

CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF VIOLENCE IN DAILY  
LIFE: A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN'S  
VERBAL EXPRESSIONS AND STORIES

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Children's Perception of Violence in Daily Life: A Qualitative Analysis of  
Children's Verbal Expressions and Stories

Çocukların Günlük Yaşantılarındaki Şiddet Algısı: Çocukların Sözel  
İfadelerinin ve Hikayelerinin Niteliksel Analizi

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## ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to explore children's perceptions, experiences and conceptualizations of violence as they encounter in their daily life. Our sample composed of 27 children aged 10 to 12 years who were living in Tarlabası, one of the disadvantaged areas in the center of İstanbul, Turkey. Children attended workshops exploring their daily experiences with different forms of violence. Their verbal expressions in these meetings and the story writings were examined through qualitative analyses. In addition, quantitative analysis was conducted for 9-item Children's Experience Survey that was given to both children and mothers. Children reported feeling bad more frequently in school, feeling frightened more frequently in neighborhood, and feeling peaceful more frequently at home. Mothers were found to underestimate the frequency of children's negative experiences in three environments. Qualitative analysis of sessions revealed that children predominantly discussed more instances of physical violence. Peer relations and school environment were the most frequently mentioned domains of violence that involved physical and relational violence. Neighborhood was described as a frightening atmosphere with examples of political violence and environmental issues. Children's negative and positive experiences were also analyzed. Stories revealed that self-blame, justification of violence and lack of appropriate adult role models were the risk factors for continuing cycle of violence. In addition, stories reflected that raising awareness and empathy capacity of both victims and perpetrators are the key factors of violence resolution. Implications and limitations were discussed.

## ÖZET

Bu çalışmanın amacı çocukların günlük hayatlarındaki şiddet algılarını, yaşantılarını ve kavramsallaştırmalarını incelemektir. Çalışmanın örneklemini İstanbul'un merkezinde bulunan ve dezavantajlı bir bölge olan Tarlabası'nda yaşayan 10-12 yaş arası 27 çocuğu kapsamaktadır. Bu çalışmada çocuklar farklı türlerdeki şiddete dair yaşantılarını ifade ettikleri oturumlara katılmışlardır. Oturumlardaki sözel ifadeleri ve kendi yazdıkları hikayeler niteliksel metodolojiyle analiz edilmiştir. Ayrıca, çocuklara ve annelere verilen 9 soruluk Çocukların Yaşantı Anketi niceliksel analiz edilmiştir. Sonuçlara göre, çocuklar okul ortamında daha sık kendilerini kötü hissetmiş, mahalle ortamında daha sık korku duymuş ve ev ortamında daha sık huzurlu hissetmişlerdir. Anneler, çocukların farklı ortamlardaki olumsuz duygu yaşama sıklığını çocuklara göre daha az olarak ifade etmişlerdir. Niteliksel analizler, çocukların baskın olarak fiziksel şiddet öğelerini tartıştıklarını göstermiştir. Okul ortamı ve akran ilişkileri özellikle fiziksel ve mental şiddeti barındıran, en sık bahsedilen şiddet alanı olmuştur. Mahalle ortamı içinde politik şiddeti ve çevresel problemleri barındıran korku dolu bir atmosfer olarak tasvir edilmiştir. Şiddet deneyimlerine ek olarak çocukların diğer olumsuz ve olumlu deneyimleri de araştırılmıştır. Hikayelerde öne çıkan temalardan şiddetin normalleştirilmesi, mazur görülmesi, çocukların şiddet karşısında kendilerini suçlamaları ve yetişkin rol modeli eksikliği şiddet döngüsünü devam ettiren risk faktörleri olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Hikayelerin analizi, empati kapasitesinin ve şiddetle ilgili farkındalığın artırılmasının şiddetin çözümlenmesindeki önemini vurgulamıştır. Çıkarımlar tartışılmıştır.

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*“A word, after a word, after a word is power.”*

*— Margaret Atwood*

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### **1.1 Violence Against Children**

Violence in general is one of the most problematic issues in our personal and social lives that also include political and cultural factors. Although we all are familiar with different types violence, giving a definition is crucial in order to clarify its boundaries. In 1996, World Health Organization (WHO) defined violence as “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation” (WHO, 2014, p. 2).

The main reason that makes violence against children remain unseen and unreported is the fact that particular types of violence are perceived as acceptable on societal and juridical levels (UNICEF, 2007). Prevention of violence primarily could be achieved by increasing visibility of violence and combating violence by active and efficient planning course of action. Literature reveals that most of the perpetrators were victims of violence in their childhood. This phenomenon that transfers violence from one generation to another is defined as cycle of violence (Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1990). Thus, violence against children should be investigated on multidimensional

levels (Genç Hayat Vakfi, 2012). In order to accomplish the effects of the violence on children and determine the important factors for the prevention of violence, children's perception of violence and their experiences need to be investigated. Although, research about violence mostly conducted by investigating adult's perspectives, children should be considered and treated as a different subculture apart from adult's world (Lloyd-Smith & Tarr, 2000). Considering all these factors, this study aims to investigate violence from the perspective of children.

## **1.2 Types of Violence**

Violence against children occurs in domestic or community levels and may include different forms such as physical, sexual, psychological violence, neglect and abandonment. UNICEF (2014) declared definitions of types of violence against children that adapted from United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, *General Comment No. 13 (2011)*. Types of violence were physical, sexual and mental violence and neglect or negligent treatment. Physical violence is all forms of corporal punishment that includes physical force in order to cause some degree of pain or discomfort regardless of its degree. Given examples of the actions are hitting, kicking, shaking, scratching, biting, pulling, forcing children to stay in uncomfortable positions, burning, scalding or forced ingestion (UNICEF, 2014).

Mental violence is defined as psychological maltreatment, mental, verbal and emotional abuse or neglect. Examples for mental violence included all forms of harmful interactions, scaring, threatening, denying emotional

responsiveness, neglecting mental health, insulting, hurting feelings, name-calling, exposure to domestic violence, placement in isolation, psychological bullying (UNICEF, 2014).

Sexual violence involves any sexual activities that children are forced by an adult that is against the children protection of criminal law. The definition of sexual violence of children includes any sexual act or attempts to obtain sexual act, psychologically harmful sexual activities, use of children in commercial sexual exploitation, use of children in audio or visual images of child sexual abuse. It further includes child prostitution and forced marriage. These definitions were all included in the criminal law that children are entitled to protection (UNICEF, 2014).

Another form of violence is neglect or negligent treatment. It involves the unavailability of providing children's physical and psychological needs, failure in protecting children from danger, failure in acquirement of medical needs, birth registration or other services when caregivers have the knowledge and access to do them. Examples of neglect include; physical neglect as a failure of child protection from harm including lack of supervision, lack of providing basic necessities (food, shelter, clothing, medical care etc.). It also includes psychological or emotional neglect as lack of support and love, chronic inattention, being psychologically unavailable, exposure to domestic violence or substance abuse; children's physical or mental health neglect; educational neglect and abandonment (UNICEF, 2014).

In a more comprehensive perspective for the typology of violence,

Dahlberg and Krug (2002) categorized physical, sexual, mental/psychological violence and neglect as the nature of violent acts. They also divided types of violence according to relational level of violence acts: self-directed, interpersonal, and collective violence. Self-directed violence is characterized by violence turning against self such as suicidal behavior and self-abuse. Interpersonal violence divided into two as family/partner violence (child, partner, elder) and community violence (acquaintance, stranger). Collective violence is divided into three levels as social, political and economic violence. This type of violence includes possible motives of larger number of people or states. Crimes of hate (social), state violence (political), preventing access to essential services or making economic fragmentation (economic) could be examples of collective violence.

McIntyre (2000) observed that children in her research perceived and experienced environmental problems as pollution, dirtiness, and illegal acts in their neighborhood as acts of violence. Thus, she suggested that definition of community violence should be broadened and included environmental violence as one of the types of violence. In addition, Sadik et al. (2011) also provided support for children's awareness and high sensitivity for environmental problems such as pollution, behaviors related to pollution and deforestation.

### **1.2.1 Children's Exposure to Violence in Media**

In recent years, the average time children spent with media tools such as television, Internet, videogames has been increasing. As media tools have a

significant place in children's lives, Güleç et al. (2012) depicted media as a third parent of the children. Bushman and Anderson (2001) suggested television programs included more violent acts compared to the real world. Thus, overemphasized aggressive acts in media tools constituted great risks for children's exposure to violence. In literature, a great amount of research conducted about the effects of media violence on children. It was suggested that media might have an impact on children through desensitization, modeling, triggering aggressiveness and encouraging violence (Güleç et al., 2012). In addition, media may alter children's perceptions of violence (Tahiroğlu et al., 2010).

### **1.3 Prevalence of Violence Against Children**

A systematic review of global prevalence of violence against children based on population surveys showed the severity of the issue. According to the analysis and estimates of thirty-eight reports from 96 countries on children age 2- to 17 years old, it was concluded that 64% of children in Asia, 56% in Northern America, 50% in Africa, 34% in Latin America, and 12% in Europe were exposed to violence in 2014. The results showed that minimum of over 1 billion children were exposed to physical, sexual and emotional violence in 2014 (Hillis et al., 2016). This result shows the fact that violence is a global issue regardless of the development level of the countries.

The UNICEF research that collected data from 190 countries showed severe statistical facts about violence against children. In 2012, 1 in 5 children (95,000) aged under 20 years were victims of homicide. Four in five children

aged 2 to 14 years have experienced violent discipline that includes psychological aggression and physical punishment at home. Worldwide approximately 6 in 10 children were exposed to physical punishment by their caregivers regularly. Approximately 120 million girls under the age of 20 were exposed to forced sexual intercourse or forced any other sexual acts. Although boys were also at risk, global estimate was not possible as a result of unavailable comparable data in most countries. In worldwide, approximately 1 in 3 adolescent girls (84 million), aged 15 to 19, have been subjected to emotional, physical or sexual violence by their husbands or partners (UNICEF, 2014). Waterson and Mok (2008) pointed out that studies conducted worldwide shows that approximately 80-98% of children are subjected to physical punishment at home. Singh (2001) suggested that children are most frequently victims of violence in family structure because of the fact that violence is an issue of power. As children are more vulnerable and less powerful than the older members of the family, they are subjected to violence from more powerful ones in the family.

The fact that most of the violence against children being unreported and uninvestigated is a worldwide problem. This lack of report may be due to young children's inability to report violence exposure. Children are afraid of the perpetrator and therefore hesitate to report the abuse. Parents also may stay silent even though they are aware of the abuse. This fact may stem from fear of the stigma that will be attached to the family when the perpetrator is a family member. This labeling is especially crucial in cultures where importance of family status and honor valued above children's right (Pinheiro,

2006). Similarly in Turkey, as a result of social and psychological factors, many cases of children's exposure to violence in family environment remain disguised (UNICEF, 2003). Children may normalize their victimization of violence or they may accuse themselves and therefore do not report maltreatment. This factor in Turkey makes prevention of domestic violence far more difficult (Turla et al., 2010).

#### **1.4 Violence Against Children in Turkey**

Turkey affirmed United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1994. However children are surrounded by violence in Turkey both culturally and politically. Within investigation of Council of Europe in 2010 about legitimacy of violence against children, it is reported that, although not legally accepted, the laws for violence against children were not clearly prohibit those actions (Genç Hayat Vakfı, 2012). Turkish society fails to internalize the fact that violence against children is unacceptable (UNICEF, 2011).

Idioms and proverbs are seen as a source of information about society's history, cultural background, common modes of living and standards of judgment (Aşan & Demir, 2015). Turkish idioms about childrearing, discipline and maltreatment are examples of justification of violence in societal and cultural levels. Examples might be “Kızını dövmeven dizini döver” (Spare the rod and spoil the child), “Dayak cennetten çıkmadır” (Beating comes from heaven), and “Öğretmenin vurduğu yerde gül biter” (Thrashing is the key to educating). In addition, the study conducted by

Kagitcibasi and Ataca (2005) about values of children in Turkey showed that especially mothers from low socio-economic status still stated that being obedient and minding parents were the most desired qualities of a child. This finding could be interpreted as how difficult for a child to oppose against and disclose domestic violence (Battaloğlu-İnanç, Çifçi, & Değer, 2013).

Turla and his colleagues (2010) conducted a study in Samsun, Turkey and investigated prevalence of university student's childhood experiences of physical violence. Fifty-three point three percent of total sample (64 % of male and 41.6 % of female participants) reported exposure to physical violence in their childhood. Prevalence of physical abuse among males was 1.5 times higher than female participants. It is also found that children were more likely to being subjected to violence by their same-sex parents. Another remarkable finding of this study was about participants' account for the reason behind their violence experiences. The most frequent (2/3 of participants) given explanation for violence was "perpetrators' loss of self-control". The following frequent explanations given by participants were 'establishment of discipline at home' and 'teaching children a lesson'. In support of these findings child-rearing research by UNICEF (2008) that was included 12 cities of Turkey investigated parents' discipline strategies. 9,3 % of parents admitted using physical punishment, 7,3 % of parents reported using 'scaring' as a discipline technique and 31.8 % of parents confirmed using yelling and scolding. Another research included parents having children aged 3 to 17 years showed that 35% of mothers and 17% of fathers reported using beating as a way of discipline occasionally (as cited in UNICEF, 2011)



Child maltreatment and domestic violence research in Turkey suggested that 51% of children aged 7 to 18 were subjected to emotional abuse, 45% of them experienced physical abuse, 25% of them exposed to neglect in family and 3% of them were exposed to sexual abuse (UNICEF, 2010). Irrespective of age, gender and accommodation all children reported experiencing abuse at home, school and street by fathers, teachers, mothers, friends and neighbors respectively. When reasoning of maltreatment asked, children suggested that it was their 'fault'. In addition, some children stated that mothers and fathers use maltreatment for the sake of themselves. Children most frequently reported emotional consequences of violence. Besides feeling sad, fear, being ashamed and being humiliated, children stated feelings of anger, rage, hate and revenge for the perpetrator. Most frequent bodily reaction among children was declared to be shaking. Although most of the parents in the study agreed with negative effects of violence on children such as lack of confidence, problems with making friends and self-expression on children, some parents suggested that corporal punishment have a positive impact or not impact at all on children. According these parents, positive impacts of using physical punishment on children were teaching a child lesson, making child disciplined and obedient, understand the misbehavior and be well behaved. In order to compete with the negative effects of violence, children reported using diverse strategies such as taking support of an adult, apologize to or give presents to perpetrator because of the fact that children see the maltreatment as their fault, avoiding or denying the event, and lastly doing nothing about it. In qualitative analysis, children's suggestions for

preventing violence were investigated. Children's most frequent suggestion was educating parents. The other suggestions by children were understanding, listening and getting to know children, giving punishment to perpetrator and showing love and respect instead of violence.

Genç Hayat Vakfı (2012) conducted a study with 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, and 8<sup>th</sup> graders in Istanbul from 50 different schools. Results showed that 73,4% of children experienced domestic violence at least once. Children reported that they most frequently witness adults' shouting/arguing each other and adults physically harm each other (beating, slapping and etc.) to the degree that makes them frightened. The experimenters argued that parents might not be aware of the fact that their children witness and experience violence between adults and get affected by those negative events.

Similarly, a comprehensive study that investigated domestic violence against children age 0-8 year olds showed that parents find emotional violence against their children useful in terms of disciplinary action. Further more, parents using emotional violence perceive it causing no harm at all to their children. Seventy-four percent of parents in Turkey reported using forms of emotional abuse (prohibiting a loved object, not meeting basic needs of children, shouting, threatening, and etc.) against children's annoying behaviors. On the other hand, 23% declared using physical punishment such as slapping, pushing, shaking, hair/ear pulling and etc. Study revealed important finding about child neglect: 32% of 0-8 olds spends time at streets, playgrounds, schoolyard, and internet cafes without adult supervision and

66% of children spend time watching television at least two hours daily. Lastly, the study showed that prevalence of children's witnessing domestic violence was quite high. Seventy percent of children 0-8 year olds were indirectly exposed to physical and emotional violence at home (Müderrisoğlu et al., 2014).

Another study by Bilir and her colleagues (1991) involved 16 cities in Turkey and investigated prevalence of corporal punishment usage by mothers. Results of 50.473 children aged between 4 to 12 showed that 62.4 % of girls and 62.9 % of boys were exposed to corporal punishment at home. The highest rate of physical violence was among the age group of 7 (67.3 %). And the lowest rate was among the age group of 12 (48.7 %).

A study was conducted in Mardin to investigate the prevalence of physical violence exposure among elementary school students (Battaloğlu-İnanç, Çifçi, & Değer, 2013). Results revealed that 42.6 % of the children stated exposure to physical violence at least one time. Thirty point seven percent of the children declared still continuing and occasional exposure of physical violence. Study showed that mothers are the most frequent perpetrators of violence. Fifteen point seven percent of children revealed that they still got into physical fights with peers and 5 % of children perceived violence as a problem solving strategy.

### **1.5 Developmental and Psychological Influences of Violence on Children**

Violence exposure has devastating outcomes on children. Although parents may deny the witnessing of their children to the violence at home

and/or think that they protect their children from the negative effects, children are one of the most severe victims of the domestic violence (Lök et al., 2016). Witnessing of violence or exposure to violence may influence children in psychological, developmental, social and psychobiological levels.

The impacts of violence on children become a severe issue as they are also seriously affected by indirect exposure of violence. Children are not only affected by violence toward them but also traumatic events involving threats to the caregivers. Children were more likely to diagnose post-traumatic stress disorder when their caregivers are under threat (Scheeringa & Zeanah, 1995). A study conducted in New Zealand with 2,077 children aged 9 to 13 showed that witnessing physical and emotional violence against other children, adults and violence in media perceived as having more impact on children compared to the impact of violence directed to them (Carroll-Lind et al., 2011). This ‘indirect’ effect of violence results in severe impacts on children. Especially younger children are more vulnerable to the negative outcomes of the violence as a result of their immature development.

Domestic violence can affect children’s working models of what to be expected from caregivers. When children are exposed to violence whether directly or by witnessing intimate partner violence, unpredictability of their caregivers’ behaviors and threatened loving and caring environment that every child need for healthy psychological development result in insecure attachments (Hyde-Nolan & Juliao, 2012). Further, this has a negative impact on children’s development of positive and strong sense of self and having

secure relationships later on life (Carpenter & Stacks, 2009). Children's representations for the security of the inner and outer world develop according to the relationships with caregivers and family environment. Exposure to violence may lead to both destruction of secure image of the world and secure sense of self (Pelendecioğlu & Bulut, 2009). Children may lack appropriate role models for conflict resolution due to witnessing violence between parents. These children could not find alternative ways to carry and deal with their own anger. When children witness to violence at home, they perceive it as an appropriate problem-solving strategy. They learn that violence is 'normal' in the family system and violence gives the ability to control others (Osofsky, 2003). Children may be frightened of their own anger when they realized the cycle of violence at home. This fact further has an impact on children's misperception of being responsible for causing violence between parents that might result in children's self-blame and lower self-esteem (Singh, 2001).

Children's exposure to parent's intimate partner violence in preschool years was found to be negatively correlated with explicit memory functioning (Jouriles et al., 2008). Ybarra et al. (2007) showed that preschoolers who witness domestic violence have significantly lower verbal scores on intelligence test as compared to the control group. In addition, those children have higher levels of internalizing problems than non-exposed children. Other influences of witnessing violence on early childhood might be excessive restlessness, emotional problems, having sleeping problems, fear of being alone, regressive behaviors, problems with toilet training and language development (Bayat & Evgin, 2015).

Children who are exposed to physical violence may have burns, bruises, and fracture on their bodies. As the severity of the violence increases, consequences of the physical abuse range from disabilities and brain injury to mental deficiencies. These children are likely to experience social adaptation difficulties, and more prone to depression and anxiety disorders (Aktepe, 2009). Corporal punishment was also found to result in sleeping difficulties, phobias, tic disorder, speech impairments, toilet training and behavioral problems (Bilir et al., 1991).

Sexual violence on children may cause a range of clinical problems such as anxiety disorders, dissociative identity disorder, suicidal behaviors, borderline personality disorder, and substance abuse (Aktepe, 2009). When children are exposed to sexual abuse, this may result in impairments in the healthy development of sexuality later in their lives. When children are subjected to sexual violence by beloved ones (caregivers, family member, etc.), they feel betrayal and helplessness that results in psychological breakdown, excessive fear, sadness, and loss of trust to others, somatic problems, learning impairments, thoughts of revenge and turning into crime. In addition, children might be overwhelmed by feelings of shame and guilt that become harmful to their sense of self (Ünal, 2008).

There are also psychobiological implications of violence against children. Violence exposure leads to increased levels of stress hormones such as cortisol, epinephrine and norepinephrine. This later result in the damage of limbic system which involves emotion regulation, attention, fear and stress

responses, memory and learning. Thus, children exposed to violence with chronic high levels of stress hormones and over activated limbic system may develop problems in memory, difficulties with learning, emotion regulation and emotion expression. They may also misread or become hypervigilant to the environmental cues for threats that may lead to difficulties in the interpretation of emotions (Carpenter & Stacks, 2009). Perry (1997) suggested that exposure to violence may affect children's arousal level by increased muscle tone and startle response, sleep disturbances and abnormalities in cardiovascular regulation (as cited in Margolin & Gordis, 2000).

Social information mechanism provides a theoretical link between being the victim of violence in childhood and later developing aggressive behaviors and become the perpetrator of the violence. Dodge and his colleagues (1990) have suggested that exposure to violence may result in deviant social information processing through failure to attend relevant cues, attribute hostile intentions, lack of problem solving strategies that further result in development of aggressive behaviors. Thus, violence may transform victims into perpetrators and this creates a vicious cycle of violence (Güleç et al., 2012).

Consequences of violence may vary according to the developmental level of the children, severity of the violence and duration of the violent acts. Acute and long term effects of violence against children could be summed by post-traumatic stress disorder, hyperactivity, psychosomatic disorders, suicidal and self-harm behaviors, problems with relationships, decrease in school

performance, and low self-esteem (Runyan et al., 2002). Exposure of violence on childhood may have lifelong implications. These children might be more prone to social, emotional and cognitive deficits and health problems of obesity and risky behaviors like substance abuse, early sexual activity and smoking (Felitti et al., 1998).

### **1.6 Children's Perception of Violence**

It might be said that historically, violence is conceptualized as a failure of morality (Dodge, 2001). This premise seems to reflect the more of an adult world. However, understanding the meanings that children attached to their experiences could not be achieved by examining their parents or teachers' experiences as children are in different subculture compared to them (Lloyd-Smith & Tarr, 2000). Thus, it is important to examine children's experiences and perceptions directly as they are active agents. Children have their own conceptions about aggression and violence apart from adults. Researchers started to give importance to study experiences and perceptions of children by directly examining them. Although there is broad literature about children and violence, there are few studies that used children as subjects in their studies. Farver and Garcia (1997) suggested that, controlled with other measures, children's perception of violence is a reliable source and they can accurately state their feelings and concerns about violence.

Özcebe and her colleagues (2005) found out that among fourth and fifth graders 43% of children and among seventh graders 41.7 % of children defined violence as beating while insult and belligerence were not accounted



as violence according to them (as cited in MEB, 2008). Another study showed that children's definitions of violence might be broader than adults' concept of violence. Children aged 8 to 12 years were asked about definition of violence and perceptions of safety by using open-ended questions. In addition to expected violent acts as hitting and shooting, children included talking about people, hurting one's feelings, cursing and lying into their definition of violence. In terms of safety perception, children felt safe mostly at their homes whereas they do not feel as much as safe in their neighborhoods (Sheehan et al., 2004).

Recently, a study conducted in Thailand examined adolescents' attitudes about violence, victimization and perception of punishment by their self-reports. It was found that adolescents' mostly agreed attitudes were "It's okay to do whatever it takes to protect myself" and "I try to stay away from places where violence is likely". They also found out that female adolescents were significantly more afraid of getting hurt by violence compared to males. In terms of punishment perceptiveness all adolescents agreed that they deserve disciplinary action when they do something wrong (Chokprajakchat et al., 2015).

Akbulut and Saban (2012) investigated 9 to 11 year old children's perception of violence through their drawings. Analysis showed that children mostly drew violence pictures about physical violence at home and they excluded themselves as the subjects of these drawings. Other settings for the drawings were near environment and school area. While fathers were mostly

reflected as violence perpetrators, women and male children were depicted as victims of violence. Gender differences were also found. Girls depicted physical violence and used family settings more than boys. On the other hand boys used social community violence and reflected school settings more than girls.

Another research by Hiçyılmaz and his colleagues (2015) examined violence perception by analyzing drawings of children aged 7 to 10 years. By using method of content analyzing, media was found to be the most dominant social force figure followed by the family and the peers. Interestingly, there were differences between children living in villages and cities in terms of dominant social force depicted in their drawings. Further analysis showed that perceptions of children living in villages depicted more family-based pictures as compared to children living in cities. They suggested that media is prominent figure for effecting violence perceptions of children living in cities whereas family is more influential for children living in villages. Streets (53.5 %) were found to be the place where violence was perceived mostly, followed by homes (31.4 %). Children mostly used physical actions and weapons as tools for violence. Peers were mostly depicted as perpetrators in children's drawings. However, when this factor was analyzed according to the gender and accommodation unit of children different results occurred. Girls mostly perceived fathers as a perpetrator figure. Children living in cities defined perpetrators as enemies or unknown people whereas children living in villages perceived fathers mostly as perpetrators. These findings suggest that perceptions of violence in children may change according to their gender and

the environment they live in.

Yurtal and Artut (2008) also used drawing method in order to examine children's perceptions of violence. Children aged between 11 to 12 years mostly depicted violence between their parents to which they were indirectly exposed. Some children also pictured about violence directed to them. Violence perpetrators were mostly male figures whereas victims were mostly children and women. Violence type appeared in these drawings were mainly physical which includes beating (39%), using guns (28%), stabbing (25%) and batting (7%). Only 2% of the drawings included verbal violence by using speech bubbles. Researchers discussed that drawing method might have limited children as it might be harder to depict verbal violence in pictures. Other explanations they suggested were children may perceive violence as actions physically harmful or children might be affected more from physical violence as compared to verbal violence.

In terms of environment specific violence perception Özdemir and his colleagues (2010) found out that perceived violence in schools and negative interactions with teachers were negatively correlated with perceived security of education environment and positive peer relations. Considering the fact that school settings are one of the most influential place in children's life, teachers' attitudes about violence have to be taken into account. Unfortunately, Gümüş and his colleagues (2004) showed that 18% of the teachers in Turkey found beating as necessary apart from its acceptability. Another 18% of the teachers remained indecisive for the justification of violence use (as cited in Deveci et

al., 2008).

When environment is taken into account, it is crucial to investigate how television broadcast effects children's understanding of violence and concepts related to it. It is suggested that the content of television newscast also effects children's perceptions on violence and safety of the world. A study conducted in Turkey found that 66.5 % of children aged between 11 to 15 years agreed with the statement "When I watch news, I think that the world I live in is a dangerous place" (Vural, 2006). Thus, the content of news is shown to have an impact on children's perception about the safety of the world that they belong yet not have as much competence as adults have.

McIntyre's (2000) participatory action research about children's perceptions of community showed that violence in community level goes beyond general definitions for children. Early adolescents were predominantly concerned about environmental issues characterized by pollution, trashes, abandoned places and drug traffic in the neighborhood. Drugs, guns and crime rates were greatest concerns about the community for adolescents. Taking into account adolescents' negative experiences and feelings of frustration about environmental issues, McIntyre (2000) suggested that definition of violence should be broaden by including environmental violence factors. This study also highlighted early adolescents' sensitivity to violence cues in community levels.

## **1.7 Art Therapy and Art as a Tool of Research**

Art therapy pioneers considered art in a way that is similar to dreams place in psychotherapy. Margaret Naumburg (1950) suggested that art is a form of symbolic speech that establishes a 'royal road' like dreams coming from the unconscious. And Edith Kramer (1971) interpreted art as a 'royal road' to sublimation that helps ego to control, manage and integrate conflicting impulses and feelings (as cited in Rubin, 2005). On the other hand, Klein (1973) pointed out the similarity between dreams and children's play in which children's inner conflicts would be reflected. Thus, both dreams and art, as children's play, are in congruence as both reveal the material of the unconscious and inner world. Winnicott (1971) also suggested the concept of transitional space between inner and outer world that is an intermediate area of illusionary experience. As he pointed out: 'This intermediate area of experience, unchallenged in respect of its belonging to inner or external (shared) reality, constitutes the greater part of the infant's experience, and throughout life is retained in the intense experiencing that belongs to the arts and to religion and to imaginative living, and to creative scientific work.' (Winnicott, 1971). Hence, it might be suggested that dreams, art and children's play are as they provide a window to psychic reality.

Art process gives the children time and permission they needed in order to express and give meaning to life experiences that are tragic or senseless to them (Arnold et al., 2005). As a nonthreatening modality, art

helps children especially from violent environments in expressing their hidden or repressed feelings, particularly anger (Singh, 2001).

In the literature about child abuse, researchers used projective tool of children's drawings as they reflect the abused child's environment. Manning (1987) suggested that aggression and violence in the home environment may be depicted in exaggerated objects and/or inclement weather conditions in the drawings. Colors or limited color used in the drawings are also crucial as they convey emotional content (Singh, 2001). In addition to emotional content of the drawings which may reflect anxiety, aggression, need of nurturance, low self-esteem, Malchiodi (1997) suggested that omitting or disorganization of body parts, drawing people rarely, using shading excessively as further indicators of being exposed to violence in children. Similarly, according to Isbell and Raines (2012) drawing reflects not only children's visual perception of outer world but also their representations of emotional and intellectual experiences, their contradictions and wishes about the reality world. Mayaba and Wood (2015) concluded that drawings are not only research method that gives researchers the opportunity of investigating children's lived experiences and the meanings they attached them but also an intervention tool that helps children reconstruct those experiences. In addition to using art as an assessment tool, art therapy is one of the approaches of psychotherapy. It is based on the fact that art making 'facilitates reparation and recovery and is a form of nonverbal communication of thoughts and feelings' (Malchiodi, 2011)

As a therapeutic tool, art is also found to be useful in creating effective exposure and desensitization by tolerable re-experience of trauma for the treatment of post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms. Artistic medium allows children to externalize undesired experiences into it and re-create them with more positive perceptions of the present by gaining mastery over the experience (Kozłowska & Hanney, 2001).

Art therapy uses different art modalities of visual art, dance/movement, music, drama, and writing/poetry (Malchiodi, 2011). In addition to its therapeutic benefits, Kramer (1971) suggested that art therapy benefits may exceed therapy clinic and its preventive role may be used in community programs in risky environment. For instance, Koshland et al. (2004) used dance/movement therapy for violence prevention and their program contributed to significant decreases in aggression and disruptive behaviors in children.

### **1.8 Story Writing Method with Children**

Telling or writing stories is also one of the modalities of art therapy. Stories, myths and legends contain and transmit collective insights of every culture. Anna Freud (1964) and Melanie Klein (1973) also perceived stories as important factors of children's play that needs to be analyzed (as cited in Flynn et al., 2001).

Symbolic play and narrative techniques are found to provide a secure ground where children can transfer their own knowledge of real-life events and be able give meaning to these experiences (Bretherton, 1984; Bruner,

1990). Similarly, vignette method in qualitative research was shown to reveal perceptions, attitudes and beliefs from the reactions of the stories and scenarios (Barter & Renold, 1999). Thus, it is suggested that children reflect their inner worlds through play and creating narratives.

Winnicott (1971) pointed out that formalized cultural creative experience like story writing is a form of progression from play. He suggested that both playing and cultural activities like art and religion are illusionary experiences and these involve 'gathering external objects or phenomena and using them in the service of inner reality' (Winnicott, 1971).

Similar to modern psychotherapy, narrative psychology research suggest that people make sense of their worlds by creating story like self-narratives. Putting experiences into words establish a scaffold that helps to give meaning to experiences (Niederhoffer & Pennebaker, 2009).

Waters (2008) suggested that creating stories offers children a safe ground that they can project their worries and concerns by using metaphors. Especially for the issues that become overwhelming when asked directly, story writing helps children gain perspective and understand their own feelings and experiences by projecting them onto characters of their own story (Waters, 2002).

Farver and Frosch (1996) analyzed spontaneous narratives of children after the Los Angeles riots of 1992. They compared narratives of children who are exposed to these riots with narratives of children who have no direct exposure to these events. Their findings suggested that children who were



exposed to riots expressed more aggressive content including aggressive word, physical aggression and negative outcomes compared to non-exposed children. It is also shown that children's narratives reflected their experiences of violence. Most of the stories contained weapon use, hostile and harmful actions. Thus, this study is an example of the fact that children reflect their experiences and the effects of witnessing violence onto their spontaneous stories.

As literature reveals, violence was more frequently studied by quantitative research methods. However, usage of art modalities, which give children the secure space for reflecting their emotions and experiences, and their qualitative analyses would provide more comprehensive and deeper understanding about violence (Yurtal & Artut 2008). Research by Owens et al. (2000) also showed that qualitative approaches provide the opportunity of capturing different perspectives and concepts that may fall outside of the researchers' expectations. In line with these premises, our research aimed to investigate children's perception of violence by qualitative analyses of their story writings about violence. We expected to extend our knowledge of children's perceptions, experiences and conceptions about violence through secure base of story writing modality which helps children reflect their feelings, thoughts and believes into characters and events appeared in their stories.

## **1.9 The Current Project and Study**

The project was carried out in Tarlabası Community Center with collaboration of Bernard Van Leer Foundation. Tarlabası Community Center, established in 2007, is a non-profit organization that aims to provide educational, social and psychological support for the residents of Tarlabası that is one of the disadvantaged areas of Istanbul. People living in this neighborhood were mostly immigrants from southeastern part of Turkey. Ethnic origins of people living in Tarlabası include mostly Kurdish, Romani and African.

This study was part of a larger applied project that had multiple aims. It involved holding workshops for children between the ages of 7-15 where they could discuss their daily experiences related to various forms of violence and express themselves through artistic mediums as drawing, story writing and photography. This project had the double aim of both empowering children and raising their awareness about different forms of violence that they are exposed to in their daily lives and also gaining insight into children's perception of violence. Through sharing of children's thoughts and feelings on violence via social media, this project also had the larger aim of raising public awareness on the subject and giving voice to children's perspective on violence.

The current study focused on the age group of 10-12 and aims to explore how children living in disadvantaged environments perceive, experience and conceptualize violence. In addition to quantitative analysis of

descriptive measures, children's verbal expression during workshop sessions and the stories they wrote were examined through content and thematic analyses.

This study aimed to investigate the following research questions: What is violence according to children and how is it experienced? Which types of violence children experience or witness most frequently? Do experienced and witnessed violence types change according to different environments? What kinds of behaviors they perceive as negative or violent even though they may not be defined as violence in the literature? Which types of violence are perceived as legitimate? Which environments (home, school, or streets/neighborhood) children feel in danger or in secure most frequently? What types of violence occur in children's stories? Who are the victims and perpetrators in the stories? In which environments violence occurs in the stories? What are the effects of violence in terms of emotions, behaviors, and thoughts both on the victims and the perpetrators? How the stories develop and are resolved after the violent event?

## Chapter 2: Method

### 2.1 Participants

The participants of the larger project included 67 children aged from 7 to 15, who are residents of Tarlabası. Participants were divided into three age groups; 7 to 9, 10 to 12 and 13 to 15.

The current study focused on 27 children who were between the ages of 10 to 12. These children attended story-writing groups with 9 children in each group. 16 girls (59.3 %) and 11 boys (40.7%) were participated in the study. There were a total of 9 ten-year-old children, 7 eleven-year-old children and 11 twelve-year-old children ( $M = 11.07$ ,  $SD = .87$ )

Demographic form was given to both mothers and children (see Measures section). Information gathered from mothers showed diversity in the number of children they have with a minimum of 1 child and maximum of 9 children ( $M = 3.92$ ,  $SD = 2.03$ ). All of the children were going to school. Twenty-eight percent of children were 4<sup>th</sup> graders, 28 % of children were 5<sup>th</sup> graders, 40 % of children were 6<sup>th</sup> graders and 4 % of children were 7<sup>th</sup> graders. All of the mothers stated that their children had no physical disabilities, mental disabilities or psychological problems. 80 % of mothers stated that their children did not have developmental problems. However, 20 % of mothers mentioned that their children have experienced some kinds of developmental problems. These problems were detailed as premature births, speech difficulties, physically being very small for their age and having asthma. Except one child, all of the mothers were married to children's fathers

and they were all living together.

Number of years that these families lived in Tarlabası ranged from 5 years to 25 years ( $M = 13.12$ ,  $SD = 5.2$ ). Majority of these families reported that they had emigrated from Southeastern Turkey. Sixty percent of the families were immigrated to İstanbul from Mardin. Following cities were Van (8 %), Samsun (8 %), Siirt (4 %), Şırnak (4 %), Manisa (4 %), Adana (4 %), and remaining 4 % of the data was missing. Data of mothers' education level showed that 64 % of the mothers were illiterate, 12 % of them were literate, 12 % of them were primary school graduates, 8 % of them were secondary school graduates, remaining 4 % of the data were missing. Eight percent of the mothers were working whereas 92 % of the mothers were housewives. Sixty percent of these families had monthly income between 1.000 and 2.000 tl. Thirty six percent of them had monthly income equal or under 1.000 tl. We also collected data about children's previous workshop experiences in Tarlabası Community Center. Sixty-eight percent of the children have attended previous workshops in the center, whereas 8 % of the children have not attended any workshops in the center before.

## **2.2 Procedure**

The workshops included three sessions. Meetings were held once a week and lasted approximately one and a half hour. An initial information meeting was held with the parents. After being informed about the study, parents who gave permission for the participation of their children signed the consent form. Parents were given a demographic form and a survey related to

their perception of how secure and insecure their children felt at home, school and in the neighborhood. All parents were helped to fill out the demographic form and the survey by one of the project assistants.

After the initial meeting with the parents, children attended three sessions in groups of 9. These sessions were videotaped and transcribed. The project coordinator, who is a psychologist, was the group leader of the sessions. Group leader was familiar with the most of the children who participated in the study from previous projects at Tarlabası Community Center. Children's familiarity and being comfortable with the leader was crucial for this study due to the sensitivity of the project. As a safeguard, the group leader was able to refer the children to psychological counseling if they seemed to be under stress or if they were emotionally triggered by the group discussions. The group leader wrote memos after each group session that accounted her observations about the meeting, her feelings and thoughts.

### **2.2.1 Description of the Group Meetings**

Children attended a total of three meetings. All these three sessions began with a brief warm up activity. Examples for these activities were; making a circle and repeating the name of each children with clapping their hands for making children getting to know each other, giving children colorful pens and asking them draw about a given emotion as they wish, making them think about their favorite character or hero and asking them to make a small role play about their favorite feature. Rules of the class were determined and written on the board at the beginning of the first session, and children were

reminded about the rules at the beginning of each session.

In the first session, children were given brief information about the project. After that children were asked to fill out the demographic form and the survey on their experiences of security/insecurity at different environments. Again project assistants helped children one on one to fill out the forms. In the rest of this first meeting, the aim was to help children discuss their positive and negative daily experiences. In order not to overwhelm children emotionally, the concept of violence was not introduced initially. However, they were asked about the variety of their daily experiences that they seemed to be positive and negative. The group leader first asked children with whom they interact in their daily lives, with whom they felt comfortable, and what kind of interactions they felt good about. The group leader listed the examples children gave on the board. Then, the children were asked to give examples for the kinds of interactions that they did not feel good about. Children were asked to give a variety of examples related to contexts of home, school, neighborhood and the media. They were also inquired about what kind of feelings and thoughts evoked in them by these experiences. After the examples accumulated, children were asked if these interactions could be defined as aggression, what the impact of these behaviors would be and whether any of these behaviors could be seen as acceptable.

In the second session, children were reminded about the topics discussed in the previous meeting. Then they were asked to make up a story depicting an interaction that involved aggression. Before starting their stories,

they were guided to think about the characters, settings and content of the story. Group leader used the mountain metaphor in order to help children organize their stories. The structure of a story was likened to a mountain. The beginning of the stories (setting and main characters) could be seen as the starting point of the mountain, building up part (events) could be seen as the upward slope and the problem or the dilemma was the top of the mountain. Lastly, the resolution and ending of the story was the downward slope (Worley, 2014). Children were given 30 minutes to finish their stories. After completing their stories children read them to the group.

Finally, in the third session, children were asked to generate slogans against violence and create a group poster out of their drawings and messages. These outputs were later published in the social media without sharing confidential information of the children. Creating slogans and posters gave the children a chance to raise their voice against violence and help raising public awareness. This last group activity also functioned as a closure and aimed to foster their sense of empowerment. (See Appendix A for a detailed account for the structure of the group meetings).

## **2.3 Measures**

### **2.3.1 Demographic Form**

This form was developed by the researchers and included information about age, school year and psychological, physical, developmental problems of the child who participated in the study. We also took information about how many siblings the children had, and sibling's gender and age.



Other questions included information about parents' education level, marital status, occupational status, and income level. It further included information about from where the family came to live in Tarlabası, for how many years they have been living in Tarlabası and with whom they lived together at home.

### **2.3.2 Children's Experiences Survey**

A 9-item brief survey was developed by the researchers in order to assess the frequency of children's negative and positive experiences at home, school and the neighborhood. Survey included likert type questions on how often children felt bad/tense, peaceful/relaxed, and frightened at home, at school and neighborhood. 'Usually', 'occasionally', and 'never' were three choices for each question. The same survey was also given to parents to assess their perception on the experiences of their children. As the parents were very low in education, an effort was made to keep this survey as brief and simple as possible. Thus, it was used as a brief measure.

## **2.4 Data Analysis**

Children's verbal expressions in the first and last meetings, and the stories they wrote were analyzed by the researcher. Thematic analysis was used. Narratives of the first meeting with the children, which involved children's discussions about violence, and content of the third session, which involved continued discussions about violence and generating slogans by children against violence were transcribed by five undergraduate psychology students.

The qualitative data analysis software of MAXQDA.12 used for thematic analysis of the transcriptions of the meetings. A total of three researchers worked as a team in the analysis and coding of the data of the whole project. The other two researchers analyzed the data of age groups of 7 to 9 years old and 13 to 15 years old. The present author only focused on the meetings of the 10-12 years old groups. After generating common categories all together, each researcher developed additional categories related to their specific data. Initial main categories were determined in line with our research questions and the literature on violence. As the coding process progressed additional subcategories and new codes emerged from the data. These codes were discussed in weekly meetings. The group leader's experiences and observations that were documented in memos was also integrated into the interpretation of the data. Stories written by children also analyzed by the same program and again divided into ordinate and subordinate themes in line with literature review and research questions. Frequencies and percentages for children's expressions related to categories of sessions and stories were calculated and reported by use of MAXQDA.12.

Initial categories for the content analysis of sessions were *violence type* (physical, verbal, relational, sexual, neglect, environmental), *context of violence* (home, school, neighborhood, media), *relational domain of violence* (from mother or father to child, between mother and father, between siblings, friends, neighbors, teachers/school principals, security officers, political, substance abusers), *effects of violence* (emotions, thoughts, behaviors, physical effects), *solutions to violence* (asking for help from adults, other

solutions provided by children). Other categories were; *perceived reasons for violence*, *violent behaviors perceived as legitimate*, *experiences perceived as negative* (these included negative experiences accounted by children which could not be described as examples of violence but were significant for children), and *experiences perceived as positive*.

After analysis of the content of the meetings, stories generated by the 10-12 years old group were also analyzed by this author. Categories for the analysis of stories were, *types of violence* in the story, *relational domain* of the story (parents, child, adults, friends, security officers, drug abusers, strangers), *context of the story* (home, school, neighborhood), *effects of violence* (emotional, physical, behavioral, thoughts), *reasons for violence* (internal or external reasons), *solutions to violence* (asking help from adults, other solutions provided by children).

### **Chapter 3: Results**

#### **3.1 Descriptive Statistics for Children's Experiences Survey**

9-item children's experience survey developed by our research team was analyzed. Our observations during children's filling out the form suggested that children had difficulty in waiting for their turn to be interviewed, in understanding the questions and giving accurate answers to it. For example, some of the children seemed confused when asked for the frequency of given emotion in the given environment. These children had difficulty in understanding survey questions. Even though assistants aided all of the children while filling out the questionnaires, these difficulties may still

create a limitation in the reliability of the data gathered.

Children’s mean scores of ‘feeling bad’, ‘feeling frightened’, and ‘feeling peaceful’ in three environments (home, school, neighborhood) were calculated (see Table 1). Comparison of the mean scores suggest that children reported ‘feeling bad’ more frequently in school ( $M = 1.96, SD = .43$ ) compared to neighborhood ( $M = 1.81, SD = .55$ ) and home ( $M = 1.59, SD = .50$ ) environments. On the other hand, children experienced reported ‘feeling frightened’ more frequently in neighborhood ( $M = 1.74, SD = .59$ ) compared to home ( $M = 1.55, SD = .50$ ) and school ( $M = 1.55, SD = .57$ ) environments. Lastly, children reported ‘feeling peaceful’ more frequently at home ( $M = 2.88, SD = .32$ ) compared to neighborhood ( $M = 2.62, SD = .56$ ) and school ( $M = 2.40, SD = .63$ ) environments. In sum, children reported ‘feeling bad’ more often in school, ‘feeling frightened’ more often in neighborhood, and ‘feeling peaceful’ more often at home.

**Table 1.** Mean scores for children’s self-reports on different feelings in three environments

	Home		School		Neighborhood	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Feeling bad	1.59	.50	1.96	.43	1.81	.55
Feeling frightened	1.55	.50	1.55	.57	1.74	.59
Feeling peaceful	2.88	.32	2.40	.63	2.62	.56

Children’s self-reports on ‘feeling bad’ and ‘feeling frightened’ variables were added together to form a new variable of ‘total negative score’ for three environments. Table 2 shows mean scores and standard deviations of the total negative scores for boys and girls separately. Examination of the mean scores suggested that total sample’s mean scores for total negative variable was higher for neighborhood ( $M = 3.55$ ,  $SD = .97$ ) followed by school ( $M = 3.51$ ,  $SD = .80$ ) and home ( $M = 3.14$ ,  $SD = .76$ ). It should be noted that boys’ total negative scores were higher than girls for each environment. The highest mean score also belonged to boys for the neighborhood environment ( $M = 3.72$ ,  $SD = 1.00$ ). Thus, children most frequently experienced negative feelings in neighborhood compared to school and home. In addition, boys seemed to experience negative feelings more frequently than girls in each environment. However, one-way ANOVA revealed that the effect of gender on total negative scores was not significant for home ( $p = .23$ ), school ( $p = .88$ ), and neighborhood ( $p = .45$ ) environments.

**Table 2.** Mean ‘total negative’ scores for girls and boys in three environments

	Home		School		Neighborhood	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Girls (n = 16)	3.00	.89	3.50	.73	3.43	.96
Boys (n = 11)	3.36	.50	3.54	.93	3.72	1.00
Total (n = 27)	3.14	.76	3.51	.80	3.55	.97

In addition, mean scores and standard deviations of ‘feeling peaceful’ in each environment for boys and girls were examined separately (see Table 3). Both boys’ mean scores ( $M = 2.81, SD = .40$ ) and girls’ mean scores ( $M = 2.93, SD = .25$ ) on ‘feeling peaceful’ variable were again highest for the home environment and lowest for school environment. Boys’ mean ‘feeling peaceful’ score for each environment were lower than girls. However, one-way ANOVA revealed that the effect of gender on ‘feeling peaceful’ scores was not significant for home ( $p = .35$ ), school ( $p = .37$ ), and neighborhood ( $p = .53$ ) environments.

**Table 3.** Mean ‘feeling peaceful’ scores for girls and boys in three environments

	Home		School		Neighborhood	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Girls (n = 16)	2.93	.25	2.50	.63	2.68	.47
Boys (n = 11)	2.81	.40	2.27	.64	2.54	.68
Total (n = 27)	2.88	.32	2.40	.63	2.62	.56

On the other hand, considering boys’ higher mean ‘total negative’ scores and lower mean ‘feeling peaceful’ scores than girls’ together, it might be suggested that boys experienced negative events more frequently than girls.

Mothers' ratings for 'feeling bad', 'feeling frightened', and 'feeling peaceful' in three environments (home, school, neighborhood) were also examined. It should be noted again that these scores represented mother's perceptions of how frequently their children feel bad, frightened and peaceful in each environment. Table 4 shows mean scores and standard deviations of mother's reports. Mothers reported that children were 'feeling bad' more frequently in neighborhood ( $M = 1.56, SD = .65$ ) compared to home ( $M = 1.52, SD = .50$ ) and school ( $M = 1.44, SD = .65$ ). Similarly, mothers stated that children were 'feeling frightened' more frequently in neighborhood ( $M = 1.68, SD = .69$ ) compared to home ( $M = 1.32, SD = .55$ ) and school ( $M = 1.28, SD = .54$ ). According to mothers, children were 'feeling peaceful' more frequently in school ( $M = 2.80, SD = .40$ ) compared to school ( $M = 2.72, SD = .45$ ) and home ( $M = 2.72, SD = .45$ ). Mothers mean 'feeling peaceful' scores for home and neighborhood were exactly same.

**Table 4.** Mean scores for mothers' reports on different feelings in three environments

	Home		School		Neighborhood	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Feeling bad	1.52	.50	1.44	.65	1.56	.65
Feeling frightened	1.32	.55	1.28	.54	1.68	.69
Feeling peaceful	2.72	.45	2.80	.40	2.72	.45

Mothers' ratings for their children's frequency of feeling bad and feeling frightened were also added together and formed 'total negative' score for three environments. Table 5 shows means and standard deviations of mothers' ratings. Results showed that mothers' total negative scores were highest for neighborhood ( $M = 3.24$ ,  $SD = 1.20$ ), followed by home ( $M = 2.84$ ,  $SD = .85$ ) and school ( $M = 2.72$ ,  $SD = .89$ ).

**Table 5.** Mean 'total negative' scores in 3 environments according to mothers' ratings

	Home		School		Neighborhood	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Total (n = 25)	2.84	.85	2.72	.89	3.24	1.20

In addition, mean 'total negative' scores of children and mothers for different environments were compared (see Table 6). Our results suggested a consensus between mothers' and children's ratings on total negative score of neighborhood as they both gave the highest scores for this environment. However, it should be noted that mothers' mean 'total negative' scores were lower than children's self-reports for each environment. It might be suggested that mothers had a tendency toward underestimating the frequency of children's negative feelings in different environments.



Further more, mother's and children's mean 'feeling peaceful' scores for three environments were compared (see Table 7). Although children's mean 'feeling peaceful' score was highest for home ( $M = 2.88, SD = .32$ ), mother's mean score was highest for school ( $M = 2.80, SD = .40$ ).

**Table 6.** Comparison of mothers' and children's mean 'total negative' scores for three environments

	Home		School		Neighborhood	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Children' ratings	3.14	.76	3.51	.80	3.55	.97
Mothers' ratings	2.84	.85	2.72	.89	3.24	1.20

**Table 7.** Comparison of mothers' and children's mean 'feeling peaceful' scores for three environments

	Home		School		Neighborhood	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Children' ratings	2.88	.32	2.40	.63	2.62	.56
Mothers' ratings	2.72	.45	2.80	.40	2.72	.45

### **3.2 Content Analysis of Children's Experiences with Violence**

Contents of the meetings held with were analyzed using MAXQDA.12 software for qualitative analyses. Before starting coding, our research team predetermined categories in line with literature in this field and our research questions.

The use of MAXQDA.12 program allowed us to determine the depiction frequency of different types of violence by children. Using the frequency count, we could also determine the most frequently cited contexts and actors of violence. In further analysis of their discussions in these meetings, we also evaluated how children experienced violence and how they expressed their feelings about it. We also evaluated what other significant negative daily events were recounted by children as well as what characterized significant positive interactions for them. In this analysis, all the verbalizations that took place during the meetings were evaluated as a whole. No individual level analysis was carried out.

#### **3.2.1 Analysis of the Violence Types**

Content analysis of the sessions for types of violence was conducted. A total of 160 descriptors of violent acts that children mentioned during discussions were coded for types of violence. Analysis in the coded segments showed that physical violence (40 %) was the most frequently mentioned violence type by children. Children's examples of physical violence included beating, kicking, pulling hair and/or ears, kidnapping, and use of guns, knives and gas bombs. Mental/psychological violence (23.1 %) was the second most

frequently mentioned violence type. Examples of mental/psychological violence were to humiliate, tease and threaten someone, name-calling, talking behind someone's back, to make someone feel under pressure, to make someone get frightened and to make someone cry. Thirdly, children discussed violent acts and gave examples related to verbal violence (17.5 %). Examples of verbal violence included yelling, swearing, insulting, talking abusive and disrespectfully. Children also discussed situations related to environmental violence (13.8 %). Children's discussions included polluted and smelly streets that lack appropriate garbage containers and/or efficient streetlights, illegal acts such as drug trafficking happening in dangerous back-alleys.

In addition, children's discussions also included violence type of neglect (3.8 %). Although the ratio of the appearance of neglect in the sessions seemed to be low, children's examples in neglect were high in emotional weight. Children mainly talked about parents' and teachers' not taking care of them as they needed, parents' not spending time with them and teachers' not giving attention to children in or outside of the classroom. One of the children stated:

“I don't like parent's not showing interest in our daily lives. For example, they have to ask about how my day was and whether I have homework or not. They could have brought me to school at least, I walk miserably and lonely on the school road.” (İlgi göstermiyorlar...Mesela günümüzün nasıl geçtiğini sormaları gerekiyor veya ödevim falan olduğunu. Hiç değilse gelip beni okula götürsünler ya. Tek başıma yolda zavallı zavallı

yürüyorum.)

Two children talked about teachers' not paying attention to students:

“ A: When something bad happened to us at school, they don't give any attention or call our parents. B: When something bad happened, they want us to die. ” (A: Bize bir şey olduğunda aramıyorlar. İlgilenmiyorlar. B: Bir şey olduğunda ölmemizi istiyorlar.)

“ Once, I had a very bad stomachache. I wanted to call my mother and ask her to take me home. I went to assistant principals; there were two of them. However, both didn't help me by calling my mother. ” (Ben çok şey ağrıyodu karnım. Annemi aramak istedim gelsin beni alsın diye müdüre gittim. Müdür yardımcı 2 tane müdür yardımcısı var. İkisine de gittim aramadılar.)

Lastly, children discussed about instances of sexual violence (1.9%). Children's discussions included sexual harassment examples. One child mentioned that some children took off their pants in front of Syrian children.

Another child stated that:

“ Teacher, it is a shame to say.. For example, a woman walks on the road. This is the scariest thing for me. Two guys come close to woman. They say kinky things, teacher.” (Hocam ayıptır söylemesi... Hocam mesela bir tane kadın yolda gidiyor hocam. Benim en çok korktuğum şey hocam, 2 tane adam böyle yanından geliyor hocam. Onlar böyle sapık sapık şeyler söylüyorlar hocam.)

After this example, other children discussed about the type of this event. Some children defined it as rape, others said this was an example of sexual abuse. Although children had more or less knowledge about what was inappropriate, sexual violence types seemed to be confusing for them.

### **3.2.2 Relational Domain of Violence**

A total of 141 descriptors children's discussions were coded for relational domain of violence. We aimed to investigate which kinds relationships were mentioned more frequently during children's discussions about violence. Analysis in the coded segment showed that violent acts between peers (26.9 %) were most frequently mentioned sub-category of relational domain of violence. The other frequently mentioned subcategories were; violence from mother to child (15.6 %), violence between adults other than parents (15.6 %), and violence between teachers/principals and students (14.1 %).

Especially when talking about peers, teachers and mothers, children gave more examples from their own negative experiences. We observed that children had a strong need for a space to talk and discuss about these relationships that were emotionally significant and carrying emotional weight for children.

### **3.2.3 Context of Violence**

In addition to children's discussions about violence types and relational domains of violence, the context in which aggressive interactions

took place was also coded.

### ***School environment***

Our analyses showed that school environment was the most frequently mentioned environment in which violent acts occurred. In line with this, physical violence (57.1 %), mental/psychological violence (37 %) and verbal violence (33.3 %) were most frequently occurred at schools compared to other environments. Thus, this result gave an understanding that school environment was occupying a crucial place in children's inner world and acts of violence were occupying an important place in children's representations about school life. As mentioned above, violent acts involving peers were the most frequently mentioned relational domain of violence in the sessions.

In addition to physical violence such as beating, kicking and verbal violence such as swearing and yelling; children gave many vivid incidences of mental/psychological violence. These examples included peers' name-calling and making fun of each other, children's bossing around and humiliating other kids and children's talking behind other kids in the school. Children's experiences also included feeling disliked and alienated by peers. One child mentioned that:

“... I learned something today. Nobody in my classroom likes me. The more I try to become friends with them, the more they push me away. I understood that.”

Another child:

“ ... Everybody in my class talks behind my back. The fact that they talked about me doesn't bother me, even they do me a favor by doing this. I mean, I consider it like this.” (Mesela öğretmenim tüm sınıf benim hakkımda konuşuyorlar. Benle ilgili bi şey konuşmaları bana, beni üzmüyor; onun için bana iyilik yapmış oluyorlar, ben öyle sayıyorum yani.)

When these two children talked about their experiences, we observed that although they seemed to be affected very negatively, they tried to use some coping mechanisms by saying, “I understood that ...” or “They are doing me a favor ...”. We inferred that when facing negative experiences with peers, children had difficulty in finding more adaptive solutions but rather they seemed to ‘normalize’ it.

Violent acts by teachers involved more physical violence compared to relationship with peers. Children's most common examples of physical violence involved teachers' beating, kicking and yelling at students and pulling children's hairs/ears as a way of giving punishment. (Other types of punishment given by teachers that do not involve physical violence will be discussed in section 3.3.8). It was found that children in our sample were exposed to different kinds of physical violence by their teachers:

“ Our English teacher sometimes pulls our hair. Our teacher does like this (the child stands up, shows it to other children, pretends messing and pushing things). Our teacher shouts: ‘Sit down and do your work!’ ... It gives so much pain. ” (İngilizce öğretmenimiz bazen saçımızı çekiyor. Öğretmenimiz böyle yapıyor, alıyor, -ayağa kalkıp canlandırma yapıyor. Etrafı dağıtırmış eşyaları

itermiş gibi hareketler- saçını çekiyor. Otur yerine dersini yap! –öfkeli görünüyor-... Öyle bir acıyor ki.)

“ Our English is so mean. He hits us on the head with a stick.” (Hocam bizim İngilizce öğretmenimiz çok kötü. Tokmakla vuruyor başımıza.)

Children also pointed out teachers’ gender discrimination in the classroom. A girl said that:

“ ... And, we are against this too: Teachers beat boys but they don’t say anything to girls. For example, once I went to principal’s office because I got into a fight with my friend. He didn’t do anything bad to us but beat up two boys who came later to his office so badly.” (Bir de hocalar, biz de karşıyız, erkekleri dövüyorlar ama kızlara hiçbir şey demiyorlar. Mesela müdür yardımcısının yanına gittik ben arkadaşım kavga ettik diye. Bize bir şey yapmadı ama yanımıza 2 tabe daha arkadaşımız geldi. Onları tekme tokat dövdü.)

Another child:

“ The most I dislike about teachers is that they beat boys. Because ... for example, sometimes girls were wrong but they beat boys anyway.” (Hocam benim en çok hoşlanmadığım şey hocam erkekleri dövmesi. Çünkü hocam ee mesela, kızlar bazen suçlu oluyo hocam onlar gidiyolar erkekleri dövüyorlar.)

### ***Neighborhood environment***

The second most frequently mentioned environmental domain of



violence was neighborhood. Children indicated many issues related to economic, social and environmental issues. We observed that children's experiences about environmental issues were more emotionally loaded as compared to just pointing about the problems. Thus, following McIntyre's (2000) suggestion that violence types should be broadened and include 'environmental violence', we also decided to use this term in order to capture the importance of these issues for children. Environmental violence for children seemed to be composed of two categories. One category included issues related to insecurity and violent acts (e.g. physical, mental, and/or verbal violence) in streets. The other category involved problems related to infrastructure deficits in neighborhood and its squalidness. Children's examples of environmental violence for these categories were dirty, stinking streets that lack enough garbage containers and streetlights, presence of drug traffickers and drug abusers in the neighborhood that make neighborhood dangerous. Children also mentioned about witnessing adults' using guns and police officers' using gas bombs. All these factors seemed to make children very frightened:

“They started to sell bad things (drugs) in here, and they make children get used to it. And now everybody is frightened and they cannot go out.”  
(Kötü kötü şeyler satmaya başladılar, çocukları alıştırmaya başladılar. Ayrıca, artık kimse korkusundan dışarıya çıkmıyor.)

Children were also concerned about streets because they were too narrow and full of cars.

“There was a fire in here. Fire engines and ambulances could not come. They had to go around back. Then, everybody woke up and tried to tow away the cars in the street. Streets are very narrow.” (Bizim ev dedim ya burda yangın oldu. İtfayeler, itfaye ambulans gelemediler. Arkadan geldiler. Arkayı zor kurtardılar. Sonra tüm arabalar herkesi uyandırdı. O arabaları çektik sokaklar çok dar.)

Children also stated that there were no playgrounds for children and they cannot play safely because of the cars. They also mentioned that their mothers do not let them play in neighborhood as it is a very dangerous place.

In addition, children talked about witnessing violence between adults in neighborhood. Catcalling at women by bystanders, people getting into fight, and discriminations of Syrians at streets were examples of witnessed violence by children.

“ People make fun of Syrians and belittle them.” (Onlar mesela Suriye’den geldi diye onları küçük görüp dalga geçiyorlar.)

“People see Syrians as different and mistreat them.” (Suriyeliler mesela insanlar onları farklı görüp kötü davranıyorlar.)

### ***Home environment***

Children’s discussions about violent acts in the home environment involved many physical violence examples of parents’ beating them, mothers’ forcing them to do housework, and older siblings’ beating and bossing around them. Children mainly talked about mothers’ beating them when they did not

fulfill mother's expectations from them:

“They enforce us doing something, mother or father. In case we didn't do what they wanted, they beat us.” (Zorla bi şey yaptırıyorlar baba ya da anne, hocam yapmayınca vuruyorlar hocam.)

“My mother thinks we never get exhausted. I lie down and watch television. She yells at me and says ‘Why don't you tidy here!’ ... And then, she beats me.” (Annem sanıyo ki yorulmuyoruz. Ben uzanıyorum tv izliyorum. Bana bağıyor diyo ki niye onu kaldırmıyon bunu kaldırmıyon şunu kaldırmıyon diyorlar... Sonra da dövüyor.)

These examples and other discussions in the sessions related to violence at home showed that parents were expecting much more duties from their children as compared to their age. Children's manner of telling these expectations suggested that parents treated them more like an adult rather than a child. We also observed that beating as a punishment and disciplinary strategy was very common in our sample. Children stated that they do not want any kinds of harm and violence at their homes. They also talked about violence between parents:

“ They get into fight with each other (parents). They may beat us too. No violence! ” (Hocam onlar kendi aralarında kavga ediyorlar belki bizi de dövebilirler. Şiddet yok!)

In terms of neglect, children mentioned parents' not taking care of them, not asking them about their day and not taking them to school despite

children' fear of going to school alone.

### ***Media***

Children's discussions about violence in the media were usually about the invasion of privacy. Examples were people's sharing their photograph or information without their permission, breaking their social media passwords, and creating fake social media accounts under their names. Examples were as following:

“They open fake accounts in Facebook. Then, they can do whatever they wish. For example, they take a girl's photograph and show it as if she is naked. They shouldn't open fake accounts.” (Hocam Facebook'ta fake hesap açıyorlar. Ordan da istediklerini yapabiliyorlar. Mesela, bir fotoğrafı alıp, işte o kızı çıplak gösterebiliyorlar. Fake hesap açmasınlar.)

“In case our social media passwords are broken, they may write bad things to people as if we wrote it.” (Face'imiz ya da başka bir şeyimiz çalındığında o bizim ağzımızla başka kişilere kötü şeyler yazılabiliyor.)

“Sharing information about somebody else without their permission is so wrong.” (Bir kişinin haberi olmadan o kişiyi paylaşmak çok yanlış bir şey.)

Children were also concerned with violent images in television news, scary videos or images published in social media.

“... For example, they affect people psychologically by broadcasting war. They show terrorists' beheading people.” (Mesela insanların psikolojisini

bozuyolar. Savaşları gösteriyolar. Işid şeyleri kafa kesiyo ya onları anlatıyolar.)

“ ... Once I saw a photograph of a hospitalized child... Sometimes images of dead people. I don't want people's publishing these kind of things.” (Hastane 'de çocuk varmış, üstüne yok... ölü insanlar... koyup Facebook'a atmışlar. Böyle şeyler göstermesinler.)

One of our research questions was about predominance of different violence categories in children's world. Our results showed that; physical violence, school environment and relationship with peers were the most frequently mentioned categories of violence type, context and relational domain respectively.

### **3.2.4 Causes and Excuses of Violence in Children's Perception**

We also analyzed children narratives in discussion sessions for the category of reasons for violence. Children stated that mothers beat them because children do not behave in the expected way (not doing housework, coming late to home, and etc.) and mother cannot regulate their worry or anger toward children. Another theme emerged for the reason of violence was mother's getting angry with someone else and yet projecting it onto the child. One child stated:

“My mom rages against my sibling yet she beats me and my brother.” (Annem kardeşime sinirlendi. Geliyor benle abime dalıyor.)

Another child said:

“Even if I did not do anything wrong, my mother takes her rage toward my uncles out on me.” (Hiçbir şey yapmasak da annem mesela dayıma kızdı, amcama kızdı, onun sinirini bizden çıkarıyor.)

In addition, people’s using violence in order to protect themselves from some kinds of violence was also mentioned as a reason for violence.

One of the important themes we would like to explore was the justification of violence for certain behavior types. Our analysis showed that children were prone to justify mothers and teachers’ beating children when beating was triggered by misbehavior of the children or not behaving in a way expected by mothers and teachers (not studying, doing something wrong, clumsiness etc.) One child stated:

“The light bulb in the room was broken. ... I left the door open, so that the light could come in. My mother was beating me and said that it would get cold inside. She was beating me. I think my mom was right.” (Odanın ampulü bozuldu. 2-3 gün oldu. Babam da çalıştığı için yapamıyor. Sonra ben gittiğimde kapıyı açık bırakıyorum ışık gelsin diye. Annem beni dövüyor diyor soğuk içerisi oldu. Dövüyor. O haklı mesela annem.)

### **3.2.5 Effects of violence**

Children’s perceptions and experiences for the effects of violence were also analyzed. Effects of violence category involved thoughts, behaviors, emotions, and physical effects.

In terms of physical effects of violence, children mentioned people

dying, getting injured and being in physical pain. Behavioral effects of violence on children were avoiding going out, avoiding walking in stinky streets and finding other ways, stopping cars by themselves as there were no traffic lights in the streets.

“ They fire guns, kill people. I mean here, fire up into air...Like a tarsh bin.” (Silahlar sıkıyorlar, insanları öldürüyorlar. Yani burayı havaya silah atıyorlar...Çöp bidonu gibi atıyorlar.)

“ For example, I never go through this way. It smelt so bad. Instead I took other roads.” (Mesela hocam ben burdan hiç geçmiyorum. Çok pis kokuyordu. Ben burdan böyle dolaniyorum.)

Emotional effects of violence and thoughts about its effects included getting frightened, being sad, not being able to get it out of their minds, having nightmares, learning a lesson and becoming more courageous after negative experiences.

“ I would be scared and feel bad but I would also take courage from these experinces that I lived through.” (Ben korkarım, kötü hissederim, ama bi yandan da cesaretlenir; çünkü o şeyi ... hepsini yaşadım ya, biraz kendimi cesaretli hissederim.)

Notably, children also mentioned being happy when witnessing violence:

“... Some children in other classrooms intentionally made me fell down. When I see that a teacher beats him, I thank to God and say I am so

glad you punish him... When the child is misbehaving, I become so happy or smile. ” (...Başka sınıflarda mesela beni bilerek yere düşürmesi. Yani mesela bir öğretmen onu dövüyorsa içimden diyorum Allahım sana şükürler olsun. İyi ki bu çocuğun cezasını hocam niçin, içimden oh diyorum hocam. Yani Allah onun cezasını veriyor. Mesela yaramazlık yaparsa o çocuğun, içimden seviniyorum hocam ya da gülüyorum.)

This example showed that one of the effects of violence on children was that they perceive violence as a solution and as an excuse in cases where children are misbehaving. When this child got hurt by another child, rather than finding more adaptive solutions, she perceived her friend’s exposure to violence as a deserved way of problem solving.

Children also showed their anger toward municipal officials as children perceived them responsible for insufficient facilities in their neighborhood. While talking about teacher violence against students, some children also cursed to teachers.

“ I am so angry with that mayor. I am so angry that I would beat him very badly.” (Ben o belediye başkanına çok sinirliyim. Çok sinirliyim ağzını burnunu kırarım hocam.)

“God damn that teacher! How could he... right of people to play.”  
(Allah hocanın belasını versin. Nasıl insanın oynama hakkını...)

In addition, we also observed that during discussion sessions, some children also engaged in acts of different violence types toward other children



in meeting. Our observations included acts of violence such as name-calling, teasing, threatening, hitting, and pulling hair involving some children.

“ We should beat people like this (saying toward a child, other children laughing).” (Bunun gibilerini dövmeliyiz. - kapıyı açan C’ye bakarak, gülüşmeler-)

“ I would tear your curly hair out, fool, so funny.” (Senin o kıvrık saçlarını yolarım, salak, çok komik.)

### **3.2.6 Negative Experiences**

Apart from children’s discussions about violence, we observed that there were some behavior patterns that most of the children agreed on as negative experiences. We detected most frequently mentioned ones and categorized them under the category of negative experiences. Although these categories cannot be defined as violence in the literature, the way children talked about them and the emotional burden stemming from these experiences suggested that children perceived and experienced these negative experiences as similar to being exposed to violence.

Subcategories of negative experiences were developed in accordance with children’s definitions about these experiences. Twenty percent of the mentioned negative experiences were coded under the subcategory of ‘being restricted’. Examples from the sessions for ‘being restricted’ subcategory was parents’ limiting play activities, not being able to go out, and teacher’s restricting play activities during children’s free time.

Another subcategory that emerged from children's expressions related to negative events was named as 'injustice'. Twenty percent of the descriptors under the larger negative experiences category could be grouped under this heading. Examples derived from sessions were about friends being offended without any fair reason, teacher's giving unfair low grades on exams, and being assigned to unfair duties at school.

"... One child misbehaved. And then, our teacher said that 'I give minus points for all of you.' He was misbehaving but the teacher punished us for something we haven't done." (... bir kiři hocam yaramazlık yaptı. Sonra hoca dedi hepinize eksi veriyorum. Hocam o yaptı hocam bize de eksi veriyoy yapmadığımız Őeylere.)

Another twenty point four percent of negative experiences were about 'punishments and exams' at school. These experiences included difficult exam questions and lowering off students' grades by teachers. Children also mentioned that teachers gave punishments to students such as making them remain standing during class, giving unfair negative points, canceling gym class as a way of punishment. Children also stated that teachers gave these punishments even if they had no fault:

"Our teacher gets so angry even with one mistake, he always gives punishments." (Öğretmenim bizim öğretmen bir yanlışlık olunca hemen çok kızıyor, hep ceza veriyor.)

Fourteen point three percent of negative experiences were grouped in the subcategory of 'discrimination'. These experiences included excluding

someone because of their political beliefs. Children mentioned that some children don't play with them because of supporting some other political party. This subcategory also included being objected to gender discrimination by both parents and teachers.

“ ... For example, teachers usually call boys as lazy because they don't participate in lessons actively, and they take low grades in exams and etc. And yet, they care about girls more because they perceive them as an important gender for the next generation.” (... Mesela diyelim erkeklere çoğunlukla tembel diyorlar derse katılmadıkları falan için. Böyle genellikle düşük not aldıkları için. Bir de kızlara daha çok ilgi gösteriyorlar çünkü geleceğin şeyi işte cinsiyetlisi gibi bir şey olduğu için.)

Another subcategory that emerged from children's expression was 'being disrespected'. Fourteen point three percent of the negative experience descriptors were grouped under this category. Children gave examples about teachers and parents' not keeping their promises, not asking children's opinions and interrupting children's sayings.

Lastly, 10.2 % of negative experiences were combined in 'being forced' subcategory. Children complained about their mother's forcing them to do cleaning, cooking or doing other housework. Children stated that they are too young to accomplish these works.

“ I see that mothers enforce their children working a lot. It shouldn't be like this in my opinion.” (Şimdi hocam ben bazen görüyorum anneler çocuklarını çok çalıştırıyorlar öyle olmaması gerekiyor bence.)

Further relational domain of negative experiences was also analyzed. 36.5 % of negative experiences occurred between children and teachers and principals. 34.9 % of them involved children's relationship with parents (23.8 % from mother to child, 11.1 % from father to child). 11.1 % of negative experiences arose from children's relationships with their friends. In line with relational domain analysis, the area of negative experiences analysis showed that school environment (58.5 %) was the most frequently mentioned area followed by home environment (22.6 %), neighborhood (11.3%) and social media (7.5 %).

Our analysis and observations of discussions suggested that especially experiencing injustice, being restricted, being disrespected and being forced by mothers and/or teachers were significant negative experiences in children's world.

### **3.2.7 Positive Experiences, Secure Places and Secure Persons**

Experiences perceived as being positive by children were also categorized and analyzed. A noteworthy point in the discussions was that children gave reference to negative experience when they were asked about positive experiences. For example, when children were asked about what they like about teachers, they answered "not beating us". Thus, we observed that children's reference for positive experiences was negative experiences. Another important example was as following:

" I like watching cartoons because nobody dies in there."

Results showed that most of the children commonly value receiving care, compassion and endearment from caregivers and teachers. Common themes were spending time with parents, teachers' showing interest in children and parents' helping their children and taking them to school. One significant example of positive experiences with teachers was doing extracurricular activities with them. This may be an indicator of receiving special care from teachers to children.

Another frequently mentioned positive experience was related to having good relationship with friends. Examples were friends' being nice to them, inviting them to play games together, having supportive and loyal friendships, friend's not keeping secret from each other. Taking presents and/or money from caregivers and friends was also stated as positive experiences. An important theme emerged in discussions was making adults happy. Children mentioned that helping parents and working for the sake of parent's happiness (such as doing housework or studying) also make them happy. This theme conjured up the phenomenon of parentification in which parents and children's role were reversed (Castro et al., 2004). Children seemed to be very attuned to the emotional state of their parents and seemed to feel that it is their responsibility to make them happy. This may be related to their age but also their parents' frequent referrals to their own problems. This factor seemed to be quite a burden for the children. Children also valued adult's giving them warning as opposed to using harsh punishment or violence as a positive experience and solution to violence. Hence, this theme seemed to represent more of children's wishes rather than their positive experiences.

Similarly, when children discussed about places perceived as safe, they often talked about their wishes and yearnings. Children stated that a secure environment would be very clean, full of trees and playgrounds. In addition, there would be enough police officers, security guards and cameras on the streets and enough spaces for parking lots. In terms of people that children perceived as safe figures were parents, teachers, friends, relatives, policemen, safety guards, and firemen. It is important to note that most of these figures were also mentioned in the relational domain of the violence during discussion sessions. Thus, we may suggest that children exposed or witnessed to violence by the ones whom also act as a secure figure to them. It was also an age appropriate expectation to be protected by authority figures.

### **3.3 Qualitative Analysis of Stories**

In the second part of the data analysis, the stories written by children were also analyzed through the use of MAXQDA 12. Stories were coded according to themes and categories that were in line with the literature review and our research questions. We also tried to detect important themes that were specific to our sample in order to capture their authentic perceptions.

Although we examined stories one by one, we tried to avoid doing individual analysis and tried to gain a comprehensive understanding of children's stories.

A total of 19 stories collected in the story writing session of the project. 8 children from the total of 27 children did not attend to this meeting. Although 19 stories have collected, 18 stories were available for the analysis. One child's handwriting was unreadable and it was not written in story format.

Word count of children's stories showed a high variance in the sample with a story of minimum 23 words and maximum of 471 words ( $M = 124.57$ ,  $SD = 106.02$ ). We observed that some children, who were using few words, did not detail their stories and give a clear resolution. They would rather cut the story with a violent ending.

Most of the children had no difficulty in following initial directions or writing their stories (except one child whose story was excluded from the analysis). Group leader was always ready to answer their questions about the structure of the stories. After they finished writing stories, children shared their stories with others. However, some children rejected reading their own stories aloud. In the face of such situation, group leader did not enforce children. In general, children's attitude toward story writing was observed to be positive.

### **3.3.1 Categories of Violence**

Similar to categories in session's analyses, stories of the children were also coded in categories of violence type, relational and environmental domain of the story. Children's stories contained examples of physical violence (41.2%), psychological violence (41.2 %), verbal violence (14.7 %) and sexual violence (2.9 %). The stories took place at schools (41.2 %), in the neighborhood (41.2 %), and at home (11.8 %). In terms of relational domain, stories included violent acts involving friends (33.3 %), strangers (9.5 %), drug abusers (9.5 %), teachers (9.5 %), tradesmen (9.5 %), parents (9.6 %) and other adults (9.6 %), police (4.8 %), and warriors (4.8 %). When we

analyzed perpetrators and victims of violence, we found that majority of the stories involved violence from adults to children. These adults in the stories were strangers, such as drug abusers and dangerous adults in streets, policemen, teacher and father. Following that children's stories included violence acts between peers and violence between adults.

Analysis of stories highlighted children's sensitivity to physical violence. Some stories included strikingly severe instances of physical violence such as killing people, war, and being exposed to tear gas, and kidnapping. The others included beating, hitting, getting injured in a car accident. Plot of five stories included beating, two stories included kidnapping, three stories contained people killing each other and one of them included war that included risk of extinction for people. Similarly, mental/psychological violence seemed to be an important issue in children's world as many stories included name-calling, mocking, being slandered and rejected by friends and getting swindled or cheated by tradesman in their plots. There were also examples of verbal violence as yelling and swearing. A story plot including physical violence also contained childhood marriage that might also be considered as an example of sexual violence. Overall analysis of the stories showed that the main context of the stories was commonly included school and neighborhood. In line with the context, the main actors for the children's stories were friends and strangers (drug abusers, people at streets, and etc.)



### 3.3.2 Reasons for Violent Acts

A noteworthy point revealed in children's stories was the pattern of violence giving rise to another violence. This pattern was similar to cycle of violence that victims turning into perpetrators later in their lives (Güleç et al., 2012). One child's story plot pointed out this cycle:

“...Because her friends don't love her, Ayşegül said:

- Why wouldn't you give me pencil sharpener, I give you everything.

Why don't you love me?

- Her friend answered:

- Because you are ugly and you are a bad person. Now you get it? Go away,' she shouted.

- Ayşegül thought that she would not love someone who does not love her back. And the school finished for that day, she went to home. She accidentally broke a plate and her mother got a bit angry with her. And Ayşegül shouted at her mother 'Why are you shouting at me!'. Ayşegül felt very bad. And when she went to school her friend asked for an eraser. And Ayşegül shouted at her and Ayşegül felt bad again. And her friends said:

- Why are you shouting Ayşegül you didn't used to be like this Ayşegül...”(Story 1, see Appendix B for the original stories in Turkish)

### 3.3.3 Effects of Violence and its Resolution:

Stories varied in terms of plot resolution after the violence introduced. Some children were able to give details about the portrait of the characters and context and what happened before and after the violent acts. However, some children seemed to be disorganized by writing about violence. In these cases, children kept their stories very short and finished it with a harsh clear cut:

“ Once upon a time there was a bride. She was sixteen years old. She was married to a groom. She didn’t want to marry him. Groom killed the bride.” (Story 9)

“ One day, a human said to a man ‘let’s take a donkey’. Because of the fact that man’s name was donkey, man thought that he was giving him a nickname. And in the evening, he killed him while he was asleep.” (Story 5)

In several cases victims had a passive role against violence. Children writers mentioned the victims’ crying and feeling bad, but mostly these characters played a passive role in the story. Resolution of the violence plot was mostly actualized by the changes in the perception of perpetrators. These changes aroused by the perpetrators’ becoming victims themselves. When the violence inflicted on the perpetrators in return, its consequences became more understandable. It appeared that violence needed to be external in order to make the perpetrator comprehend the consequences of committing it and empathize with victims:

“... Then, after school she followed Esma to her house. She swore to

Esma. She pulled her hair and slandered. And then she walked away. And she passed through drug abusers. Drug abusers took her to a dark place. She was so scared. ... First she called the police and then called her mother. Policemen caught the drug abusers. She returned home safely and she took a lesson from this. She will never misbehave to anybody. She apologized to Esma.” (Story 7)

On the other hand, some children’s stories involved sudden changes in the perpetrators without any clear reason:

“... And then it became tomorrow. Sevda became good. Sevda did not tease anyone and nobody teased Sevda. And then, they became good friends.” (Story 8)

In addition, story 15 involved a sudden change in teacher who was very angry with the students and therefore prohibited them from going to gym class. In the story teacher’s anger simmered down without any clear reason.

However, there were also some stories in which victims played an active role by doing a favor to the perpetrator and making him regret what he did. In one case, children characters in the story went to the dangerous streets in which drug abusers live. Resolution of the story came by children’s warning the drug abusers that education and living with the family was crucial to change their lives. Afterwards, the drug abusers felt regretful and became hardworking people (Story 4). In another case, a car at school crossing hit a child. The driver fled but the policemen caught him. When the victim, child, forgave him and did not complain about him, the driver felt regretful and very

sad. He apologized from the child. In this story, change of the perpetrator triggered by the child's uncomplaining which might be seen as a favor from the child to the driver (Story 13).

Stories mentioned above suggested that perpetrators' empathizing with victims and feelings of regret seemed to be one of the important mechanisms in conflict resolution according to children. One child's story also mentioned perpetrator's continuing violent acts in order to avoid feeling shame (Story 7). In some cases, this mechanism occurred by perpetrator's concrete experiences of becoming a victim themselves (Story 7). In other cases, it appeared that more comprehensive empathizing and deeper emotional processing were taking place (Story 4; Story 13). However, in another example, the resolution appeared with a no clear concrete reason or understanding (Story 8).

Calling police in case of being exposed to kinds of violence appeared as an adaptive coping behavior and active role of the victims in the children stories. In these stories, policemen were dependable and able to help the victims. Yet, it is important to note that there was also a story in which policemen perpetrated violence (Story 2).

Witnesses of violence also played an active role by calling for help from the policeman. In one story, children went after her friend who was kidnapped by strange guys at the street. She also called the policemen in order to save her friend (Story 3).

Rather than the victims or perpetrators, another actor in one story also played a role in bringing change and resolution to the climax by warning the

perpetrator. An example from the stories of children:

“There was a girl in our neighborhood. Her father was committing violence to her. Her father was beating both her and her siblings. One day, they come to our home and my father said that do not beat your children again because children have no fault. And then her father never beat his children again ...” (Story 12)

To apologize was also one of the important factors of the children stories. Apology from the perpetrators to the victims served repair to the conflicts:

“ ...We were yelling at her too. The best way is to apologize from her and she would behave us well and we would behave well to her too. And they all gathered, apologized from her. Ayşegül became sensitive and shed two tears. And all became best friends. ” (Story 1)

Although an apology seemingly has to be given by the perpetrator or faulty figures, in one of the children stories similar to apology, the victim made a promise to the perpetrator:

“...A fight occurred between the his father and teacher.

Father:

- How could you beat my child...

Teacher:

- Mahmut became impudent and very misbehaving. I couldn't control myself...

Mahmut:

- Father, I didn't call you to get into fight. I feel so bad.

Father:

- You didn't have to beat him. You could have called me.

Mahmut:

- My teacher and father, I won't do any impudence or misbehavior. I give promise to you.

After promising to his teacher and family, he never did any impudence or misbehavior and was in his teacher's good books. ” (Story 10)

This story contained crucial patterns of victimized children. One of the effects of the violence on children is the fact that children may be prone to blame themselves. Also, in this case misbehaving was perceived as a fault that deserved punishment. After reading his story, the writer stated that the child in the story was wrong because of misbehaving in the classroom. Thus, giving a promise also stood for perceiving violence in case of misbehaving as legitimate. Another remarkable point of this story was that the promise was given after the children saw his father and teacher getting into a fight. When the adults in the story tried to resolve the problem with violence rather than more adaptive ways, the child blamed himself and he introduced a solution by

giving promise. This story might be interpreted as reflecting children's self-blaming cognitions after witnessing or being exposed to violence.

### **3.3.4 The Role of Adult Figures**

We also analyzed children's stories in order to understand the place of adult figures and their effects on positive or negative emotions related to their presence in children's perception. Some stories involved police, father, and mother characters as secure adults, who had active roles in resolving conflict (police and father) or shared children's emotions caused by violent acts (mother). Especially calling police in children's stories was found to be an effective way of problem solving when facing violence (Story 3; Story 7; Story 13; Story 18). In the presence of these securely perceived adults, violent acts in stories were able to be resolved. In addition, characters in stories could manage to overcome negative feelings of sadness and fear.

On the other hand, there were other examples in which characters of father, teacher, and policemen were perpetrators of violence. In the face of aggressive and violent adults, children's stories could not manage to resolve the conflict adaptively. In these cases, children either gave a quick ending to story (Story 2), or mentioned resolution without any clear reason (Story 15). Children characters also tried to solve the conflict by themselves (Story 4; Story 10). We also observed that these stories involved either victim's avoiding emotions or victim's being overwhelmed by negative emotions. Thus, when adult figures, who might also be represented as secure adults, committed violence or failed to model appropriate problem solving, children

had difficulty in managing with consequences of violent acts.

#### **Chapter 4: Discussion**

In this study, we aimed to explore children's perceptions, and understandings of violence and to analyze how they would transfer these conceptions into their stories. Our qualitative analyses were composed of both content and thematic analyses of children's transcribed narratives in the sessions and their story-writings.

We also conducted quantitative analysis for the 9-item children's experiences survey. Results showed that children were 'feeling bad' most frequently in school, 'feeling frightened' most frequently in neighborhood, and 'feeling peaceful' most frequently at home. Comparison of 'total negative' scores with 'feeling peaceful' scores for boys and girls separately showed that boys experienced negative feelings more frequently than girls. Boys in our sample might have been experiencing negative events more frequently than girls, which resulted in high frequency of negative feelings and low frequency of positive feeling. This gender difference might stem from higher prevalence of violence exposure among boys in our sample compared to girls. A study that was conducted in Turkey with 3725 urban elementary school students found that boys were exposed to physical violence significantly more than girls (Deveci et al., 2008). Another study that was conducted in Ankara, Turkey suggested that boys were exposed verbal violence more than girls, whereas no gender differences were found in other types of violence (Kapci, 2004).



In addition, there was a consensus between reports of children and mothers for feeling negative more frequently in neighborhood. Thus, negative feelings related living in a disadvantaged community with high crime rates seemed to be perceived and acknowledged by both mothers and children. Although children reported feeling peaceful more frequently at home, mothers perceived children as feeling peaceful more frequently at school. It was surprising to see that although children seemed to search for peace at home and reported feeling more frequently peaceful at home, mothers' report seemed to undervalue children's frequency of feeling peaceful at home. A noteworthy finding was the fact that mother's mean 'total negative' scores were lower in each environment compared to children's self-reports. Further, except for home environment, mothers' mean 'feeling peaceful' scores were higher than children's reports for school and neighborhood. Thus, mothers seemed to underestimate the frequency of their children's negative experiences and overestimate children's feeling peaceful. Mothers' lower mean 'total negative' scores and higher mean 'feeling peaceful' scores might have stemmed from social desirability bias. Talking about children's negative feelings might have been difficult for mothers that resulted in under reporting of negative feelings and over reporting of positive feelings (Eisenberg et al., 1999).

Through qualitative analyses of children's expressions in discussion sessions, we found predominance of physical violence in the environments of school, neighborhood, and home. In media, in addition to being exposed to images of physical violence, children were also concerned about violation of

their privacy such as people sharing their photographs and information without their permission.

Children's definitions and examples for violence types both in sessions and stories were similar to findings of perception studies in literature (UNICEF, 2014; Sheehan et al., 2004). Examples that were given by our sample for physical violence were severe as killing people, kidnapping, usage of guns, knives, gas bombs, and beating, kicking, pulling hair/ear. These examples also showed the importance and severity of political violence in children's daily lives. Children's examples for mental/psychological violence were; humiliation, teasing, name-calling, imposing pressure or enforcing, talking behind someone's back, cheating and any acts involving that make others get frightened and/or cry. In addition, for verbal violence children gave examples of yelling, swearing, insulting, talking abusively and disrespectfully. Further more examples for sexual violence involved childhood marriage, catcalling women, insulting someone by means of sexual abuse. Lastly, examples of neglect included; caregivers' lack of paying attention to physical or psychological needs and lack of spending time together.

In addition, we found that children were vulnerable and sensitive for environmental problems such as pollution, drug traffic in the streets and lack of sufficient facilities in neighborhood (garbage containers, playgrounds, streetlights). While they were talking about these problems, children seemed to be emotionally overwhelmed by feelings of insecurity and infrastructure deficits in their neighborhood. Thus, we observed that these problems were far

more severe than defining them as just ‘issues’ but rather they were perceived as acts of violence by children. Our results were also similar to what have been suggested in literature that also suggested children’s awareness and sensitivity for environmental violence (McIntyre, 2000; Sadık et al., 2011).

Our analysis showed the significance of peer relationship and school environment in children’s experiences of violence. According to our analyses of discussion sessions and stories, frequency of violent acts related to peer relationship and school environment suggested that children were prone to experience violence in these domains. Children might have been experiencing or witnessing violence more in school. Considering the age group of our sample, we suspected that children might be more prone to be subjected to bullying at schools (Khosropour & Walsh, 2001). Children’s ratings on survey also supported this possibility as they reported ‘feeling bad’ more frequently in school compared to other environments. In addition, analysis of children’s expressions in meetings showed that they might become frightened, sad, and/or angry when their teachers exposed them to violence. Although children’s rights were protected by law, resort of violence among teachers and school principals remained high in prevalence in Turkey (Gümüş et al., 2004).

Analyses for expressions in discussions sessions and children’s stories suggested that children in our sample experienced or witnessed both physical and mental violence frequently at home. Our finding was in line with previous research in Turkey (Turla et al. 2010; UNICEF, 2010). In addition, children’s narratives for the reasons for violence at home suggested that unmet

expectations' of mothers from children cause corporal punishment. Children stated many incidences of beating when they didn't do some kinds of housework. This finding suggested that children might be subjected to parentification that stemmed from mothers' heightened expectations from their children as if they are the ones who should care and meet mothers' needs (Castro et al., 2004).

In addition family stress that is related to economic, social, cultural and environmental factors was found to be a major reason for domestic violence against children (Ünal, 2008). Considering their living conditions and low socio economic status, families of our sample also may prone to experience high levels of daily stress. These families who were mostly emigrated from southeastern cities live in a disadvantaged area of İstanbul. Immigration from these regions has certain costs when related political issues are taken into account. These families are prone to experience alienation, discrimination, and not being able to engage in community life (Bilgin, 2014). These factors further result in having economic and social difficulties that may affect parents' efficient coping skills in general. As a result, parents of our sample might be having difficulties for responding their children emotional needs.

Our analysis and observations of discussions suggested that especially experiencing injustice, being restricted, being disrespected and being forced by mothers and/or teachers were significant negative experiences in children's world. As early adolescents, children's concerns about these negative

experiences marked the tension between their autonomy development and increased expectations from caregivers (Eccles, 1999). Children were in need of being respected, being autonomous and not being enforced. Themes of negative experiences also pointed out the importance and necessity of perceived fairness in school system. Defending their own rights seemed to be important for children. On the other hand, analysis of children's positive experiences showed the importance of emotional support by mothers, teachers and friends. Some of the examples were much related with wishes rather than actual experiences that showed the emotional needs of children.

#### **4.1 Implications for Children's Perception of Violence**

##### **4.1.1 Justification of Violence, Self-blame and Cycle of Violence**

One of our research questions was to explore whether children would give excuses for the violence exposure. A prominent finding of the study was the appearance of justification of violence both in the content of project sessions and children's stories. This theme emerged for children's misbehaviors, impudence, and generally not behaving in the direction of parent's and teacher's expectations from children. Children stated that the parents were right in using physical punishment and they deserved it in case of misbehaviors. Thus, in children's perception corporal punishment was being 'normalized' through caregiver's expectations and using violence for unmet expectations. This might have stemmed from the normalization of the violence by parents at home or by sociocultural factors in the society. In Turkey, using physical violence as a discipline strategy is a common fact

(Güleç et al., 2012). Children's perception of justified and deserved violence was also in line with the study of Kagıtcıbası and Ataca (2005) which found that mothers' one of the most valued feature of their children was being obedient to them. Similarly, we found that children were aware of these expectations and as a result they perceived the violent consequences as being deserved and justified. We also suggested normalization and justification of violence may also acted as a defense mechanism through which children tried to avoid conflict, maintain organization in order to overcome the negative effects of maltreatment (McCrone et al., 1994).

In addition, justification of violence may result in internalization of violence and may influence children's self-perception negatively (Carpenter & Stacks, 2009). In line with the theme of violence justification, causing alterations in sense of self, children may also blame themselves for both being exposed to and witnessing violence (Singh, 2001). Although children did not explicitly mention this theme in the discussion sessions, one child's story reflected it in a way. In this story (story 10), the child character was both being exposed to violence by his teacher and witnessed the verbal violence between his father and teacher. The character expressed his emotions as feeling very bad when his father couldn't resolve the issue in more adaptive ways other than using some kind of violence. So, when the adult figure failed to model an adaptive solution, child in the story took the responsibility and tried to resolve the conflict by promising not to misbehave. Children may also perceive parents' corporal punishment as being done for children's own good (UNICEF, 2010). These negative

working models of violent parents and negative self-perception may also be linked to perceiving violence as a problem solving strategy (Osofsky, 2003). In support of this premise, Deveci et al. (2006) revealed that 33.8 % of victimized elementary school children in Elazığ, Turkey considered violence as an acceptable and inevitable problem solving strategy. Thus, a significant risk appears for the maltreated children's relationship qualities later in their adult lives. Maltreated victimized children may be prone to become perpetrators as adults (Güleç et al., 2012). As children's perception of violence as a problem solving strategy might be shaped during elementary school age, intervention and prevention programs should be developed for children as early as possible.

In addition, children's normalization and justification of violence and perceiving it as a problem solving strategy might have resulted in continuing the cycle of violence. Suggestions from literature and findings of our study pointed out the significance of justification mechanisms in processes of violence. We suggested that normalization and justification of violence, children's self-blame for the violence and cycle of violence are all interrelated with each other and constituted threats for children's inner worlds.

#### **4.1.2 Emotions of Victims and Perpetrators**

Important emotional themes in the stories were regret for perpetrator and pride for the one resolving violence. Empathy capacity of both victims and perpetrators were found to be a critical point that appeared in children's stories. In many stories, violence resolution could be achieved at times of

showing empathy and being able to comprehend other's perspectives. Not only the perpetrator's understanding of victim's feelings but also victims' doing a favor people whose acts resulted in negative consequences were able to resolve violence in stories. This patterns in stories served for increasing our understanding of children's perceptions about violence resolution. Children perceived that empathy capacity is the one of the key factors of violence prevention and/or resolution.

Themes of shame, regret and empathy capacity also pointed out the issue of moral development in our sample's age group. Piaget (1950) suggested that children firstly have to decenter from egocentric view in order to understand reciprocal and interpersonal nature of the events. According to Piaget, children between 7 to 12 years of age could manage to make moral judgments as egocentric view changed at this developmental level (as cited in Rubin & Schneider, 1973). Our sample age range fell into Piaget's suggestion for the developmental level of children in order to form morality.

Feelings of shame and guilt combined with accepting responsibility for the consequences of negative acts were found to relate with moral development in children (Eisenberg, 2000). Combining our results about violence resolution in children's perceptions and their developmental level in forming morality judgments, we suggested enhancing empathy capacity and helping children to form moral judgments is critical factor for our sample's age group.

Considering the fact that children's expressions about violent acts most



frequently involved relationships with peers in our study, violence prevention and intervention programs in schools would be very helpful for children. These programs would help children to enhance their awareness of violence and their problem solving abilities. As in children's perceptions increase in perpetrators empathy capacity could stop violent acts, interventions that aims to enhance moral judgments and empathy capacity would help resolving violence especially in schools. In addition, previous research showed that family discourse about emotional states enhanced children's emotional understanding of others' feelings (Dunn et al., 1991). Thus, prevention programs and interventions that also engage mothers into curriculum would be able to gain more benefits in terms of enhancing empathy capacity and morality development in children.

Emde (2003) suggested that narratives of maltreated children included story characters' sudden and unreasonable changes from 'bad' to 'good' or vice versa. We also observed this split pattern in children's stories. Some of the stories (ex. Story 8 and Story 15) included sudden and unreasonable changes in perpetrators who transforms from being bad to being good. Similar to play therapy, we observed that story writing with children could easily conjure up these unconscious mechanisms in children's inner worlds. Thus, we suggested that using projective story methods were useful both for assessment of maltreatment and for therapeutic benefits in children (Chavis, 2011; Emde et al., 2003).

### **4.1.3 Breaking silence of violence**

In children's perception what made difference in ongoing violence was to make violence realized rather than avoiding it, to awake perpetrators by warning them for their violent acts and to make them realize consequences of their behaviors. Children also perceived perpetrator's apology from victim as a meaningful solution to violence. According to children's perceptions, speaking about violence, whether in a form of raising awareness or through apology, was a crucial turning point of violence. Thus, children in our sample were found to be aware of the importance of acknowledging violence for changing violence in societies. Genç Hayat Vakfı (2012) also suggested that ignoring violence entails a risk for societies' accepting it as a way of problem solving.

Expressive language and violence seemed to be inter-related with each other through different mechanisms. As children have suggested, speaking about violence made a change in ongoing violence and enhanced resolution. On the other hand, violence was found to be causing changes in expressive language of children. Implications in previous research showed the effects of maltreatment in language development. Lewis (2005) suggested that maltreated children were found to have difficulties in expressing negative emotions verbally compared to non-maltreated children (as cited in Güleç et al., 2012). Maltreated children were also found to have difficulties in cognitive processing of negative maternal attribution words compared to non-maltreated children. Lynch (2003) suggested that maltreated children might

not had the chance to more openly discussing negative emotions with mothers that resulted in cognitive difficulties.

We also observed that children in our sample have some language constraints in both their expressions and stories they have written. We also suspected that verbal constraints of some children might be resulted in making their stories undetailed and finished with a sudden ending. These difficulties might stem from their high levels of violent experiences. So, both the effects of violence on language and children's perceptions about impact of expressive language on violence resolution pointed out crucial relations between them.

Wood (2004) suggested that narratives of violence convey meaningful information about mental representations and attitudes for violence that were formed by societies' cultural factors. He also suggested that violence could be explored and understood by searching for these 'mentalities' in narratives as they convey language, terms, and interactions specific to violence. So, story-writing methods might be helpful in both understanding children's implicit perceptions of violence and raising awareness about violence that would break silence of violence and transform it into something communicable.

#### **4.1.4 Environmental Violence**

Children's expressions in sessions and contents of their stories showed that children were aware of and concerned with political, economical, and environmental issues. We also observed that children were able to reflect their environmental concerns in their story plots (e.g. Story 2, Story 4, Story 7). Our finding was in line with the literature suggesting children's narratives

would include their experiences about negative events going on their environment (Farver and Frosch, 1996).

The way that children were concerned and talked about drug traffic, pollution, political conflicts in Tarlabası and how unsafe they seemed to feel in their neighborhood suggested that children in our sample perceived environmental problems as similar to violence. This finding of our study was also in line with McIntyre's (2000) suggestion that environmental violence should be included in types of violence. Although we didn't focus on and analyze in depth slogans created by children that was a part of our larger project, it would be meaningful to quote from children's slogans in order to point out their concerns about environmental violence:

“ We are against bad habits in our environment! ”

“ Do not harm environment!”

However, we also observed that children's narratives also reflected their familiarity and being accustomed to environmental violence. The term of “normal abnormality” by Ignacio Martín-Baró (1994) captured the essence of our samples' perception of environment in which people got used to anticipating and living with many kinds of violence (as cited in McIntyre, 2000). We suggested that normalization of violence, especially in disadvantaged urban populations as similar to our sample, entails a risk for social welfare of societies.

Noteworthy to state that currently Turkey has been going through

political conflicts. Unfortunately, these issues also included conflicts between ethnic groups. Our sample was unique in the sense that majority of them belonged to minority ethnic groups that emigrated from southeastern regions of Turkey to Istanbul. Our observations of the sessions suggested that children were aware of these ethnic and political issues that may result in confusions in children. In one of the discussions, for example, while children were talking about compulsory military service, children were confused about notions of ‘martyr’, ‘activist’, ‘patriot’, and ‘terrorist’.

#### **4.1.5 Prevention and Intervention Programs**

Our results showed that children were in need of a space in order to share their views, experiences and expectations. We observed the positive effects of discussing thoughts and feelings about acts of violence on empowerment of children. The effects of talking should not be undervalued as it was even found to have an impact on symptom reduction (Ozer & Weinstein, 2004). In addition to benefits of expressing themselves, through these discussions we observed that children experienced confusions in concepts related to sexual and political violence. Knowing accurate and realistic definitions of acts of violence might be important factors in raising children’s awareness about them. Our results showed that children might be prone to justify and normalize violence. These factors became more crucial considering the risk of their perception of violence as a problem solving strategy. Our results also showed the significance of appropriate adult role models in children’s lives in terms of violence resolution and emotion

regulation. Thus, all of these factors showed the importance of violence prevention/intervention programs and their possible positive impacts on children's lives. We suggested that these programs should not only include children but also parents, teachers, and other caregivers if any. These programs would give space for children in order to discuss and learn more about instances of violence and therefore be more aware of acts of violence. Furthermore, children would have the opportunity of gaining adaptive coping skills and improving their empathy capacity. These programs should also consider empowering parents and teachers by understanding their difficulties and information needs in their problems with children. In addition, community projects in collaboration with municipalities would help reintegrating socially and economically disadvantaged people into the society.

#### **4.2 Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research**

There are few studies about child abuse and domestic violence conducted in Turkey. When Turkey's first report about children rights was presented to United Nations (UN) Children Rights Committee, the committee suggested that there is a need for more research about domestic violence, sexual abuse and any kinds of maltreatment and abuse in Turkey (UNICEF, 2010). Thus, there is a need for more research investigating different aspects of violence (prevalence, perceptions, interventions of violence) in Turkey.

Our study, that was part of a bigger applied and semi-structured project, was determined to fulfill the need of research in this area of violence. We aimed to understand children's perceptions of violence through their

authentic expressions in meetings that were mostly directed by themselves and their story writings. Expressive art modality of story writing gave us the opportunity of gaining knowledge about children's emotions, thoughts and representations related to acts of violence. Further more we were able to observe closely children's coping skills through their expressions in meetings. Our sample was special in terms of children's vulnerability to acts of violence as a result of living in a disadvantaged neighborhood in Istanbul. Thus, exploring their experiences and perceptions was especially significant. However, as we have conducted a qualitative research with a small sample only involving children living in Tarlabası, our findings were not generalizable. Further research with a representative sample of the population would be able to give more comprehensive understanding for perceptions of violence by children.

Our study aimed to enhance our knowledge about children's perception of violence. However, noteworthy to state that while we were qualitatively analyzing children's expressions about violence, we did not differentiate children's witnessing violence from being exposed to violence. Although some children gave examples of violence from their own experiences, they were not coded in a separate category. We combined all the expressions of violence together. Further research involving assessments of children's maltreatment history may be able to analyze differences in children's perceptions according to children's experiences.

In our quantitative analysis, we used 9-item children's experiences

survey that was created by our research team. As a result, reliability and validity of the survey could not be measured. In order to make the survey an understandable and brief measure for our sample, items of the survey were kept very few. In addition, we observed that some children seemed to be confused and had difficulties in giving answers to questions. Specifically, the three choices (occasionally, usually, never) of the survey were difficult for children to differentiate between different frequencies. Some of them were also had difficulty in waiting their turns or some of them were observed to be unmotivated for answering the questions. Thus, in order to measure children's frequencies of certain feelings in different environments more comprehensively, further research should include reliable, valid and more child-friendly measures.

Children's familiarity and being comfortable with the leader was crucial for this study, as Winnicott (1971) suggested entering transitional space depends on feeling secure and being confident of caretaker's dependability. Although the group leader was familiar with the children and observed to be able to create a secure base for discussion sessions, some of the children stated their worries about whether the videos of the sessions would be published or not. They were also concerned about whether their faces were recognizable from the videos or not. Even one child said that the police might arrest them. So, we suspected that some children might not felt comfortable enough for expressing themselves freely. Designing a study with increased number of sessions and recording the content of the sessions rather than using a video camera might have helped children in order to feel more secure and be



more comfortable during the study.

Our results indicated that some of the children might have been disorganized by writing stories about violence as they kept their stories very short and end them with a sudden violent act. We suspected that disorganized children in our sample might have a maltreatment history as setting boundary between phantasy and reality was found to be difficult for maltreated children (Fonagy & Target, 1997). Writing about violence might have been too real for these children that made them disorganized and not being able to continue and detail stories. Unfortunately, we had no measure for screening children's individual differences in history of maltreatment. Thus, future research concerning these individual differences might benefit from comparing maltreated and non-maltreated children's stories.

On the other hand, we observed that most of the children were able to reflect their representations into their story writings symbolically. The symbolic capacity of the children reflected their resilience in the face adversities. Fradkin et al. (2016) suggested that resilience development might take the form of building positive and meaningful relationships, social support and supervision. Thus, we suspected that community centers might have significant positive effects on children living in disadvantaged areas in terms of resilience. Further research investigating children's resilience in adversity might be helpful to enrich our understanding in this field.

## Conclusion

This study aimed to investigate and extend our knowledge of how children perceive, conceptualize and experience violence. Being a part of a larger applied project, our study focused on children aged 10 to 12 years and their expressions about violence in project sessions and story writings about violence. Our sample was composed of residents of disadvantaged area of Istanbul, Tarlabaşı. Our results suggested that children were ‘feeling bad’ more frequently in school, ‘feeling frightened’ more frequently in neighborhood, and ‘feeling peaceful’ more frequently at home. We found that mothers were prone to underscore their children’s negative experiences. Analysis of children’s expressions showed that physical violence predominated other violence types, and children were more concerned with violent acts involving peers and teachers. Children’s experiences involved enforcements and corporal punishments by mothers. Children’s stories revealed the importance of appropriate adult role models. In addition, themes of justification and normalization of violence in children’s stories were found to be significant in understanding mechanisms of violence according to children’s perceptions. Considering our results and observations of study, we suggested that violence prevention and/or intervention programs should be comprehensive that also involve parents, teachers and other caregivers.

## APPENDIX

### A. Structure of the Group Meetings

#### 10-12 Yaş Grubu ile Çalışma

**1. Toplantı:** Aileleri bilgilendirme ve izinlerin alınması.

Toplantı için veliler TTM'ye çağırılacak. Gelemeyen veliler için ev ziyareti yapılarak bilgi verilecek.

#### 2. Toplantı:

Kolaylaştırıcı çocuklara kendini tanıtır. Araştırma için bu çalışmanın yapıldığından bahseder, onların bu araştırmada oynayacağı rolü anlatır ve onlara yardımları için teşekkür eder. Grup sözleşmesi yapılır.

#### Yönerge:

1. Şimdi bir gününüzü düşünün. Gündelik hayatımızda kimlerle ve nerelerle ilişki içinde oluruz?
2. Kimlerle temas kuruyoruz? Kimlerle konuşuyoruz? Konuşmasak da kimlerden ve nelerden etkileniyoruz?
3. Kimin yanına gitmekten hoşlanırsın, kiminle zaman geçirmekten hoşlanırsın? Kimlerden, nelerden uzak durmayı istersin?
4. Kendini ne zaman, ne gibi durumlarda iyi hissediyorsun, kiminleyken?
5. Kendini ne zaman kötü hissediyorsun? Örnek verir misin?
6. Hangi davranışlar sana iyi hissettiriyor, hangi davranışlar sana kötü hissettiriyor. Örnek verir misin?

*( Tanımlanan davranışlar kısaca tahtaya not edilir)*

*(Yukarıdaki soru evde, okulda, sokakta hangi davranışlar kötü hissettiriyor şeklinde yinelenebilir. Verilen örnekler hep bir ortama aitse diğer ortamlar yürütücü tarafından gündeme getirilir.)*  
*(Tanımlanan farklı ortamlar tahtaya yazılabilir)*

7. Bu anlatılan durumlarda bir çocuk (genç) kendini nasıl hissedebilir? Neler düşünebilir, aklından neler geçebilir?

*(Adı geçen duygular , düşünceler tahtaya yazılır)*

*(Eğer çocuklar farklı duygular dile getirmezlerse yürütücü (korkmuş, güvensiz, değer verilmemiş, saygı duyulmamış, kızgın gibi farklı duyguları, ‘Hiç bu duyguyu hissettiğiniz durumlar oluyor mu? Diyerek sorgulayabilir.)*

8. Bu noktada eğer şiddet kelimesi gelmemiş olursa yürütücü söz edilen hangi davranışları ‘şiddet ‘ olarak tanımlayabileceğimizi sorar. Şiddet nedir? Hangi davranışları şiddet olarak tanımlayabiliriz?

9. Farklı ortamlarda ne gibi şiddet içeren davranışlar görüyoruz, kimler arasında?

10. Sizce bu davranışlardan bazıları kabul edilebilir mi, anlaşılabilir mi, hoş görülebilir mi, hangileri, neden?

11. Çevrende (evde, okulda, sokakta ) gördüğün hangi davranışları değiştirmek isterdin?, Nasıl?

12. Çevrende davranışlarını beğendiğin, örnek aldığın ya da seni iyi hissettiren bir yetişkin var mı? Hangi özelliklerini, davranışlarını beğeniyorsun?

**Sonuç:** Çıkan kavramlar ve durumlar not edilir. İkinci toplantı için çocuklara bilgilendirme yapılır.

"Şimdi bugünkü çalışmamız bitti. Nasıl geldi bu çalışma size? Sıra bitirme etkinliğine geldi" deyip oyun, resim, nefes veya beden egzersizlerinden biri ile rahatlayarak bitirme.

### 3. Toplantı (Bir buçuk-iki saatlik oturum)

Isınma: Bedensel egzersizle güçlü, güçsüz, güvenli korkmuş vs. Gibi pozisyonlar canlandırılabilir.

En sevdikleri hikaye, masal ya da film kahramanları sorulabilir. O kahramanların belirgin özellikleri neler? O kahramanlar canlandırılabilir- **bir duruşla canlandırma.**

#### Hikaye Yazımı:

*Geçen hafta konuştuğumuz olumsuz durumları, etkileşimleri hatırlayalım- bunlardan seçtiğiniz bir ya da ikisini örnekleyen bir hikaye yazacağız. Hikayemizde olay nerede geçiyor, karakterler kimler bunları tanımlayacağız öncelikle. Sorunlu bir durumu anlatacağız ve sonunda bir sonuç olacak.*

*Uygulamacı sırasıyla aşağıdaki yönergeleri gruba vererek aşama aşama hikaye yazımını yönlendirir.*

**-Karakterler kim?** (önce kısa birer paragrafta kişileri anlat)

**-Mekan** neresi olacak. Tanımla.

*Şimdi hikayenizi yazmaya başlayacaksınız. Hikayenizde anlattığınız **olay** ne olacak? Bu olay nasıl başlıyor, nasıl gelişiyor.*

*Tahtaya hikayenin farklı öğeleri başlıklar şeklinde yazılı:*

*karakterler, Mekan, Olay*

*Olayın başlangıcını, gelişimini ve çözümünü anlatmak için **dağ metaforu** kullanılır ve tahtaya çizilir.*

*-Her bir karakter ne hissediyor, ne düşünüyor. Kendi kendine ne diyor? Birbirlerine bir şey diyorlar mı? Bunları diyalog olarak yazabilir misiniz?*

*-Bu hikayede sorun nasıl çözülüyor? Sorunun çözümüne yardımcı olan bir kişi de hikayeye girebilir ya da karakterler kendi güçlü yanlarını kullanarak sorunu çözebilirler.*

*-Sonuç ne olacak?*

*-Ana karakterler hikayenin sonunda nasıl hissediyorlar, ne düşünüyorlar?*

*-Hikaye yazımı için 30 dakika verilir. 15 dakikalık bir aradan sonra hikayelerin paylaşımına geçilir.*

Paylaşım sırasında hikayeler içinde ortak yönler bulunabilir, karakterlerin duygularına ve bulunan çözümlere vurgu yapılır.

#### **4. Toplantı**

-Anne babalara , diğer çocuklara, öğretmenlere, büyüklere şiddetin zararları konusunda nasıl mesajlar verebiliriz, nasıl sloganlar bulabiliriz.

Bu mesajlardan yola çıkılarak ortak grup resmi ya da afişi üretilecek.

Bitirirken yapılan çalışmalarla dış dünya arasında köprü kurulacak. “Biz şiddet davranışları üstüne bilinçlendik ama dış dünyada bazı şeyler kolay değişmiyor. Çevremizdeki bazı insanların şiddet içeren davranışları değişmeyebilir. Bu durumlarda kendimizi nasıl koruyabiliriz, kimlerden destek alabiliriz? Beni daha güçlü hissettirebilecek kaynağım ne olabilir?”

## B. Consent Form

### TARLABAŞI TOPLUM MERKEZİ ‘ÇOCUKLARIN ŞİDDET ALGISI’ PROJESİNE KATILIM İÇİN ONAY FORMU

Değerli anne babalar,

Tarlabaşı Toplum Merkezi tarafından yürütülecek olan ‘Çocukların Şiddet Algısı’ isimli uygulama ve araştırma projesine çocuğunuzun katılımı için onayınızı rica ediyoruz. Bu projeye Tarlabaşı bölgesinde yaşayan 7-15 yaş arasında toplam 100 çocuk katılacaktır. Bu projenin hem atölye uygulama hem araştırma hem de sosyal medya ayakları olacaktır. Amacımız çocukların şiddeti nasıl gördükleri ve anladıkları konusunda kendilerini ifade etmelerini sağlamak, onları şiddet yaşantıları karşısında güçlendirmek hem de toplumun genelini bu konuda bilgilendirmektir.

Bu projede çocuklarla toplam 3 grup oturumu yürütülecek. Bu grup çalışmalarında çocuklarla kendilerini hangi durumlarda iyi ve güvende hissettikleri, hangi etkileşimlerde daha güvensiz hissettikleri konuşulacaktır. Amacımız çocukların bu konuda kendilerini ifade etmelerini sağlamak, çocukların gözünden şiddetin nasıl algılandığını anlamak ve çocukları şiddet yaşantılarına karşı bilinçlendirmek ve güçlendirmektir. Çocuklar katılacakları oturumlarda bu konuda kendilerini hem sözel olarak hem de sanatsal yöntemler kullanarak (resim yapmak, hikaye yazmak ya da fotoğraf çekmek) aracılığıyla ifade edebileceklerdir. Atölyeler sırasında ortaya çıkan sözel paylaşımlar ve sanatsal üretimler araştırma ekibimiz tarafından analiz edilecektir. Bu sözel paylaşımlardan ve üretilen resim, hikaye, fotoğraflardan bazıları (çocukların kimlik bilgileri verilmeden) sosyal medya kanalları aracılığıyla toplumun geneliyle paylaşılacaktır. Projemizin sonunda varılan sonuçlar ayrıca sergi, kitap ve halka açık toplantılar aracılığıyla kamuoyuyla

paylaşılacaktır. Amacımız toplumda çocukların deneyimleri konusunda farkındalık yaratmaktır.

Projenin araştırma ayağı İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Psikoloji bölümü öğretim üyesi Yard. Doç. Dr. Zeynep Çatay tarafından yürütülecektir. Araştırma asistanları Bilgi Üniversitesi klinik psikoloji yüksek lisans öğrencileri Çimen Güldöker ve Merve Özgüle olacaktır. Bu çalışma aynı zamanda Çimen Güldöker ve Merve Özgüle'nin bitirme tezini oluşturacaktır. Araştırma için bütün oturumlar videoya çekilecektir ve sonrasında analiz edilebilmesi için oturumlarda konuşulanlar bilgisayara aktarılacaktır. Video kayıtları bir bilgisayarda saklanacaktır ve projenin bitiminde silinecektir. Ayrıca çocukların ürettikleri resimler, hikayeler ve fotoğraflar analiz edilebilmeleri için saklanacaktır. Projenin sonunda yazılan raporlarda ya da sosyal medya paylaşımlarında bu malzemelerin bazıları kullanılabilir ama çocukların kimlik bilgilerine hiçbir şekilde yer verilmeyecektir. Projenin her ayağında katılımcıların kimlik bilgileri saklı tutulacaktır. Çocukların paylaşımlarında ortaya çıkan temalar bireysel olarak değil toplu şekilde değerlendirilecektir. Bu noktalar katılımcı çocuklara da açıklanacaktır. Katılım gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır ve çocuğunuz ya da siz istediğiniz bir noktada projeye katılmaktan vazgeçebilirsiniz. Bu projenin araştırma kısmı için daha detaylı bilgi almak için Zeynep Çatay'a 0212- 311 7616 numaralı telefondan ya da [zeynep.catay@bilgi.edu.tr](mailto:zeynep.catay@bilgi.edu.tr) adresinden ulaşabilirsiniz.

Atölye çalışmaları Tarlabası Toplum Merkezi'nin psikoloğu ve sosyal çalışmacısı tarafından yürütülecektir. Bu çalışmaya katılmanın çocuklarda olumsuz yaşantıları ve duyguları uyandırmaması için atölye çalışmaları dikkatle tasarlanmıştır. Ancak buna rağmen olumsuz bazı olumsuz duygular ya da sorular oluşur ise çocuğunuz ya da kendiniz için Tarlabası Toplum Merkezi'nden (0-212 297 23 05) psikolojik destek alabilirsiniz.



Bu çalışmaya katılımınız için teşekkür ederiz.

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*Yukarıda sunulan bilgiyi anladım. Çocuğumun bu projeye katılması için izin veriyorum.*

Velinin Ad-Soyadı: \_\_\_\_\_

Çocuğun Adı-Soyadı: \_\_\_\_\_

Tarih: \_\_\_\_\_

İmza: \_\_\_\_\_

### C. Demographic Form for Children

Katılımcı NO: \_ \_ \_ \_

#### Çocuklar için Demografik Bilgi Formu

1. Doğum Tarihi: .....
2. Cinsiyet: .....
3. Varsa kardeşlerinin yaşları ve cinsiyetlerini belirtir misin?

Yaş

Cinsiyet

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

4. Okula gidiyor musun, kaçınıcı sınıf? \_\_\_\_\_

5. Bir işte çalışıyor musun? Evet ise hangi işte, haftada kaç saat?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

6. Kaç yıldır Tarlabası'nda yaşıyorsunuz? \_\_\_\_\_

7. İstanbul'a başka şehirden geldiyseniz ne zaman, hangi şehirden geldiniz?

\_\_\_\_\_

8. Ailenizin Eğitim Durumu:

	Anne	Baba
Okuma yazma bilmiyor	1	1
İlkokul mezunu	2	2

Ortaokul mezunu	3	3
Lise mezunu	4	4
Yüksek okul mezunu (2 yıllık)	5	5
Üniversite mezunu (4 yıllık)	6	6

9. **Annenin Medeni Durumu:**

	<b>Anne</b>
Çocuğun babası ile evli	1
Boşanmış	2
Ayrı yaşıyor	3
Dul	4
Çocuğun babasından başkası ile evli	5
Vefat etti	6

10. **Babanın Medeni Durumu:**

	<b>Baba</b>
Çocuğun annesi ile evli	1
Boşanmış	2
Ayrı yaşıyor	3
Dul	4
Çocuğun annesinden başkası ile evli	5
Vefat etti	6

11. **Anne şu anda çalışıyor mu?**

Evet \_\_\_\_\_

Hayır \_\_\_\_\_

Evet ise hangi işte? \_\_\_\_\_

12. **Baba řu anda alıřıyor mu?**

Evet \_\_\_\_\_

Hayır \_\_\_\_\_

Evet ise hangi iřte? \_\_\_\_\_

13. **Evde řu anda kimlerle birlikte yařıyorsunuz?**

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14. **Daha nce Tarlabası Toplum Merkezi tarafından yrtlen bir alıřmaya katıldın mı? Hangilerine?**

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#### D. Demographic Form for Parents

Katılımcı NO: \_ \_ \_

#### Ebeveyn için Demografik Bilgi Formu

Lütfen sizin için doğru olan şıkkı çarpı koyarak işaretleyiniz.

Bilgileri veren kişi: Anne  Baba  Diğer \_\_\_\_\_

1. Annenin Doğum Tarihi: .....

2. Babanın Doğum Tarihi: .....

3. Çocuklarımızın yaşları ve cinsiyetlerini belirtiniz:

Yaş

Cinsiyet

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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\_\_\_\_\_

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\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

4. Bu çalışmaya katılacak olan çocuğunuzun yaşı ve cinsiyeti?

\_\_\_\_\_

5. Çalışmaya katılacak olan çocuğunuz okula gidiyor mu, kaçınıcı sınıf? \_\_\_\_\_

6. Çalışmaya katılacak olan çocuğunuzun fiziksel engeli var mı?

1) Hayır  2) Evet

Evet ise lütfen açıklayınız:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

7. Çocuğunuzun zihinsel engeli var mı? 1) Hayır  2) Evet

Evet ise lütfen açıklayınız:

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8. **Çocuğunuz gelişiminde herhangi bir gecikme ya da sorun yaşandı mı?** (Fiziksel gelişim, dil gelişimi, bilişsel ya da duygusal, sosyal alan gibi)

1) Hayır  2) Evet

Evet ise ne tür bir sorun olduğunu ve varsa aldığımız psikolojik ya da eğitimsel desteğin süresini ve içeriğini açıklayınız:

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9. **Çocuğunuz belirgin bir psikolojik sorun yaşadı mı?**

1) Hayır  2) Evet

Evet ise ne tür bir sorun olduğunu ve varsa aldığımız psikolojik desteğin süresini ve içeriğini açıklayınız:

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10. **Kaç yıldır Tarlabası'nda yaşıyorsunuz?** \_\_\_\_\_

11. **İstanbul'a başka şehirden geldiyseniz ne zaman, hangi şehirden geldiniz?**

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12. **Eğitim Durumunuz:** (Geldiğiniz en yüksek düzey; lütfen çocuğun hem annesi hem babası için işaretleyiniz.)

	Anne	Baba
Okuma yazma bilmiyor	1	1
İlkokul mezunu	2	2
Ortaokul mezunu	3	3

Lise mezunu	4	4
Yüksek okul mezunu (2 yıllık)	5	5
Üniversite mezunu (4 yıllık)	6	6

**13. Annenin Medeni Durumu:**

	<b>Anne</b>
Çocuğun babası ile evli	1
Boşanmış	2
Ayrı yaşıyor	3
Dul	4
Çocuğun babasından başkası ile evli	5
Vefat etti	6

**14. Babanın Medeni Durumu:**

	<b>Baba</b>
Çocuğun annesi ile evli	1
Boşanmış	2
Ayrı yaşıyor	3
Dul	4
Çocuğun annesinden başkası ile evli	5
Vefat etti	6

**15. Anne şu anda çalışıyor mu?**

Evet \_\_\_\_\_

Hayır \_\_\_\_\_

Evet ise hangi işte? \_\_\_\_\_

**16. Baba řu anda alıřıyor mu?**

Evet \_\_\_\_\_

Hayır \_\_\_\_\_

Evet ise hangi iřte? \_\_\_\_\_

**17. Evinize giren aylık toplam geliriniz ne kadar Türk Lirasıdır?**

(Uygun olan řikkı arpı koyarak iřaretleyiniz.)

- 0-1000 TL
- 1000 TL-2000 TL
- 2000 TL – 3000 TL
- 3000 TL - 4000 TL
- 4000 TL ve üstü

**18. Evde řu an kimlerle birlikte yařıyorsunuz?**

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**19. Daha önce Tarlabası Toplum Merkezi tarafından yürütölen bir alıřmaya katıldınız mı? Hangilerine?**

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## E. Children's Experiences Survey for Children

*Lütfen aşağıdaki soruları farklı ortamlardaki yaşantılarını düşünerek cevapla.*

1. *Okulda ne sıklıkta rahat ve huzurlu hissediyorsun?*  
a) genelde b) bazen c) hiçbir zaman
2. *Okulda ne sıklıkta seni kötü hissettiren durumlar oluyor?*  
a) sık sık b) ara sıra c) hiç bir zaman
3. *Okulda ne sıklıkta seni korkutan durumlar oluyor?*  
a) sık sık b) ara sıra c) hiç bir zaman
4. *Mahallede ne sıklıkta rahat ve huzurlu hissediyorsun?*  
a) genelde b) bazen c) hiçbir zaman
5. *Mahallede ne sıklıkta seni kötü hissettiren durumlar oluyor?*  
a) sık sık b) ara sıra c) hiç bir zaman
6. *Mahallede ne sıklıkta seni korkutan durumlar oluyor?*  
a) sık sık b) ara sıra c) hiç bir zaman
7. *Eyde ne sıklıkta rahat ve huzurlu hissediyorsun?*  
a) genelde b) bazen c) hiçbir zaman
8. *Eyde ne sıklıkta seni kötü hissettiren durumlar oluyor?*  
a) sık sık b) ara sıra c) hiç bir zaman
9. *Eyde ne sıklıkta seni korkutan durumlar oluyor?*  
a) sık sık b) ara sıra c) hiç bir zaman

## F. Children's Experiences Survey for Mothers

*Lütfen aşağıdaki soruları bu çalışmaya katılacak olan çocuğunuzu düşünerek yanıtlayın.*

1. *Sizce çocuğunuz okulda ne sıklıkta kendini kötü ve gergin hissediyor?  
a) sık sık b) ara sıra c) hiç bir zaman*
2. *Sizce çocuğunuz okulda ne sıklıkta kendini rahat ve huzurlu hissediyor  
a) genellikle b) ara sıra c) hiç bir zaman*
3. *Sizce çocuğunuz okulda ne sıklıkta onu korkutan olaylarla karşılaşılıyor?  
a) sık sık b) ara sıra c) hiç bir zaman*
4. *Sizce çocuğunuz mahallede ne sıklıkta kendini kötü ve gergin hissediyor?  
a) sık sık b) ara sıra c) hiç bir zaman*
5. *Sizce çocuğunuz mahallede ne sıklıkta kendini rahat ve huzurlu hissediyor  
a) genellikle b) ara sıra c) hiç bir zaman*
6. *Sizce çocuğunuz mahallede ne sıklıkta onu korkutan olaylarla karşılaşılıyor?  
a) sık sık b) ara sıra c) hiç bir zaman*
7. *Sizce çocuğunuz evde ne sıklıkta kendini kötü ve gergin hissediyor?  
a) sık sık b) ara sıra c) hiç bir zaman*
8. *Sizce çocuğunuz evde ne sıklıkta kendini rahat ve huzurlu hissediyor  
a) genellikle b) ara sıra c) hiç bir zaman*
9. *Sizce çocuğunuz evde ne sıklıkta onu korkutan olaylarla karşılaşılıyor?  
a) sık sık b) ara sıra c) hiç bir zaman*

## G. Children's Stories

*Note.* Children's stories below remained in original formats without making any correction for grammar or spelling mistakes.

### Story 1

#### HERKES İNSAN

Bir varmış bir yokmuş evel zaman içinde kangur saman içinde. Bir zamanlar bir kız varmış. Adıda Ayşegül'müş. Ayşegül çok iyi bir kızmış temiz kalpli iyi biri kızmış Ayşegül 7 yaşına girmiş ve okula başlamış 1. sınıfa gidiyormuş gittiği sınıf biraz yaramamazmış Ayşegül sınıfın yaramaz olduğunu bilmediği için onlara o kadar iyi davranmışki ama sınıf arkadaşları ona hiç iyi davranmıyorlarmış ama Ayşegül onlara çok iyi davranıyorlarmış. Ayşegül arkadaşına demiş ki.

- Arkadaşım kalem tıraşını alabilirmiyim.

Arkadaşı demişki:

- Hayır tabikide veremem demiş.

Çünkü arkadaşları onu sevmiyormuş Ayşegül demiş ki

- Neden bana vermiyorsun kalem tıraşını oysaki ben sizlere herşeyimi veriyorum siz. Neden beni sevmiyorsunuz.

Arkadaşı cevap vermiş:

- Çünkü sen çok çirkinsiin çok kötü birisin anladın mı şimdi git yanımdan. git diye bağırılmış.

Ayşegülde içinden geçirmiş artık beni sevmiyeni bende sevmeyeceğim okul bitmiş bugünlük eve gitmiş. Yanlışlıklar tabak kırmış ve annesi ona biraz kızmış ve Ayşegül annesine ne bağıryorsun diye bağırılmış ve kendini Ayşegül çok kötü hissetmiş okula gidince arkadaşları Ayşegülün silgi istemiş Ayşegül arkadaşına bağırılmış ve Ayşegül yine kendini kötü hissetmiş arkadaşları demişki

- Neden bağıryorsun Ayşegül sen böyle biri değildin Ayşegül.

Arkadaşları Ayşegülün kendisine bağırışını beyenmemiş. Akıllarına birşeyler gelmiş toplamışlar demiş zor ki. Bizde ona bağıryorduk en iyisi ondan özür dileyelim ve o bize iyi davranın bizde ona iyi davranırız. Ve toplanmışlar özürdilemişler Ayşegül duygusal olmuş ve bir iki damla gözyaşı dökmüş. ve hepsi en iyi arkadaşlar olmuşlar.

KARAKTERLER:

- Ayşegül
- Annesi
- Arkadaşları

YER: Sınıf

OLAY: Arkadaşların Ayşegülü sevmeyip özür diledikten sonra sevmeleri.

SONUÇ: Arkadaşları artık Ayşegüle bağırılmayıp üzmemeleri ve onu sevmeleri.

## Story 2

### SOKAK OLAYLARI

#### KARAKTERLER:

- Yakup
- Devran
- Sultan
- Kübra
- Deniz
- Elif
- Kadir
- Burak
- Aynur
- Ebru
- Polisler

YER: Sokak

OLAY: Bir gün biz gurup olarak geziye gittik ve yolda ilerlerken polis bizi eylemci olarak sandı ve gaz biber atı ve hepimizin gözü yaşardı Devran, Burak ve ben kızları koruduk kızların gözleri çok yeşermişti.

### Story 3

#### ARTIK KORKMUYORUZ

Evet bir gün okula gidiyordum. Der bitmişti. Okuldan tam çıkarken arkadaşımı gördüm. Ama yanında 2 tane garip abiler vardı. Ve arkadaşım ağlıyordu. Tanıdık da değildi. Sonra arkadaşımı bağarak çağırdım. Baktım ki abiler sesimi duydu. Çok korktum. Abiler arkadaşımı alıp kaçtılar. Ben çok üzüldüm. Hemde korktum. Bende hem polisi aradım. Hemde takip ettim. Çünkü annesiyle birlikte okula gelmiyor. Bende annemle okula gelmiyorum. Ama bundan sonra gelicem galiba. Çok kötü bir yere gelmişti. Polis abilerde gelmişti. Hemen içeri daldılar ve arkadaşımı getirdiler. Arkadaşım beni görünce çok sevindi. Bende sevindim. Sonra eve gittik. Annelerimizde çok korkmuştu. Arkadaşımıda tünele getirmiş ve okula annemizle gidiyorduk. Ve bundan sonra mutlu olduk.

#### KARAKTERLER:

- Ben
- Arkadaşım
- Hırsızlar

MEKAN/YER: Okul sonra koşarak bir tülene

OLAY: Arkadaşımın kaçırılması

SONUÇ: Bundan sonra okuldan çıktığımızda bir büyüğümüzle çıkmamız ve tanımadığımız kişilerin yanına gitmememiz.

## Story 4

### KARAKTERLER:

- Aylin: zeki, tedirgin, bilmiş.
- Eray: komik. Şaşkın, umursamayan, sakar, korkak
- Ezgi: sevinç dolu biri, nazik, kibar, duygusal
- Mert: mutlu, sakar, çok konuşan

MEKAN: Bilinmeyen ara sokaklar

OLAY: Okuldan çıktıklarında herkesin çok korktuğu kimsenin oraya girmediği, Delibaşlar Mahallesine gitmeye karar verirler. Ve oraya sadece uyuşturucu satıcıları, sarhoşlar, kaçak içki satan insanlar girebiliyor ve orda büyük olaylar yaşanıyor.

SONUÇ: Kaçak içki satanlar, uyuşturucu kullananlar ve satanlar, sarhoşlar iyi bir insan oluyorlar.

### DELİBAŞLAR SOKAĞI

Merhaba bizim adımız Mert, Aylin, Ezgi ve Eray. Bizim başımızdan çok ilginç bir olay yaşandı. Ve bunu size anlatmaya karar verdik. O gün okul çıkışı Aylin bize:

- Arkadaşlar, Delibaşlar Sokağını çok merak ediyorum. Ordaki evlerde hep kötü insanlar yaşıyor. Ve kimse oraya gidemiyor. Ardından Mert bize çok yeni bir fikri verdi.

- Arkadaşlar, dördümüz Delibaşlar Sokağına girelim mi? Diye sordu. Biz de kabul ettik ve saat 2.30'da Delibaşlar Sokağının önünde buluşmaya karar verdik. Sonra buluştuk ve heyecanla Delibaşlar Sokağına girdik. Çok ürkütücü, gizemli ve dar sokaklardı. Her yerden kötü kokular geliyordu.

Ardından Eray:

- Arkadaşlar ben gideceğim çok korkuyorum. Çok ürkütücü burası.

Aylin tedirgin bir şekilde:

- Evet evet! Ben çok tedirginim. Ama bu tedirginliği korumak gerek. Şimdi biz buraya niçin geldik.

Ezgi sevinç dolu bir şekilde:

- Tabii ki de burdaki kötü insanları alt etmeye geldik.

Aylin:

- Bence bunları yine okutalım çünkü bunlar ailelerini terk etmiş ve okumamış insanlar. Okuyunca akılları başlarına gelir. Ayrıca bende onlara yardım ederim.

Ve ordan Eray taşa takıldı ve yere düştü. Mert dır dır dır konuştu. Örnek verelim:

- Yok yok ben artık sakın duramam burda kesin Dabbeler vardır. Hee eğer dabbeler varsa bizi büyülerler. Anneciğim demek bugün son günümüzdü. Kesin şimdi, çok korkunç yaratıklardık. Biz bittik biz bittik. Yardım edin, acaba bizim mahalledekiler sesimizi duymuş mudur? Diye diye zamanımızı bitti tüketti ve ordan birkaç tane adam gördük.

Eray:

- “Anne yardım et bana” diye titredi. Ordaki adam ne işiniz var lan sizin burda terbiyesizler ordan Ezgi:  
- Nee! Lan kelimesi çok kötü bir kelimedir. Ayrıca terbiyesiz nee! Biraz nazik ve kibar davran. Diğer adam:  
- Bizden kibarlık ve naziklik bitti.  
Aylin hemen lafa atlayarak:  
- Siz hiç okudunuz mu? Biliyor musunuz okumak çok güzel bir şey bence sizin okumanız gerek. Ayrıca bende size yardım ederim. Diğer adam:  
- Siz anlamadınız galiba biz burda yaşıyoruz. Peki burda okul var mı? Hee!.  
Ardından Eray:  
- Ailelerinizi hiç özlemiyor musunuz bee! Böyle uyuşturucu, sarhoşluk yetmedi mi size hayata, dünyaya bir kere geldiniz. Bu hayatı güzel yaşamak yerine saçma sapan şeyler yaşıyorsunuz. Kaçak içkide ne be. Elinde teşbih sallayan ve sakız çiğneyen adam:  
- Yaa! Bir sus yaa! Ardından Mert:  
- Siz ölmeden önce kesin pişman olacaksınız ha! benden söylemesi.  
Ailelerinizi, kardeşlerinizi hiç özlemiyor musunuz? Bee! Sonra ordan gittik ve ailelerinin yanına gidip okudular. Demek ki artık pişman oldular biz demiştik pişman olacaksınız diye. Size bir sır vereyim mi? Bizden daha iyi çalışkan oldular.

## Story 5

### ÖLÜM

Bir gün bir insan bir adama demişki gel eşek alalım adamın adı eşek olduğu için o da sanmış lakap taktı ve akşam onu uyurken öldürmüş.

### DEVİRAN VE AZAT

#### KARAKTERLER:

- Devran
- Azat

#### YER: Okul

OLAY: İlk konuştuğuk. O bana dedim ki eşek suratlı bede dedim ki eşek olu eşek ve kavga çıktı ve kavga büyüdü ve karakoluk olduk.

SONUÇ: Ve karakoldan çıktımızda barıştık.



## Story 6

### KARAKTERLER:

- 1) Sosyal medyada bazı özel şeyler paylaşılıyor.
- 2) Ve okulda bazen haksızlıklar oluyor
- 3) Bazen bazı insanlar boşu boşuna kavga ediyor.
- 4) Bazı çocuklar bazı çocuklardan para istiyor.
- 5) Bazılarını kendilerini çok beyiyor odan sonra onlara kelenini kötü hisedi yalan.

Sosyal medyada bazı şeyi paylaşılıyor ve bunlar yüzünden kavga oluyor okulda bazen haksızlıklar oluyor bunun yüzünden kavga oluyor bazen mahalede insanlar çalan boş boşuna kavga oluyor bazı insanlar bazı insandan para istiyor bu içi para veriyor korkular bazı kızlar bazı erkekler kenlerini beyiyor ondan sonra hazılık oluyor.

### NEREDE GEÇİYOR:

- Okulda
- Sosyal medyada
- Mahalede

## Story 7

### GAMZE’NİN CİMRİLİĞİ

Gamze cimri ve çok kötü bir kalpe sahipti. İnsanlara iftara atar, onları zor duruma düşürtecek şeyler yapardı. İnsanları da hiç sevmezdi. Her zaman boş yere kavga çıkartıyordu. Bir gün Gamze okulda kalemını kaybetti. Sınıftaki herkeze o kalemimi bulun yoksa her birinizi teker teker döverim. Sınıftaki herkez Gamze’den korktukları için kalemı aramaya başladılar.

Gamze bir süre sonra kalemını kitabın arasında buldu. Şimdi öğrencilere kalemını bulunduğunu söylerse utanca düşerdi. Ve bir fikir buldu. Gidip kalemı başka birinin kitabının arasına koydu.

Sonra her sırayı dolaştı ve şöyle dedi “o kalemı birinin eşyasının arasında bulursam onu çok kötü yapacağım haberi olsun”. Sonra kalemı koyduğu yerden çıkardı. Ve hemen kalemı bulunduğu kitabın sahibi Esmâ’yı dövdü. Kız çok üzölmüştü.

Sonra çıkışta Esmâ’nın evinden gidilen yoldan gitti. Ona küfür etti. Saçını çekti ve iftiralar attı. Daha sonra yolları ayrıldı. Ve Gamze yolda yürürken uyuşturucu bağımlıların önünden geçti. Uyuşturucu bağımlıları Gamzeyi alıp karanlık bir yere götürdü. Kız çok korkuyordu. Dersi dinlemediği için polisin numarası aklına gelmedi sonra aklından 155 numarası geçti. Okula telefon getirmek yasaktı. Ama Gamze’nin söz dinlediğini vardı. Hemen ilk polisi sonra annesini aradı. Polisler uyuşturucu bağımlılarını yakaladılar. Gamze sağ salım eve döndü ve artık bir ders çıkarmıştı. Kimseye olumsuz şeyler yapmayacaktı. Esmadan özür diledi.

#### KARAKTERLER:

- Esmâ
- Gamze

YER: Okul

OLAY: Gamze’nin cimriliği

SONUÇ: Gamze iyi biri oluyor

## Story 8

### OKULDA KIZA ŐİDDET

Bir varmıő bir eval zaman iin bir kız varmıő sonra kızın annesi sonra onu okula yazdırdı sonra annesiyle kızıyla beraber okula gittiler sonradan mdr beyin odasına gittiler sonra mdr dediki kızınızı kaa gidiyor anneside 6'ya gidiyor sonra mdr bey dediki o zaman kızınızı 6/E'ye alalım sonradan kız 6/E'ye gitti. Yarın oldu kız okula gitti sonra da matematik ğretmeni sınıfa girdi sonra herkes aya Kaltı sonra ğretmen dediki "otur" onlarda oturdu.

Zil aldı Sevda diyen bir kız vardı sonra Sevdayla Merve 1'ci sınıfa kadar beraberdiler. Merve arkadaőı'da ondan nefret ediyolardı.

Sonra 1 ka ay geti sonra'da hoca Sevda'ya dediki al bu soruyu öz dedi Sevda'da aya kaktı sonra dikilip kaldı sonra kızında o zaman 1'ci sınıftayken hocası okuma yazma bilmiyordu hoca dediki otur yerine sonra zil aldı.

Adem diye bir ocuk vardı. Sevda ile aylay geiyolarda sonra Sevda ok zld sonra ğretmen ieriye girdi ve Sevda noldu diye syledi Sevda cevap vermedi.

Yarın oldu Sevda Selmayı korkutu sonra dediki Sevda niye byle yapıyor o da dediki ben sandım sen korkmuyorsun dedi Sevda gitti onu dvd yine ađladı sonra sustu.

Yarın oldu Zilan, Rabia, Merve byle syledi banane, banane diye syledi Rabia, Merve, Zilan ok sinirlenmiőtı.

Yarın oldu Sevda iyi oldu sonra Sevda kimseye bulaőmadı sonra Sevdaya'da kimse bulaőmadı. Sonra iyi arkadaşlar oldular.

#### KARAKTERLER:

- Annesi
- Arkadaő

YER: Sınıf

OLAY: Kıza kt davranmak

SONU: Sevda artık iyi biri oldu.

## Story 9

### KİMLER GEÇİYOR:

- Gelin
- Damat
- Köpek

YER: Okul

### KANLI GELİN

Bir varmış bir yokmuş bir gelin varmış. 16 yaşındaymış. Bir damatla evlendi. Gelin evlenmek istememiş. Damat gelini öldürmüş.

## Story 10

### OKULDAKİ KAVGA

Mahmut, 12 yaşında, 6. sınıf öğrencisi, mavi gözlü, sarı saçlı ve uzun boylu, çalışkan bir öğrenciydi.

Mahmut bir gün okulda çok terbiyesizlik ve de yaramazlık yapmış. Öğretmenini çok sinirlendirmiş, öğretmen sinirlenince kendine hakim olamayıp, Mahmut'u dövmüş. Mahmut, ertesi gün ailesini çağırmış. Öğretmen ve babası arasında bir kavga çıkmış.

Baba:

-Sen nasıl benim çocuğumu döversin...

Öğretmen:

-Mahmut çok terbiyesizleşti ve çok yaramazlık yaptı. Kendime hakim olamadım...

Mahmut:

-Baba, ben seni kavga et diye çağırmadım. Kendimi çok kötü hissediyorum.

Baba:

-İlahiki dövmen gerekmezdi, beni çağırabilirdin.

Mahmut:

-Öğretmenim ve baba bir daha terbiyesizlik ve yaramazlık yapmayacağım. Size söz veriyorum.

Mahmut öğretmeni ve ailesine söz verdikten sonra bir daha ne terbiyesizlik ne de yaramazlık yapmayıp öğretmenlerin gözüne girdi.

#### KAHRAMANLAR:

- Mahmut
- Babası
- Öğretmeni

YER: Okul

OLAY: Mahmut'un terbiyesizlik ve yaramazlık yapması

SONUÇ: Mahmut söz verdikten sonra uslu bir çocuk olmuş

## Story 11

### KÖTÜLÜK DAĞI

Suriye Halepte akşam vaktiydi. İnsanlar birbiriyle savaşıp duruyordu. Bu insanlar savaşa savaşa 2 taraftada 5'er kişi kalmış. Bunlar Halepten İsa-Mazlum-Muhammed-Fazike ve Şems'miş. Bunlar İranla yaptıkları savaşta kaybetmişler. Bu durumda soyları tükenmekteydi. Başka ülkelere gidip orada kadınlarla yani Nazan-Meryem-Leyla-Naze ve Ensareymiş. Bu beş kız halepten gelenlerle evlenip soylarını büyötmeye çalışmışlar. Bu arada İranlılar soyları tükendiği için kimseyle evlenmeyi akıl etmemişler ve ölmüşler. Bu ara Halepliler soylarını büyötmüşler. Başka devletlerle savaşmışlar. Onları kazanmışlar aradan 1000'lerce yıl geçmiş Halepliler soylarını büyütüp Şama yerleşmişler Şamda eziyet görmüşler şiddet vb. şeyler. Bu durumda Halep halkı kendi milletine ırkına gitmişler orada mutluluk içinde yaşamışlar.

Şiddete Hayır!!!  
Barışa Evet!!!

## Story 12

Bizim mahallede bir kız var. Babası hep ona şiddet uyguluyor. Babası hem onu ve kardeşlerini dövüyor. Bir gün bizim eve geldiler ve orda babam dedi ki bi daha çocuklarını dövme çünkü çocukların hiçbir suçu yok dedi. Ve babası bundan sonra çocuklarını hiç dövmedi. Ve ailesi için çalışıyor. Ve çocuklarına çok iyi bakıyor. Ve çevresine zarar vermicek şekilde çevresine kiletmiyor. Ve her hez ondan çok mutlu oluyor. Ve insanlara çok iyi davranıyor.

## Story 13

YER: Okul geçidi

ZAMAN: Sıcak bir okul günü

KARAKTERLER:

- Sedat
- Adam

### ADAMIN ÜZÜNTÜSÜ

Sıcak bir okul günüydü. Sedat evden çıkıp okul yolunu tuttu. Okul geçidinde geçerken araba çarptı Sedat yaralandı. Hemen hastaneye götürdüler. Adam korkudan kaçtı. Yayalar plakayı aldı. Polise haber verildi. Zanlı 2 gün sonra yakalandı. Göz altına alındı. Sedat şikayetçi olmaktan vazgeçti. Adam serbest kalınca kendi kötü hissetti. Adam çıkınca ilk iş gidip bir demet çiçek alıp Sedat'ın yanına gitti. Çok pişman olduğunu söyledi. Özür diledi. Adam Sedat'la barışıp arkadaş oldu. Olay tatlıya bağlandı. O gün adamın en üzüntülü gününü yaşamış oldu.



## Story 14

### KÜSMENİN SONUÇLARI BARIŞMAK

Dört arkadaş İzmir'e gitmek için 10:12 geçe yola koyuldular bunların adı Burçin, Muazzez, Umut, Servet bunlar oraya vardıklarında Umut'un parası kayboldu ve Serveti sorunlu tuttu çünkü onun yanında oturuyodu oyuzden küstüler ömür boyu kūs kalçanı söyledi Umut Servet çok üzüldü ama Umudun suç attığı için eniyi arkadaşına kızdı ve arkadaşlaradı üzüldü ve onları barıştırmak için yola koyuldular ama bütürlü barıştıramadılar en sonunda onları bir araya getirdi ve İzmir'den tam İstanbul'a koyulurken Umut elini cebine koydu ve parası cebindeydi ve barıştılar birbirlerinden özür dilediler barıştılar ve İstanbul'a döndüler ve MUTLU SON.

## Story 15

Bir gün hocamız çok iyi bir insandı hocam bir gün çok sinirlemişti okadar hiniki bir çocu öldürebilird sonsa bizim sınıf geldi çok sinirly hocamız hem secmeli ingilizmiş hem.de bedene giriyordo Hocamız okoda sinledik biz beden çkmcaz dedi. hocaya takmadı Carçrsanba gün geldi herkez dışardoyo hoco herkez çok üzuldu ençok üç kız üzül dü. çok oladılar hoca sinir yotışma sınıf çokuslu olmuş hoca sınıfı sonr herkez söz vermiş hoca biz beden çıkardı.

## Story 16

### KAZIK ATAN ESNAF

Bir sabah Ali kalktıđında anneciđim g naydın. diyip dıřarıya ıkmıřtı. Sonra yolda Arkadařı Ayřeyi g r p merhaba Ayře nopıyosun Ayře iyiyim Ali teřek r ederim. Diyip eve d nd  Ali ge olmuřtu. Ve Annesi Ali'ye kořa kořa Gidip balıkıdan balık alır mısın ođlum. Ali. Tabi Anne elbete giderim diyip balıkıya kořtu balık'ıya vardıđında balıkı amca '10 kilo homsı toze olsun' demiř. Amca tobi ođlum en tozesından veririm. Merak etme Amca balıkları verdikten sonra oli hemen olup evin yolunu tutmuřtu. Eve vardıđında Anneciđim balıkları getirdim olabilirsin demiř. Annesi pořeti atıđında balıklar hep  r m řt  onnesi oliye ađrıp g t r dedi Ali g t rd đ nde Amca ok  z r Dileyip yeni toptoze balıklar verip  r kleri otıp Artık ok titiz ve pok bir balıkı d kyanı vordı ve bu hikayenin sonu.

## Story 17

### PARAMPARÇA

Bir gün pazara giden 'Gülseren' diye Bir Kadın varmıř. Gülseren birden Ehliyetsiz bir adam arptı. Birde 'Dilara' isimli bir Kadın vardı. Bunlar birbirleriyle tanışmamıřlardı neyse hastaneye Kaldıldılar. ünkü ikiside hamileydi ikisinin ocukları Kız ve 'Dilara'nın cansu Gülserenin hazal Bunların Soyadları Gürpınar ve gülpınar dır hazal ve cansu hastanede Karıřtılar. Cihan Dilaranın eři özkan gülseren öldü.

## Story 18

### BENCİL BAKKALCI

Bir zamanlar bir bakkalci varmiş. Ama bu bakkalci çok bencilmiş. Her zaman kendini düşünürmüş. İnsanları hep kazıklarmış. Ve bir gün bakkalcıdan alışveriş yapanlardan biri bakkalcının insanları kazıkladığını fark etmiş. Ve hemen herkese bunu söylemiş. Sonra bütün mahalleliler bakkalcının başına toplanmış. Ve herkes polisi aramış. Polisler gelip bakkalcıyı alıp. Ve herkes o kişiye teşekkür etmiş. Ve o kişi mahallenin gururu olmuş...

SON

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