Besides, the concern of children not to please adults, such as fearing that an adult will get angry as in this poem, is incompatible with the principles such as being safe, respectful, and child-friendly in the article 12 of UN CRC. Another indication of this discourse is that children will only be considered when they are “good children”:

“TAŞITLARA SESLENİŞ

...

Bir küçük yolcun olayım.
Kötü bir çocuk değilim,
Bir zararım olmaz size.
Annem bekler uzaklarda,
Götürün beni ne olur.

Hasan Latif SARIYÜCE “
(Türkçe 2, Koza, s.303)

[CALL FOR VEHICLES

Let me be your little passenger

I'm not a bad kid,

I won't do you any harm

My mother awaits far away,

Please take me to her

Hasan Latif SARIYÜCE]

(Turkish Language 2, Koza, p.303)

One of the examples closest to meaningful child participation can be found in the following example. The adult in this example is not an ordinary person; it should be noted that it is an important person in terms of history and therefore may be mentioned in the textbook in particular. It is a right that children should be taken seriously by all adults in their environment. In this example, a letter written by the child has been taken seriously and it is seen in the answer by the adult. However, in the response to the child, the intelligent and hardworking adjectives of children and the completion with a bit of adult advice remind us about the centrality of the adult authority and wisdom in child participation. Nevertheless, it was considered as content of meaningful child participation since it was a rare case for the child to respond with a letter and then get a response with a letter considering the child.

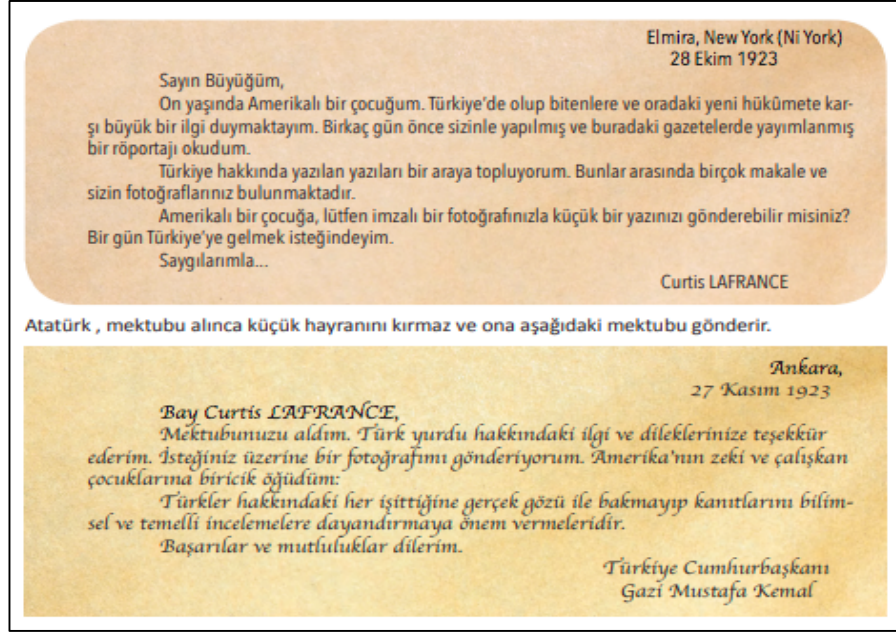


Figure 19: Turkish Language 5, MoNE, p.62

[Dear Mister,
I'm a ten-year-old American boy. I'm very interested in what is happening in Turkey and the new government there. I read in the newspaper a couple of days ago an interview made with you.
I'm collecting written material about Turkey. Among them, there are many articles and your photos.
Would you please send your signed photo and a little writing to an American boy? I'd really like to come to Turkey one day.
Regards,
Curtis Lafrance

When Atatürk receives the letter, he didn't overturn his request and sent him this letter:

Ankara 27 November 1923

Mr. Curtis Lafrance,

I received your letter. Thank you for your interest and good wishes about the Turkish country. I'm sending you a photo of mine upon your request. My only advice for the smart and hardworking children of America is this:

That they don't assume everything they hear about Turks is true and they base their opinions on scientific proofs.

I wish you success and happiness.

President of Turkey

Gazi Mustafa Kemal.]

3.2.2.3 Child Participation without Audience

In the first chapter, which the participation of children in the Lundy model was discussed theoretically, it was stated that there should be an audience to have a meaningful implementation of child participation. Considering children's participation both as expressing the views of children and taking their opinions seriously, the examples of children expressing their opinions are more common in Turkish language textbooks, but the listeners/audience whom children express themselves to are not very visible. In two examples below, it is very important to include the expressions and questions that emphasize the children's expression, thinking, and action. However; there is uncertainty about the adults who are responsible for taking children's views seriously, and the adults are not included in the questions to help children think about it. In both questions, children discuss what they can do about cutting trees. There is no information or criticism of adults who decide to cut trees.

“Gölgesinde eğlendiğimiz kavak ağaçları kesilecek, yerlerine kocaman bir beton yığını dikilecekti. İşin üzücü yanı çevremizde zaten birçok alışveriş merkezi olmasıydı. Hep birlikte oyun alanımızı nasıl kurtarabiliriz diye düşünmeye başladık.” (Türkçe 5, MEB, s.29)

[The poplar trees that we have fun underneath would be cut down and replaced with a concrete jungle. What's sadder is that there were plenty of malls around. We started thinking about how we can save our playground.] (Turkish Language 5, MoNE, p.29)

“Çocuğun yerinde olsaydınız çok sevdiğiniz karadut ağacınızın kesilmesine engel olmak için ne gibi önlemler alırdınız?” (Türkçe 7, MEB, s. 29)

[“If you were in the same situation with this kid, what precautions would you take to stop your favorite black mulberry tree being cut down?”] (Turkish Language 7, MoNE, p.29)

The topics of both statements above are related to child participation at the local level. It is important that the children are included in the decision-making process about the places where they live and express their complaints about it. However, in this case, there is no expression including the authorities, which are

responsible to create the spaces where the children express themselves and their opinions are taken seriously. In the examples about child participation to the social problems, it is a weak point that there is not any question promoting critical thinking about the responsibilities of the adult. Since it should be pointed out that child participation is not only the child's self-expression but also the adults' responsibility to getting weight on children's views.

The following poem is included both in the 3rd-grade and the 2nd-grade Turkish language textbook. This poem contains children's demands about the country and the world they live in and it is impressive that it reflects the views of children. However, in this poem, there is uncertainty about the adults responsible for fulfilling the demands of the children and a critique of the adults who are the decision makers and planners of daily life has risen.

“BİR DÜNYA BIRAKIN

...

Bir vatan bırakın biz çocuklara
İsyanmış olmasın göz yaşlarıyla.
Bir bahçe bırakın biz çocuklara
Göklerde yer açın uçurtmalara.

...

BİR DÜNYA BIRAKIN

Bir barış bırakın biz çocuklara
Ulaştın şarkımız güneşe ve aya.

...

Adnan ÇAKMAKÇIOĞLU”

(Türkçe 3, MEB, s. 225 & Türkçe 2, Koza, s. 123)

[LEAVE US A WORLD

...

Leave a homeland to us children
Let it be not wet with tears.
Leave a garden to us children
Open up a space for kites in the sky.

...

LEAVE US A WORLD

Leave peace to us children

Let our songs reach to the sun and the moon.]

(Turkish Language 3, MoNE, p.225 & Turkish Language 2, Koza,
p.123)

In this poem, which is directly related to conveying the requests of the children for the world to the authorities, and in the questions about this poem, there is no inquiry about the messages of the children: their messages are for whom? Were their messages conveyed or not? It is not possible to say that these examples are meaningful child participation because "audience" and "influence" in the Lundy's model¹⁵⁸ is uncertain. For the realization of article 12 of UN CRC, it is required that there should be an audience that the child creates a change or an influence about the matter that he/she expresses. There are some examples where the audience is clear. In the examined Turkish language textbooks the audience is predominantly families and teachers. The visibility of decision makers is very rare in the contents of analyzed child-adult relations. If the content includes a decision maker, it is seen in texts mostly while giving advice to children. In the following two examples, children are together with the decision-makers except for their families and teachers. One of these examples is related to April 23 National Sovereignty and Children's Day, which is not very surprising.



Figure 20: Turkish Language 3, MoNE, p.61

In Figure 20, there is a photograph where a person thought to be a decision maker cut the cake together with the children. This photograph reminds us of the

¹⁵⁸ Lundy, "Voice' is not enough: conceptualising Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child".

participation levels of decorating and demonstrating by Roger Hart's child participation ladder. After the image; the question of “Why is it important for everyone to express their thoughts while making decisions in your family?” comes. It has never been mentioned that children express their thoughts while making decisions in their countries, municipalities or even in their schools; only family participation is emphasized. Though, the General Comment No. 12 of the Committee on the Rights of the Child stated that child participation should take place in different areas such as family, school, national level, health care, media, and society.

Another example, in which children communicate with the decision-makers who are responsible for the country administration, is in the abbreviated version of *the Epic of the July 15th National Will (15 Temmuz Milli İrade Destanı)* prepared for children by the Ministry of National Education. Its content includes an image and a text written for children. In the image, it is seen that a young child is moving towards the crowd on the bridge with an adult holding his hand. When this image is analyzed in respect to the representation of the child at an age that can not perceive what is going on and the principle of the best interests of child, it can be said that this kind of participation reminds us of tokenism. In the text on the same page, which is written in a language that involves children, there is an approach that instrumentalizes the child mentioned in section 3.2.1.2 and that includes children as the assurance for the future of the country rather than including the children by taking their needs into consideration.

MİLLİ MÜCADELE VE ATATÜRK **02**

SORULARLA 15 TEMMUZ

Ne oldu?
Devleti ele geçirmek için darbe yapmaya kalkışıldı.

Kime karşı yapıldı?
Türkiye Cumhuriyeti devletine, meclise ve seçilmiş hükümete karşı, yani millî iradeye karşı yapıldı.

Ne zaman yapıldı?
15 Temmuz 2016 tarihinde.

Amaçları ne idi?
Devleti ele geçirmektir.

Nasıl yayıldılar?
Kendilerini iyilik timsali insanlar olarak göstererek gerçek yüzlerini sakladılar.

Kim durdurdu?
Meydanları dolduran millet, siyasetçiler, basın, polis ve asker önledi.

Hangi dersleri çıkardık?
Aklını kullanmayan insanı başkaları kullanır. Bağımsızlığa sahip çıkana kimse esir edemez.



Sevgili çocuklar,
Sizlerden derslerinizde, eğitiminize ve hayatınıza bu anlayışla yaklaşmanızı bekliyoruz. Bu ülkenin size ihtiyacı var. Şimdi çalışma zamanı... Ülkemizi büyütmek, demokrasimizi güçlendirmek için hepimizin çok çalışması gerekiyor. Dışa bağımlılığı ortadan kaldıran, büyük projelerini, yatırımlarını kesintisiz hayata geçiren bir Türkiye olma yolunda hep birlikte yürüyeceğiz. Bu yolda en büyük güvencemiz sizlerin varlığı ve gayretleridir.

MEB 15 Temmuz Millî İrade Destanı
(Kısaltılmıştır.)

Figure 21: Turkish Language 3, MoNE, p.71

[The questions about 15th July

What happened?

It is attempted to make a military coup to take possession of the State.

Against whom?

Against the State of the Republic of Turkey, the assembly and the elected government, in other words against the national will.

When happened?

15th July 2016

What is its purpose?

To take possession of the State

How did they spread?

They hid their real face by introducing themselves as good people.

Who stopped it?

The people, the politicians, the press, the police, and the military in the squares.

Which lessons did we take from 15th July?

Others use people who do not use their minds. Nobody enslaves defenders of independence.

Dear children,


We expect you to approach your education and life with this understanding in your courses. This country needs you. Now is the time to work... We all have to work hardly in order to enlarge our country and to strengthen our democracy. We will always walk together in the way of being Turkey who eliminates the foreign-source dependency and realizes its own big projects and investments. Our greatest assurance in this way is your presence and efforts.

Ministry of National Education 15th July National Will Epic (abbreviated version)]

The other example is related to the activity of the school principal and the child's speech. It can be considered as an example of child participation in school. However, the fact that the emphasis is on the child's behavior is troublesome for the child to express himself freely and for the adult to take into account every child. It is not just the rules that children should follow, but the rules that adults are expected to follow when talking to the child, for example, the principal.

7. Etkinlik

Zeynep arkadaşıyla Arda da okulda müdürüyle konuşuyor. Zeynep ve Arda bu konuşmaları sırasında aşağıda yazılı kurallardan hangilerine uymalıdır? Zeynep için "Z"yi, Arda için "A"yı, ikisi için de geçerli olan kurallarda ise iki harfi de işaretleyiniz.



Karşısındaki kişilerle göz teması kurmalıdır.	Z	A
İşitilebilir bir ses tonuyla konuşmalıdır.	Z	A
Kelimeleri doğru telaffuz etmelidir.	Z	A
Arkadaşım, arkadaşlarım gibi ifadeler kullanmalıdır.	Z	A
Öğretmenim ya da müdürüm gibi ifadeler kullanmalıdır.	Z	A
Karşısındakini saygılı bir şekilde dinlemelidir.	Z	A
Konuştukları konunun dışına çıkmamalıdır.	Z	A

Figure 22: Turkish Language 2, Koza, p.82

[Activity 7: Zeynep talks with his friend, and Arda speaks to the school principal. Which of the following written rules should Zeynep

and Arda follow? Mark "Z" for Zeynep, "A" for Arda, and two letters for the rules that apply to both.

He/She should make eye contact with other people.

He/She should speak in an audible tone.

Words should pronounce correctly.

He/She should use phrases like my friend, my friends.

He/She should use expressions like my teacher or my principal.

He/She should listen respectfully.

He/She should not go beyond the subject they speak.]

To emphasize the respect of the adults for the children's right to participation in the textbooks, in the example of Figure 21, it would be better to choose a content in which there are some rules about how to listen to the child for the adult (the school principal). The authors of the textbooks mention the rules that children should obey instead of adults like in daily life. For the visibility of children's right to participation in the textbooks, there is a need to increase the contents which question the power of the adults and promote the right to participation to the child.

3.2.2.4 Emphasis on Charity-Based Approach in Child Initiated Experiences

One of the highest levels of child participation is related to the processes initiated and lead by children. It is considered to be the highest step in child participation according to Roger Hart's participation ladder, if and when adults are involved in and supportive of these processes initiated by children. It has been determined that the projects or activities where children take initiative are included in the Turkish language textbooks in the 3rd and 4th grades. It is seen that these activities, which are made exclusively by children as active citizens and independent from adults, are based on charity rather than advocating rights.

The examples of children taking the initiative against the problems such as cutting of trees and the problems of animals are included in Turkish language textbooks. In these examples, individual aid/charity which the children can make about the current problem is emphasized and there is no work aiming at the decision makers who are responsible for this issue. The first example below differs in that it includes a different and more comprehensive activity than individual aid/charity. It

also supports the active subject state of the child, for example, from the point of view of real life and the ability of the child to prioritize. In textbooks, giving more spaces to examples which includes influencing decision makers, will contribute to children's development of rights-based approaches to social problems.

“10. Sınıf öğrencisi, 3D yazıcısıyla hayvanlara protez bacak yaptı. Lise öğrencisi CAS projesi kapsamında engelli hayvanlar için protez bacak üretiyor. 3D yazıcı aracılığıyla bir protez üreten Kerem TOPALİSMAİLOĞLU, klasik proteze göre daha az maliyetli ve hareketli olan bu ürünle engelli hayvanların hayatını iyileştirmeyi amaçlıyor. Basından “

(Türkçe 4, MEB, s.84)

[“10th-grade student made a prosthetic leg for animals with a 3D printer. The high school student makes prosthetic legs for animals as a part of the CAS project. Kerem Topalismailoğlu, who made a prosthetic leg with a 3D printer, hopes to make life easier for disabled animals with this cost-effective and mobile product compared to classical prosthetics. (from the press)]

(Turkish Language 4, MoNE, p.84)



Figure 23: Turkish Language 3, MoNE, p.193

The following two examples are related to other aid activities which children are active in. The work of children in the context of social responsibility is limited by a charity-based approach. Especially in the first example, examples of helping elderly people or assisting people with disabilities are frequently used in

textbooks. These examples prevent children from a rights-based approach by enabling them to develop perceptions like these social groups as needy and incapable.



Figure 24: Turkish Language 3, MoNE, p.90

“Sevgili 3/D Sınıfındaki Arkadaşlarım, Sınıfımıza yapmış olduğunuz kitap yardımı için çok teşekkür ederiz. Gönderdiğiniz kitaplar sayesinde sınıfımızda bir sınıf kitaplığı oluşturduk. Farklı yazarların kitaplarına ulaşma fırsatı yakaladık. Bu kitaplar bize büyük zenginlik kattı. Bu sebeple sınıfımız adına sizlere çok teşekkür ederiz. Sizlere yolladığımız kitapların fotoğrafını gönderdik. “(Türkçe 3, MEB, s.160)

[My dear friends in class 3/D, thank you for your book aid to our class. Thanks to your books, we created a classroom bookcase. We had a chance to read different authors. These books have enriched us. Therefore, we thank you so much in the name of our class. We sent you a photo of the books you sent.] (Turkish Language 3, MoNE, p.160)

It is important to strengthen children's rights-based approach to social problems, not just to charity-based examples, but to include different examples of activities such as defending children's rights, demanding human rights, signing campaigns, and establishing an association. On the other hand, such examples are

not included in the textbooks; it also has the potential to cause the exclusion of children involved in rights-based work.

Although there is content about the membership of children in non-governmental organizations in a textbook for the 8th-grade. Yet, only NGOs working in the scope of social solidarity are included in this section. In fact, children older than 12 can be a member of child associations, children older than 15 can establish their own association in Turkey. This information is not mentioned in the examined textbooks. Thus, there are not any associations established by children among the proposed NGOs.




Figure 25: Turkish Language 8, MoNE, p.91

[Imagine being a member of a non-governmental organization for social aid. How do you plan an aid event for this organization? Write down your plan.

The logos of NGOs: Green Crescent, Turkish Armed Forces Mehmetçik Foundation, TEMA (The Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats, LÖSEV (The Foundation for Children with Leukemia.)

The only example that can be considered as establishing a child association or being a member of the child association is the form prepared for membership to the animal protection association. According to legal regulations in Turkey, children can be members of associations only established by children. Therefore, if there are adults among the members of this association, unfortunately, it is not possible for the child to become a member in real life. The inclusion of information or questions to prepare examples will address the rights of children will contribute to the empowerment of the child within the scope of the child's right to participate.

9.ETKİNLİK Aşağıdaki üyelik formunu yönergelere uygun olarak doldurunuz.

**TÜYLÜ DOSTLAR HAYVANLARI KORUMA DERNEĞİ**
ÜYELİK FORMU

Adı Soyadı:.....

Doğum Tarihi:

Telefon:.....

E-posta:.....

Evcil hayvan besliyor musunuz?:

Evcil hayvanınız varsa cinsi nedir?:

Niçin derneğimize üye olmak istediğinizi kısaca açıklayınız:.....

.....

.....

.....

Figure 26: Turkish Language 5, MoNE, p.26

[Activity 9: Fill out the membership form below in accordance with the guidelines.

HAIRY FRIENDS, ANIMAL PROTECTION ASSOCIATION
MEMBERSHIP FORM (The questions: Name-Surname, date of
birth, phone, e-mail, do you feed pets? What is the genus if you have
a pet? Explain why you would like to become a member of our
association.)]

CONCLUSION

The aim of the thesis is to examine the relationships between adults and children in the context of childhood construction and child participation in Turkish language textbooks from 1st grade to 8th grade. The thesis is based on three main questions to discuss and to answer: (1) what kind of childhood representation is presented to children? (2) how child and adult relationships are portrayed? (3) how children's right to participation is included in the textbooks? The textbooks provide a significant opportunity to display the current implicit perceptions and the dominant understandings about the construction of childhood and child participation in society. The textbooks refer to significant resources of “*official knowledge*”. Therefore, the existing content which is presented to children about being the child and participation rights of the child in the textbooks reflects the dominant discourse in the society. The thesis concentrates on the child-adult relations in order to reveal the representation and the dynamics of power relations between children and adults in the textbooks. The reason for this concentration on child-adult relations is that childhood is socially and culturally coded and constructed by the web of these power relations. Besides, the hierarchical organization of the power relations on behalf of the adults creates an obstacle to the realization of children’s right to participation.

Children face with the perceptions of adults, who are seen children as incapable and weakness, in the parts of their daily life (such as in the family, in the school or in the society). The struggle against these perceptions, in which adults don’t accept children as “right-holders”, “social agents” and “the subjects”, constitutes the cornerstone of the realization of children’s participation rights. Here, the childhood sociology as an interdisciplinary field and the studies on children’s right to participation remarkably contribute to this struggle. In this sense, this thesis was written on the purpose of a humble contribution to advance the theoretical framework of studies on childhood and child participation in Turkey.

Throughout the research conducted by content and critical discourse analyses, the child-adult relations and the interactions between them were examined

in eight Turkish language textbooks from 1st-grade to 8th-grade. The findings of this research center upon that the adult's power and oppression on the child are portrayed in the child-adult relations within the effect of the *adultism*. The concept of "*adultism*" is concisely defined as adult authoritarianism toward children, which is based on the hierarchical and discriminative way of thinking. As a result of this hierarchical point of view, children undergo systemic oppression of the adults and adult-produced systems.¹⁵⁹ A number of contents in the examined Turkish language textbooks can be an example for adultism. A father character, who is trying to make a decision about the school of his son in contrast to the request and ability of his son, in 8th grade Turkish language textbook and the expression such as “*in spite of his young age*”, while presenting a success story of a child can be shown as the evidences of *adultism*.

Childhood is constructed as “passive” and “adult-dependent” period in the examined Turkish language textbooks. All contents in which children are seen as an investment for the future idealize childhood as a period of innocence, support passive and adult-dependent childhood construction and emphasize the inadequacies of children. On the other hand, adulthood is represented as a level of perfection and as a power in the same textbooks. In the examined textbooks, it is very common to encounter with the contents that adults intervene in children, dictate them to the correct behavior, make decisions in place of the child. Besides that, there are only a few examples where children criticize adults' behaviors and adults learn something from children. Even in the cases where children are active subjects, the children are implicitly under the power and control of the adult. In most of the examples where the child expresses his / her opinions or offers his/her demands to adults, children seem to be motivated to please the adults. Although there are various examples in which adults approve and appreciate children, child characters who are expressing their opinions on the matters which adult don't like and accept do not take place in examined textbooks.

¹⁵⁹ LeFrançois, *Adultism*, 47-49.

The notion of meaningful child participation in this thesis was framed by two aspects of Lundy model, which conceptualizes Article 12 in UN CRC: Children have right to express their opinions freely and the views of the children should take into consideration by the audience. In the section 2.3.1, the research was developed with the contribution of Öztürk's work on the curriculum for the course of life sciences, of Merey's study on social studies textbooks and of Nayır and Kepenekçi' analysis on Turkish language textbooks about children's participation rights in Turkey. While referring to these works, it was considered both the fields where children's participation rights are realized and the examples which contain only self-expression of the child and the right to organize. Taking the opinions of the child into consideration and including them in the decision-making process is the *sine qua non* of the right of participation. The results concerning child participation are classified into four different subheadings in the analysis. Under the first subheading; it was discussed the findings concerning the approaches which pose obstacles for the realization of child participation. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, these approaches stem from adults' childhood perceptions. The forms of child participation are investigated in the second and the third sub-headings. In summary, the following two results were drawn based on these sections: (1) There is an "adult control" during the children's participation process and only the opinions which the adult likes and accepts are taken into consideration; (2) The audience who should give weight to the children opinions is lost or takes no responsibility.

According to the levels of child participation which are discussed with different models, the highest level of child participation in the studies is the cases in which the children start on their own initiative. The child-initiated examples were analyzed under the fourth subheading. Although it is very pleasing that there are contents related to the activities initiated by the leadership of children, these contents should be discussed by comparing to the charity-based approach. Apart from certain themes such as helping "the animals, the elders, the disabled people, the poor" and protecting the environment and the trees; the topics of the child-led examples should be diversified. Current social problems, such as children's rights

violations should be included in these themes and also in the content of the textbooks. It is important to diversify the examples with both the subjects and the ways in which the children develop “the right based” perspective on social problems starting from their own position.

The inquiry about Turkish language textbooks and the analysis on the texts and the visuals only including adult-child interaction demonstrate the limitations originating from the nature of this study. Further studies are needed on the representation of children characters in the textbooks. In this limited study; there were mostly the visuals of children from the middle-to-upper class which is skating, cycling, going to the theater. However, it has been seen that children's images from a lower socio-economic level have never been encountered or were only included in the only topics of aid/charity. Moreover, during the research, the genders of adults and of children were also coded in the examined contents and it is found that the frequency of the male characters is higher than the frequency of the female characters. To this respect, a study on the gender and the actions of adult and child characters in the books will contribute to understanding the relationship between gender and child participation. Another point about the limitations of this work is that this study was examined only by Turkish language textbooks. It is essential and necessary to expand the analysis by looking at other textbooks on different subjects and comparing to the subjects of the textbooks for the literature of childhood studies. Finally, one of the most important points for new childhood studies is that the involvement of children in research processes as researchers should be increased. The analyze of the textbooks with children will contribute to release new textbooks studies from the eyes of children and to increase the number of the research in which children are the “subject”, not the “object”.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: The List of Analyzed Textbooks

Ađın Haykır, H., Kaplan, H., Kırıyar, A., Tarakçı, R. and Üstün, E. *Turkish Languge 5*, Ankara: MoNE, 2018.

Ataşçı, A. *Turkish Languge 2*, Ankara: Koza, 2018.

Ceylan, S., Duru, K. Erkek, G. and Pastutmaz, M. *Turkish Languge 6*, Ankara: MoNE, 2018.

Civelek D., Yılmaz Gündüz D. and Karafilik F. *Turkish Languge 1*, Ankara: MoNE, 2018.

Kaftan Ayan, H., Arslan, Ü., Kul, S. and Yılmaz, N. *Turkish Languge 4*, Ankara: MoNE, 2018.

Karaduman, B.E., Özdemir E. and Yılmaz O. *Turkish Languge 3*, Ankara: MoNE, 2018.

Kır, T., Kırman, E. and Yağız, S. *Turkish Languge 7*, Ankara: MoNE, 2018.

Mete, G., Karaaslan, M., Kaya, Y., Ozan, Ş. and Özdemir, D. *Turkish Languge 8*, Ankara: MoNE, 2018.

Appendix 2: The List of Coded Examples in Turkish Language Books for Content Analysis

No	Grade Level	Publisher	Visual/Text	Page Number
1	1	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	15-17
2	1	MoNE	Only Visual	73
3	1	MoNE	Only Visual	84
4	1	MoNE	Only Visual	97
5	1	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	105-107
6	1	MoNE	Only Visual	121
7	1	MoNE	Only Visual	125
8	1	MoNE	Only Visual	129
9	1	MoNE	Only Written Text	131
10	2	Koza	Only Visual	40
11	2	Koza	Only Visual	46
12	2	Koza	Only Written Text	48
13	2	Koza	Text and Its Visual(s)	51-52
14	2	Koza	Text and Its Visual(s)	60-62
15	2	Koza	Only Visual	75
16	2	Koza	Only Visual	82
17	2	Koza	Only Visual	95
18	2	Koza	Text and Its Visual(s)	132-137
19	2	Koza	Text and Its Visual(s)	151
20	2	Koza	Only Visual	153
21	2	Koza	Text and Its Visual(s)	155
22	2	Koza	Text and Its Visual(s)	192-193
23	2	Koza	Text and Its Visual(s)	215-216
24	2	Koza	Only Visual	233
25	2	Koza	Text and Its Visual(s)	234-236
26	2	Koza	Text and Its Visual(s)	272-276
27	3	MoNE	Only Visual	10
28	3	MoNE	Only Written Text	27
29	3	MoNE	Only Visual	36
30	3	MoNE	Only Written Text	37
31	3	MoNE	Only Visual	61
32	3	MoNE	Only Visual	61
33	3	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	71

34	3	MoNE	Only Visual	74
35	3	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	84-85
36	3	MoNE	Only Visual	90
37	3	MoNE	Only Written Text	106
38	3	MoNE	Only Visual	136
39	3	MoNE	Only Visual	142,144
40	3	MoNE	Only Visual	164
41	3	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	169
42	3	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	170
43	3	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	174
44	3	MoNE	Only Visual	182
45	3	MoNE	Only Visual	182
46	3	MoNE	Only Written Text	193
47	3	MoNE	Only Written Text	218
48	3	MoNE	Only Written Text	231
49	3	MoNE	Only Written Text	236-237
50	3	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	14
51	4	MoNE	Only Written Text	75
52	4	MoNE	Only Written Text	81
53	4	MoNE	Only Written Text	96
54	4	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	128-130
55	4	MoNE	Only Written Text	138
56	4	MoNE	Only Written Text	162
57	4	MoNE	Only Written Text	169
58	4	MoNE	Only Written Text	194-195
59	4	MoNE	Only Visual	219
60	4	MoNE	Only Written Text	225
61	4	MoNE	Only Written Text	232
62	4	MoNE	Only Written Text	238
63	4	MoNE	Only Written Text	245
64	4	MoNE	Only Visual	245
65	5	MoNE	Only Written Text	14
66	5	MoNE	Only Visual	17
67	5	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	20-21
68	5	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	30
69	5	MoNE	Only Written Text	33
70	5	MoNE	Only Written Text	40-43
71	5	MoNE	Only Written Text	62

72	5	MoNE	Only Visual	65
73	5	MoNE	Only Visual	66
74	5	MoNE	Only Visual	67
75	5	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	88
76	5	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	159
77	5	MoNE	Only Visual	165
78	5	MoNE	Only Visual	205
79	5	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	211
80	5	MoNE	Only Visual	222
81	6	MoNE	Only Visual	15
82	6	MoNE	Only Written Text	26-27
83	6	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	75
84	6	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	79
85	6	MoNE	Only Written Text	83
86	6	MoNE	Only Visual	106
87	6	MoNE	Only Visual	106
88	6	MoNE	Only Written Text	119
89	6	MoNE	Only Written Text	118
90	6	MoNE	Only Written Text	121
91	6	MoNE	Only Written Text	144
92	6	MoNE	Only Visual	176
93	6	MoNE	Only Visual	194
94	6	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	251
95	7	MoNE	Only Written Text	20-23
96	7	MoNE	Only Written Text	20-23
97	7	MoNE	Only Visual	52
98	7	MoNE	Only Written Text	52-55
99	7	MoNE	Only Written Text	65-67
100	7	MoNE	Only Written Text	65-67
101	7	MoNE	Only Visual	79
102	7	MoNE	Only Written Text	86-87
103	7	MoNE	Only Written Text	98-99
104	7	MoNE	Only Written Text	98-99
105	7	MoNE	Only Written Text	104-107
106	7	MoNE	Only Written Text	104-107
107	7	MoNE	Only Written Text	118-120
108	7	MoNE	Only Written Text	136-138
109	7	MoNE	Only Written Text	150-153

110	7	MoNE	Only Written Text	172-174
111	7	MoNE	Only Visual	203
112	7	MoNE	Only Visual	220
113	7	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	226
114	7	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	246-249
115	8	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	92-94
116	8	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	92-94
117	8	MoNE	Only Written Text	121
118	8	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	169-172
119	8	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	200-203
120	8	MoNE	Text and Its Visual(s)	220-221