

SELF-ESTEEM AND LIFE SATISFACTION OF WORKING AND NON-
WORKING ADOLESCENTS IN PAKISTAN

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ABSTRACT

The present study is a mixed method study conducted with adolescents. The quantitative part of the study aims to examine the level of life satisfaction and self-esteem of a) working and non-working adolescents b) of adolescents who are forced to work and those who work on their own volition and c) the effect of family interdependence on the life satisfaction and self-esteem of working adolescents. Analysis revealed that working adolescents had higher levels of life satisfaction than non-working adolescents. The interaction between gender and the working status was also significant indicating that working girls had higher levels of life satisfaction as compared to non-working girls, whereas the difference between the life satisfaction scores of working and non-working males was not significant. Although results for self-esteem yielded no significant results, univariate analyses revealed that working girls had significantly higher levels of self-esteem than non-working girls. The qualitative part aimed to provide an in-depth understanding of the meaning of working adolescents as it is perceived by working and non-working adolescents. The sample included 25 adolescents and thematic analyses revealed positive evaluations such as “enjoying working”, “financial benefits” and “assisting family”, whereas negative evaluations reflected themes such as “loss of educational opportunities”, “heavy work demands”, and that “adolescence is not the time to work”. Cultural context of Pakistan, the school-attendance of the working adolescents as well as the female empowerment by bringing in money for the household are factors considered when discussing the results.

Keywords: working adolescents, life satisfaction, self-esteem, familism

ÖZET

Bu tez çalışması ergenlerle gerçekleştirilmiş karma-yöntemli bir çalışmadır.

Araştırmanın niceliksel bölümü a) bir işte çalışan ve çalışmayan ergenlerin yaşam doyumu ve özgüven düzeylerini b) zorunlu olarak çalışan ve kendi isteği ile çalışan ergenlerin yaşam doyumu ve özgüven düzeylerini ve c) aile bağlılığı düzeyinin çalışan ergenlerin yaşam doyumu ve özgüveni üzerindeki etkisini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Analiz sonuçları çalışan ergenlerin çalışmayan ergenlere kıyasla daha yüksek yaşam doyumu düzeyine sahip olduklarını göstermiştir. Ancak cinsiyet faktörünün analizi bu farkın çalışan kızlardan kaynaklandığını ortaya koymuştur. Buna göre, çalışan kızların yaşam doyumu çalışmayan kızlardan fazladır, ancak çalışan ve çalışmayan erkekler arasında istatistiksel olarak anlamlı bir fark bulunmamaktadır. Özgüvene ilişkin analizler yine çalışan kızların çalışmayan kızlardan daha fazla özgüvene sahip olduğunu göstermiştir. Araştırmanın niteliksel bölümü hem çalışan hem de çalışmayan ergenler açısından bu yaşta bir işte çalışmanın anlamını daha derinlemesine anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Tematik analizler bir işte çalışmaya ilişkin hem olumlu hem de olumsuz anlamlar atfedildiğini göstermiştir. Olumlu anlam temaları şunları içermektedir: “çalışmaktan keyif almak”, “maddi avantajlar” and “aileye destek olmak”. Negatif temalar ise şunlardır: “eğitim fırsatının kaçırılması”, “ağır iş koşulları” ve “ergenliğin bir işte çalışma zamanı olmaması”. Pakistan’ın kültürel bağlamı, çalışan ergenlerin okula devamı ve kız ergenlerin eve maddi destek olarak güçlendirilmesi araştırmanın bulgularının tartışılmasında ele alınan konulardır.

Keywords: ergenlik, ergen işçiliği, yaşam doyumu, özgüven, aileye bağlılık

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Adolescent employment, while regularly discussed as a dire global concern advocated against socially and debated all over, counterintuitively remains highly prevalent in the contemporary world, as around 168 million children and adolescents are currently part of the labor force (ILO, 2013). Interestingly, when an effort is made to address the problem, there is a tendency to approach it from the outside in; the knee-jerk response is to think about the physical harm that may come to children and adolescents being subjected to this particular strain of injustice (Fassa, Facchini, Dall'Agnol, & Christiani, 2000). Living in the 21st Century however, we now know that a dangerous or uncomfortable situation goes deeper than the physical, resulting in the on-set of potentially deep-rooted and damaging psychological and emotional effects (Rutter, 2005; Nurse, Woodcock, & Ormsby, 2003). The increase in interest that this aspect of the problem is generating however is relatively recent.

While collecting and analyzing data regarding the psychological impact of adolescent employment, there is a general predisposition towards exclusively focusing on the negative effects that the problem could yield (Pollack, Landrigan, & Mallino, 1990). This is a fair assumption to make, for the simple reason that the phenomenon has been accepted as an unfavorable one world over. However, there is another side to the coin - the possibility of there being beneficial effects to an adolescent's development resulting from employment also exists as expressed by Woodhead (1998) who talked about how work improves their skills and makes them

stronger. There is a considerable gap in the literature when it comes to this potential aspect of the problem.

Children and adolescents, as they are in their formative years, are extremely vulnerable to the effects of their environments. The work place poses many safety threats to them, such as safety risks, harmful chemicals as well as negative psychosocial factors (Concha-Barrientos, 2004). According to Concha-Barrientos (2004) the human body's ability to withstand work load depends on its strength, fitness and cognitive capacity and if this load exceeds the capability of the body then it can lead to an influx of physical and psychosocial stressors. These stress-factors in turn can result in low school attendance and performance, as well as higher drop-out rates (ILO, 2008).

The reasons for entering the work-force vary from adolescent to adolescent, as do motivational factors for continuing employment. For the most part however, the common underlying incentive is achieving economic stability for the family (Basu & Van, 1998). This is hugely burdensome for a child who, at this age is meant to grow emotionally and cognitively by interacting with peers and developing in a nurturing environment. Instead of having healthy, emotionally strengthening interactions with their family, developing strong relationships and playing with peers, these adolescents are subjected to weighty responsibilities, limited social interactions and economic burdens which can be detrimental to their mental health (Quick, 1986). On the flip-side, it is argued that since adolescents work to bring in money to support the family, this incoming money helps improve his or her living standards (O'Donnell, 2002). They are put in character building situations that

encourage discipline, responsibility and also encourage self-sufficiency (Fassa, Facchini, Dall'Agnol, & Christiani, 2000).

Further to whether adolescent employment is entirely detrimental, or also potentially beneficial to a adolescent, there is further divergence in opinion regarding the developmental impact of the phenomena as not all adolescents who work are subjected to the same conditions (Grootaert & Kanbur, 1995). The environmental factors may vary, such as the type of work, the hours of work, attitude of the employer, and most importantly the individual adolescent's level of resilience. When studying the possible effects of adolescent employment, it is imperative to take into consideration their own perspectives and strengths. In situations where adolescents are living in poor and unfavorable conditions, they may look at work as an outlet that encourages psychological and cognitive growth (Ungar, 2005). Resilience is not simply a personality trait that renders one stronger in the face of adversity; it is also a response to one's surroundings and can be strengthened or weakened by external factors such as health issues and financial challenges (Ungar, 2008).

An adolescent's extent of familism could potentially be one of the factors in determining an adolescent's resilience, as his or her own beliefs and interests are evaluated in relation to his or her family's needs (Rogers & Sebald, 1962). It could also make working adolescents more or less able to cope with the stresses of adolescent employment. This commitment of the adolescent towards their family acts as an emotionally protective factor, and could positively impact the adolescent (Brooke, Whiteman, Balka, Win, & Gursen, 1998). Along with a dearth of literature on the psychological impacts of adolescent employment, there is also a

gap when it comes to the self-esteem and life satisfaction levels of these adolescents. These two aspects of a person's mental health can have an immense bearing on other aspects of their lives, such as their relationships, education and emotional stability (McKnight, Huebner, & Suldo, 2002; Valois, Zullig, Huebner, & Drane, 2001).

The present study aims to primarily address the impact that adolescent employment can have on the self-esteem and life satisfaction of working adolescents, while considering the importance that these adolescents give to the family unit and their family interdependence on the whole. This is a mixed method study where the qualitative and quantitative aspects work in unison to address the aforementioned gaps in the literature. While the quantitative aspect aims to compare working and non-working adolescents on self-esteem and life satisfaction, the qualitative aspect of this study aims to bolster and provide an in-depth understanding of the meaning of work as it is perceived by working and non-working adolescents. Below, a literature review is presented which gives an overview of the previously conducted researches in relation to our research questions. In this section, focus will be given to the negative and positive outcomes of work on adolescents, adolescent's perception of work and previously conducted researches on life satisfaction and self-esteem. The literature review will be followed by a description of the present study, the hypotheses generated based on our review of previous studies and the aims and objectives of this study.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Empirical Support

In this section previous literature will be presented regarding working adolescents and its negative and positive effects on them.

2.1.1 Negative effects of work on adolescents

Over the recent years, there have been a number of researches on adolescent employment as it has become a pressing social problem. Most of the available research has focused on the physical effects of labor on adolescents. One of the studies investigating the health effects of labor on adolescents was conducted in Jordan where they aimed to identify health risks of child work. Through a sample of 41 working children they found that these children were exposed to harmful chemicals and injuries (Gharaibeh & Hoeman, 2003). Another study conducted in Morocco on a sample of 200 working and non-working adolescents in Casablanca found that in comparison, working adolescents were at a higher risk of health problems with a wider prevalence of pathologies (Larqui et al., 2000). Consistent with the results of these studies, another study conducted in Zambia studied mental health problems of street children and adolescents between the ages of 7 to 17 and found that they were at a higher risk of mental comorbidities (Imasiku & Banda, 2015). In a study conducted on working adolescents in Lebanon, it was found that they were often abused and had more skin, eye and ear injuries than the control group (Nuwayhid, Usta, Makarem, Khudr, & El-Zein, 2005). In Pakistan, the health of adolescents working in automobile shops was measured and it was found that

29% of the adolescents suffered from chronic cough, 22% from diarrhea and 31% watery eyes. Thirty seven percent had reported a major injury at some point during their working years (Khan, Hameed, & Afridi, 2007).

Other than health effects, there is also a negative impact on the adolescent's intellectual ability and academic performance. In Colombia, children and adolescents between the ages of 8 and 12 who were part of a child labor eradication program were interviewed and their academic performance was measured (Holgado, Maya-Jariego, Ramos, Amar, & Romero-Mendoza, 2014). It was found that there were certain factors such as work scheduled early in the morning and number of work hours that had a negative impact on the academic performance. Another study looking at school achievement of working adolescents belonging to grades 3 and 4 in 11 Latin American countries found that working adolescents scored lower on mathematics and language examinations than the average (Gunnarsson, Orazem, & Sanchez, 2006). Another study that looked at child labor laws related to adolescents between the ages of 12 to 16 living in the United States, found that high number of work hours lead to increased high school drop-out rates (Apel, Bushway, Paternoster, Brame, & Sweeten, 2008).

Very little research has been conducted on the psychological health of working adolescents. Nuwayhid and his colleagues conducted a study in poor neighborhoods of Lebanese cities that consisted of a solely male oriented sample of 78 working adolescents aged between 10 to 17 years. (Nuwayhid, Usta, Makarem, Khudr, & El-Zein, 2005) The researchers conducted their physical examination, collected blood samples and also assessed their mental health (hopelessness, anxiety, and self-esteem). Results revealed no differences between the anxiety,

hopelessness and self-esteem of working and non-working adolescents (Nuwayhid et al., 2005). The findings of this study were controversial and the authors explained that this lack of differences could be because of limitations of the instruments used and the boys may have under-reported their levels of anxiety. However, it should be noted that the participants used in this study were only males; perhaps results would be different if females were also included in the sample. The authors also mentioned that the participants were asked to draw on a white sheet of paper and their drawings showed that both working and non-working adolescents showed 'considerable loss in mental development'. It is likely that these minimal differences might have occurred because the adolescents selected for this study were exposed to less hazardous work and it is also a possibility that the comparison group might have been subjected to other risk factors, similar to that of working adolescents but in a non-work setting. The controversial mental health results of this study create an even pressing need to look further into the working adolescent's psychological outcomes.

Mortimer and his colleagues studied the effect of work on US adolescents (73.6% white, 10% African-American, 4.6% Hispanic, and 4% Asian) between 14 to 17 years as well and conducted a longitudinal study to observe how work experience influences the mental health and development of the participant (Mortimer, Finch, Seongryeol, Shanahan, & Kathleed, 1996). They collected data through self-administered questionnaires and measured their self-esteem, depressive affect and mastery orientation. They found that the participants who worked more than 20 hours a week did not have low self-esteem as was otherwise predicted. The general results of this study implied that long working hours do not have a negative

effect on the mental health of the participants. However, the authors of this study specify that it cannot be concluded that adolescent employment does not make a difference to their mental health as their study only looked at the hours of work and no other factors (Mortimer et al., 1996). It should also be noted that this study was conducted in the United States which is a developed country and thus the results cannot be generalized to developing countries.

Another study conducted in the United States examined the hours that adolescents worked and its effects on their psychological and behavioral states. They measured various psychological symptoms such as anxiety, tension, fatigue as well as self-reliance and even self-esteem (Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1991). Analyses of the data revealed that the longer the employment hours were, the more likely the participant was to have higher rates of drug and alcohol abuse. It was also found that their psychological stress was higher. The participants with the highest self-esteem were those who worked ten hours a week whereas those with the lowest self-esteem were those who worked for twice as many hours a week. However, it should be taken into consideration that even though the negative effects on psychological development increases with the working hours, the results for this were not highly significant.

A study conducted on the working adolescents of Palestine aimed at measuring the relationship between adolescent employment and their mental health (Thabet, Matar, Carpintero, Bankart, & Vostanis, 2010). They collected data from around 780 boys between the ages of 9 and 18 working in the Gaza strip by giving them questionnaires. They measured their mental health problems using the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire and Spence Children's Anxiety Scale. The

findings showed that the working sample report ‘a range of inter-related emotional and behavioral difficulties’ and the SDQ scores showed that at least 18% of the adolescents would require clinical assessment and intervention. The findings also showed that depression was related to longer working hours. Our current study does not measure depression but it is important to note that working conditions can impact depression which in turn influences life satisfaction (Nes et al., 2013).

A cross sectional study conducted in Brazil investigated emotional and behavioral problems of working children and adolescents between the ages of 9 and 13 (Bordin, Pires, & Paula, 2013). Researchers found that those working were more likely to have symptoms of anxiety and depression. Another Brazilian study measured the behavioral problems of 3,139 working adolescents between the ages of 10 to 17. They used the Child Behavioral Checklist (Achenbach, 1991) to test behavioral problems and found that working at such a young age was a risk factor for behavioral problems. The risk of behavioral problems was 2.7 times greater in younger sample (Benvenuto, Fassa, Facchini, Wegmen, & Dall’Agnol, 2005).

Fekadu and his colleagues studied a cross-sectional population of Addis Ababa and measured internalizing disorders and psychological stressors of working and non-working children and adolescents of ages 5 to 15 (Fekadu, Alem, & Haggel, 2006). The study concluded that internalizing disorders were higher among working sample than non-working ones and psychological stressors were more likely among the laborers. A study conducted in Bangladesh aimed to examine the physical and mental health measured through one on one interviews of the adolescents. They concluded that working adolescents between the ages of 12 to 18 who work in risky jobs in Bangladesh were frustrated and had feelings of inadequacy. They had poor

emotional cognitive skills and their psychological growth was 'abnormal' (Uddin, Hamiduzzaman, & Gunter, 2009). Another study in Jordan aimed to look at the psychosocial and health impact of adolescent employment. They took a sample of around 4,000 children and adolescents between the ages of 6 and 16 and found that around forty percent of the working sample was lonely, depressed and suffering. They concluded that the unhealthy working conditions increased their vulnerability to mental and physical health which may not be fixable (Hamdan-Mansour, Al Gamal, Sultan, Matrouk, & Nawaiseh, 2013).

Research also showed that working adolescents were more critical about themselves; those who made mistakes tended to overplay them as they were more sensitive to criticism and expectations. This study was conducted by Sali and Koksal (2010) in Ankara on children attending terms 1 to 6 in vocational training centers where they compared working and non-working adolescents on the Multidimensional Perfectionism Scale (Hewitt & Flett, 1991) and measured their overemphasis on mistakes, suspecting behaviors and family expectations. Sali and Koksal (2010) also found that the workplace inculcates perfectionism because these working adolescents need to push themselves to be better at their job so as to get approval from their employers. This constant strife to achieve perfection and the fear of not meeting the acceptable standard also causes anxiety in these adolescents.

Even though the negative take on working adolescents is more prominent than not, and the widely held belief is that unfavorable conditions mean low mental health, we must be aware of the possibility that there is another side to the coin. Studies show that family environment was a key contributing factor towards

positive psychological outcomes (Veronese, Castiglioni, Barola, & Said, 2012). This claim of the authors will be discussed later in this section.

At times, work that is given to the adolescents in their workplaces may not interest them. In many cases, the tasks that the adolescents are required to do are manual, dull, routine jobs that fail to maintain the interest of the adolescents. These types of redundant tasks do not elicit an opportunity for cognitive growth or development of useful skills (Woodhead, 2004). At the same time these adolescents in some cases are continuously being trained to do a specific task which narrows their range and specialization and restricts their mobility in the future as well (Woodhead, 1999). In addition, when adolescents are kept busy with these tasks they are also suffering in terms of learning achievement. For example, in his report Heady (2000) talks about how adolescent employment affects the learning achievement of adolescents in Ghana. He measured their reading and mathematics ability and found that work has a substantial effect on their learning achievement. Heady claims that this was possible because these children and adolescents were too tired after work to concentrate on mathematics and reading. It is possible that these children are also not interested in learning and education and give priority to their jobs and tasks at hand (Heady, 2000).

The studies discussed thus far show us the negative effects of adolescent employment on the physical and psychological health of the adolescents. Below literature on the positive effects of work on adolescents will be reviewed.

2.1.2 Working adolescents and positive outcomes

As discussed earlier, despite the prevalence of literature and widely held beliefs that adolescent employment has a negative effect on an adolescent's

psychosocial characteristics, there are studies that show us a contrasting picture. These are studies that have proved how adolescent employment contributes positively towards the personal growth of adolescents. For example, Woodhead (1998) examined the perspectives of working adolescents on work, aged between 10 and 15, in Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Philippines, Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua and found that there are some adolescents who believe that other than the economic benefits, their work improves their skills. Accordingly, 25% of these adolescents took pride in their work. They felt that working constantly increased their endurance and made them stronger and helped develop survival skills. A study conducted with street adolescents also supported the fact that work enabled the adolescents to develop a work identity and made them more independent and responsible than non-working adolescents (Invernizzi, 2003). When these adolescents are encouraged to be loyal to their employers they learn this trait of loyalty and apply it to other people around them.

A working adolescent is often surrounded by other working adolescents and can form peer relations. This peer group provides him or her with a secure foundation and sense of belonging. Just like the peer group functions in a school setting by including or excluding a child or adolescent from the group, the peer group in the work setting can also be a source of psychological wellbeing (Siddal, Huebner, & Jiang, 2013). What matters is how well integrated the adolescent is socially and this in turn influences his mental health. A study was conducted in Bombay where the coping strategies of street adolescents between 10 and 18 years of age were explored. The street adolescents that this study aimed to look at worked as well in various factories, small scale industries and shopping centers. This

research showed that these adolescents relied heavily on other adolescents who shared the same fate. It was found that street adolescents, in order to protect themselves and be backed when faced with daily struggles, would seek assistance from other street adolescents like themselves. This peer support was a form of alternate family systems and when there was good quality peer support the adolescents could cope easily (Kombarakaran, 2004). Secondly, studies show that in an economically disadvantaged situation such as that of these working adolescents, the participants between the ages of 12 to 25, who had a higher number of friends engaged in high quality activities with their peers and reported better mental health and psychological outcomes (Ngai, To, Liu, & Song, 2013). This supports the view that for a working adolescent belonging to low socioeconomic strata, a strong peer support system and quality friendships acts as a protective factor. However, not all working adolescents have strong peer support systems. Most of the adolescents have little time or opportunity for peer support because they have little access to play time, educational opportunities or any spare time at all (Sali & Koksai, 2010). Their access into the peer culture is prohibited because they are not given the opportunities to interact with others of their age (Woodhead, 2004). Studies show that peer support and interaction with same age peers are significant contributors to global life satisfaction in adolescents. A cross sectional study conducted on 600 middle school adolescents in the United States revealed that school social support had a significant impact on the life satisfaction of adolescents (Siddal, Huebner, & Jiang, 2013). Working adolescents may also have reliable support groups in the form of other adolescents working in the same locality and may form cohesive support groups.

When adolescents are kept busy with work they are making productive use of their time instead of spending hours abusing drugs and getting involved in delinquent behaviors. In a study conducted on the 9 to 18-year-old street youth of Brazil it was found that children and adolescents involved in productive work were protected from substance abuse (Campos, Raffaelli, Ude, Greco, Ruff, & Rolf, 1994).

The studies cited in the literature review regarding the positive outcomes of adolescent employment show that research from this angle is scarce. Thus it would be helpful if more is explored for the meaning of work for adolescents.

2.1.3 Perceived importance and value of work

What is very important when studying adolescent employment is the perception of the adolescents and their self-concept. Sometimes the extent to which the working environment impacts the adolescents' life satisfaction and self-esteem is dependent on how he or she perceives and handles the situation that he is exposed to. Berry and Boyden (2000) in their study on refugee adolescents looked at how they coped with stressful situations. One of their findings was that Ethiopian boys were more resilient when they underwent an initiation ceremony; which to them was a step into adulthood. Their perception of themselves as adults helped them cope with their hardships (Berry & Boyden, 2000). The way the adolescents interpret their situation determines how they cope with it. For example, when working adolescents were asked what they would do if they had a choice to not work they said that work was natural and they gave it a priority over schooling (Woodhead, 1998). The same study looked at the perception of working adolescents, between 10 and 14, in various developing nations. They found that even though some

complained of the hardships and the mistreatment at the hands of the employers they were buffered by their acceptance of the fact that their family depends on them. The study highlighted that these adolescents had great insight into their situation. They were active participants who were aware of the needs of their families and this helped them cope with the adversities they faced. In the study conducted by Woodhead (1998) he found that when children and adolescents were asked what made them feel good about themselves, most of them identified work related themes. This shows that in many cases their self-esteem could be based on the amount of work they get as opposed to educational opportunities. However not all children looked at their situation in an entirely positive way. Woodhead (1998) found that it was not just the work conditions that had an effect on them but the way that they were treated. They claimed that they were 'bullied, extorted and humiliated'. They felt powerless and enslaved. There were also some working adolescents, especially in the Philippines who were upset about not being able to attend school which led to lower self-esteem and lower life satisfaction. They were insecure about their future prospects in terms of economic and social hardships (Woodhead, 1998).

Locus of control is the extent to which one feels he can control his situation and studies have shown that a high level of internal locus of control is related to high self-esteem. A study, conducted on Iranian students between 20 to 23 years of age, found a positive relation between self-esteem and internal locus of control (Saadat, Ghasemzadeh, Karami, & Soleimani, 2012). A study conducted in Nepal showed that school adolescents between the ages of 10 to 14, felt controlled by their parents whereas working adolescents had comparatively higher levels of autonomy

and thus had a higher internal locus of control. This may suggest that working adolescents could have a higher self-esteem than school going adolescents (Alaraudanjoki,2003)

From all the above studies it is clear that labor can have different impacts on the children and adolescents due to many different reasons. The perspective of these adolescents about their existing situation can affect their resilience to their problem. This is where we can also shed light on the explanation of Veronese (2012) who claimed that the reason for the positive psychological outcomes of adolescents despite the unfavorable living conditions was the positive relationship with the family and their high levels of cohesion (Veronese, Castiglioni, Barola, & Said, 2012). Perhaps their resilience can be explained through familism.

2.1.4 Working adolescents and familism

Familism or family interdependence is a form of group altruism which looks at where the interests of the children and adolescents stand in relation to that of the family (Rogers & Sebald, 1962). In other words, we can say that it is the commitment that an individual has to the family and the importance that he or she attaches to their needs. This importance that he or she attaches to his family can have varying influence on his self-esteem and life satisfaction.

A study was conducted on the children and adolescents aged between 7 and 15 living under occupation in Palestine, an environment unfavorable in many ways (Veronese, et al., 2012). These researchers studied a sample of 74 school aged children and measured their satisfaction with life and perceived happiness. The results showed that the children were happy and satisfied with their lives despite the fact that they were living in extremely unfavorable conditions. The authors'

explanation of these results rested on the family conditions of the child. Research shows that high familism leads to positive impact on adolescents such as lower rates of substance abuse and lower levels of delinquency (Coatsworth, McBride, & Kurtines, 2000). A study conducted in Florida by Gil, Vega and Dimas (1994) shows that the high familism acts as a protective agent for adolescents. A longitudinal study conducted with Hispanic male adolescents and their families found that the more time an adolescent spent with his or her family the less prone he or she was to getting involved in delinquent behavior (Pabon, 1998). Romero and Ruiz (2007) found that the cultural value of familism reduces risky behavior among adolescents which shows the positive impact that high levels of familism can have. Collectivism goes in unison with strong familism as the collectivist society reflects human need and the importance of basic connection whereas the individualist society recognizes the need for autonomy (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2002). It is a feature that is often seen in eastern cultures where the interests of the group are given a preference over that of the individual. When looking at factors that may affect life satisfaction and self-esteem, it is worth looking at familism as it is the value and importance that an individual grants to the unity and cohesion of the family (Demo, Allen & Fine 2000).

A person's motivation to attend to his personal needs may be at odds with the needs of another member of his family, but because of strong familism he may attend to the interests of this member of the group at the expense of his own. The values of familism emphasize responsibilities on family and thus encourage individuals to be responsible for the positive psychological outcomes of family members as well as their own (McHale, Updergraff, Shanahan, Crouter, & Killoren,

2005). The behavioral component of familism claims that individuals with a collectivist orientation have increased contact with their families and also provide financial and emotional support to them. Research also supports that familism increases the degree of effort an individual puts to defend his or her family, maintain its honor and protect it (Lugo & Contreras, 2003). Studies also show that higher familism is linked to lower chances of risky behavior (Cooley, 2001). A study was conducted on adolescent females between the ages of 11 and 19 and their self-esteem and familism was examined along with other variables. The results of this study emphasized that familism was a protective factor against parent-adolescent conflicts and protected against low self-esteem (Kuhlberg, 2010). However, it should be noted that this study measured the self-esteem of participants who had attempted suicide and compared it to those who had not. Therefore, we cannot make generalized claims on the basis of this study.

While there are gaps in the literature that talk about the connection of familism to psychological health, we can say, with the support of some studies, that warm relations with family members create a form of social network that provides a basis for social support and care (Gable & Reis, 2006). This social support is what would have a positive impact on an individual's psychological health and may help reducing incidence of depression (Holt-Lunstad, Uchino, Smith, & Hicks, 2007). Studies show that inadequate family support leads to negative mental health (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Perhaps this can be explained by how human beings have this constant desire to belong and feel that they are part of something as the authors of this study claim. Weak social bonds can lead to higher levels of unhappiness (Myers, 1992). Since familism means that there are strong bonds

between members of the family, we can say that low levels of familism can lead to low levels of happiness; which is an important component of mental health. A study was conducted to measure the relationship between familism and psychological health. Campos and his colleagues took a sample of students from California and measured their familism and depression (Campos, Ulman, Aguilera, & Schetter 2014). They found a direct relationship between familism and psychological health. However, they saw that the familism contributed to psychological health by facilitating closeness and support and that familism alone was not important for psychological health but was only so in the presence of strong social support. Based on the aforementioned studies about familism and family support, we can draw the conclusion that mental health is directly proportional to the level of family support one has and that these family bonds can have a positive effect on an individual's mental well-being. Later in this section, the link between familism and adolescent employment will be discussed, its role in the life of working adolescents and how it facilitates acceptance of work, thereby impacting their life satisfaction and self-esteem.

2.1.5 Self-Determined Motivation and Working Adolescents

The literature review and all the studies mentioned before have shown us both sides of the coin. While there are studies that point towards the detrimental effects of adolescent employment, there are some which show that not all working adolescents are affected in the same way. There are a number of reasons for these discrepancies in the conclusions some of which have been mentioned in this literature review already.

The framework of the self-determination theory can be used to link adolescent employment, through familism, with self-esteem and life satisfaction, and may help to explain a few of the discrepancies. As we know, an adolescent's psychological development is affected on an individual as well as at a collectivist level. On an individual level, we look at the adolescent's motivation level and on a collectivist level; we see the adolescent's connections to his family that is familism.

The self-determination theory is a macro theory according to which, the motivational process is influenced by three basic human needs which are competence, autonomy and relatedness (Deci, Vallerand, Pelletier, & Ryan, 1992). When these needs are fulfilled the individual is motivated and is self-determined (self-regulated). Studies show that self-determination is present in both individualistic as well as collectivist cultures (Lynch, La Guardia, & Ryan, 2005). In a collectivist culture as in Pakistan, the importance is given to the group over the self and the individual behaves autonomously but for the sake of the group.

Self-determination theory is divided into three sub theories (Deci & Ryan, 1985). The first sub theory of the SDT is the organismic integration theory which talks about how regulation affects the autonomy of an individual. External regulation such as that which is influenced by environmental factors leads to low autonomy whereas internal regulation can lead to higher autonomy. An autonomous person is more motivated which is favorable for his self-esteem and life satisfaction. Based on this theory, one may expect that adolescents who work on their own volition and may have a higher autonomy will have higher self-esteem and life satisfaction as opposed to those who are forced to work and have less independence that would negatively affect his or her self-esteem and life satisfaction.

One sub theory is the goal contents theory which gives preference to the value attached to the type of goal. When the goals are related to personal growth and close relations then psychological wellbeing is fostered (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Based on this theory, the previous literature can be explained which claims that not all working adolescents may have a low self-esteem and low life satisfaction because they may be focusing on their relationship with their family, and their motivation may be fueled by the needs of the family. They may feel the need to work for the benefit of the family. This helps to strengthen family bonds, intrinsic motivation and ultimately improve psychological and mental health.

2.2 The Present Study

The studies that look at mental health and psychological effects show a controversial picture of the issue at hand where some show detrimental effects, some show no significant effect, while others show positive effects of work. It is crucial to note that firstly, not all results can be generalized due to the differences in sample, secondly, not a lot of conclusive researches have been conducted on self-esteem and life satisfaction which are important aspects. The present study aims to focus on self-esteem and life satisfaction in particular. The literature below will look at the relationship of these two variables with other indices of well-being.

2.2.1 Self-esteem

Self-esteem is an important variable to consider when observing the development of any child, adolescent or adult. It has been defined in many different ways but its basic essence remains the same. It is defined as the level of satisfaction one has with oneself (James, 1890). Rosenberg (1965) has elaborated that if a

human is capable of having feelings towards objects; surely he can have opinions and feelings about himself. Self-esteem is an affective form of self-concept and is also described by Maslow (1970) as part of one of the needs that comes after physiological and safety needs. He claimed that self-esteem can be divided into two parts where one includes the need to be recognized and respected by others whereas the other part consists of freedom, independence and confidence.

Self-esteem is an aspect of personality which influences many different areas of an individual. There is a positive correlation between emotional intelligence and self-esteem (Abbas & Ul Haq, 2011). It is also considered to be a preferred quality as it has the ability to have an effect on an individual's aggression and level of violence. When an individual feels that his or her self-esteem is at risk then he would use any means to defend it (Walker & Knauer, 2011). Not only does one become violent, but when there is any threat to his or her self-esteem he or she can be less forgiving (Strelan & Zdaniuk, 2014). While high levels of self-esteem makes a person more forgiving, a low level of self-esteem can make him feel dejected and agitated causing problems in school and peer settings (Zeigler-Hill & Wallace, 2012). Research shows us that low self-esteem can also cause psychological disorders and psychopathology such as eating disorders or depression (Guillon, Croc, & Bailey, 2003). Other studies such as one conducted by Trzesniewski and Donnellan (2003) in New Zealand was a longitudinal study which measured the self-esteem of its sample of around 1,000 children at different ages from 5 to 21 and concluded that low self-esteem caused low mental and physical health, a poor future in terms of economic success and increased levels of delinquent behavior (Trzesniewski & Donnellan, 2003).

2.2.2 Life satisfaction

While joy is considered to be the emotional side of happiness, life satisfaction is generally the cognitive part of mental well-being (Argyle, 2001). Life satisfaction is defined as how one cognitively evaluates his or her life (Park & Huebner, 2005). A high life satisfaction is important for both adults and children because it leads to positive mental health and healthy interpersonal relationships (Bray & Gunnell, 2006). While high levels of satisfaction lead to positivity in domains such as relationships, education and mental well-being, low levels lead to a number of health problems as well as psychopathological behavior. In a study conducted by Lyons and his colleagues on adolescents in grade 7, it was found that higher levels of life satisfaction led to lower levels of externalizing behaviors (Lyons, Otis, Huebner, & Hills, 2014) A study conducted on a sample of 400 children and adolescents from grades 3 to 6 showed that high levels of life satisfaction led to better physical health and healthy eating habits as well as higher self-efficacy and self-reliance (Greenspoon & Saklofske, 2001). A number of findings show that a high life satisfaction is important for adaptation and leads to personal advancement and appropriate coping mechanisms (Diener & Diener, 1996). A study aimed at investigating the effects of low life satisfaction of adolescents on violent behavior found that it can lead to drug abuse, violence (Valois, Zullig, Huebner, & Drane, 2001). Depression, psychological disorders and discipline issues can also occur with lower life satisfaction (Lewinsohn, Redner, & Seeley, 1991; McKnight, Huebner, & Suldo, 2002). An individual's life satisfaction can be affected by a number of variables such as ill health (Frisch, 1999), interpersonal relationships (Furr & Funder, 1998) and compromised educational

opportunities (Frisch, Clark, Rouse, Rudd, Pawaleck, & Greenstone, 2005).

Adolescent life satisfaction is affected by different life experiences, family, peer and social environments (Ash & Huebner, 2001). For instance, a study by Raboteg-Saric, Brajsa-zganec and Sakic (2008) on Croatian high school students showed that their perception of the economic status, regardless of the actual economic status of their families, influences their life satisfaction. Results of the same study showed that family cohesion and parental support were also related to how satisfied these children were with their lives. Life experiences have a major impact on an adolescent's life satisfaction and positive events have positive effects on life satisfaction (McCullough, Huebner, & Laughin, 2000). Higher life satisfaction can also act as a shield against life experiences that would otherwise be considered stressful.

Extensive research conducted on life satisfaction and self-esteem points towards how important it is for an individual to have an optimal level of life satisfaction.

While literature regarding life satisfaction and self-esteem of working adolescents is scarce, there are a few available studies that shed light on how their working status impacts these variables. A study was conducted by Feather and O'Brien (1986) where they examined the impact of employment in adolescents who left school, on a number of variables including depression, life satisfaction, locus of control etc. They found that inability to get enrolled in employment was negatively related to life satisfaction. However, it should be noted that the participants did not leave school mid-way but left after completing all years of education.

A study was conducted by Woodhead (1998) which measured the self-esteem of working adolescents between the ages of 10 and 15. Woodhead claimed that there are many protective factors that can be seen when studying adolescent employment. According to him, as working adolescent transitions into adulthood, his increased wages increase his status thus increasing his self-esteem.

In another study that Woodhead (1999) conducted, he found that working adolescents are very aware of the concept of self-esteem and care about how others view them. Their verbal accounts showed themes of pride and how they were treated. He also found that they were sensitive to others' opinions of them and did not take negative treatments and comments well. Another qualitative working document on working adolescents found that self-esteem themes emerged quite often showing both positive and negative aspects of work (Stegmann, 2003).

As the research regarding life satisfaction and working adolescents is scant, the closest existing literature that is available looks at the life satisfaction of non-working adolescents, specifically in the context of school and academics. Studies show that school satisfaction is key in determining overall life satisfaction. One hundred and twenty nine African American students between the ages of 8 to 13, from lower socio economic status participated in the study and findings showed that life satisfaction was linked to their school satisfaction (Baker, 1998).

However, there is not a lot of research that is done on life satisfaction and self-esteem of working adolescents specifically in Pakistan and these gaps in literature must be addressed. The above studies highlight the importance of life

satisfaction and self-esteem but also bring to our attention that there is a pressing need for these variables to be studied in the context of working adolescents as well.

Life satisfaction and self-esteem are important components of psychological health (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) and optimal levels of life satisfaction and self-esteem should be maintained in children and adolescents for their healthy development (Barker, Martin, & Marsh, 2008). In Pakistan, 3.3 million children out of 40 million child and adolescent population of Pakistan are part of the labor force (International Labor Organization, 2009) and the conditions that these working adolescents are subjected to are not conducive to healthy development of their psychological states (Ercelawn & Nauman, 2001). Since research on the psychological conditions of working adolescents in Pakistan is scarce, it cannot be assumed that all working adolescents would have low self-esteem and low life satisfaction. It is important to note that there are individual differences when it comes to how adversities and working conditions impact different adolescents. It is in our own favor that we take the adolescent as an agent who shapes his or her own life to some extent at least by coping, negotiating and making the best out of the situation. Adolescents are social actors and their psychological health is not negatively affected as rapidly as their physical health. Through work, they are shaped and the extent to which they identify with their work or status and the way they interpret their circumstances has different impacts (Woodhead, 1999). Of the many factors that impact these variables, familism (or family interdependence) is an important one and the importance that they attach to their work may determine their psychological adjustment.

The definition of Child Labor is universally inconsistent depending on the country or the researcher (Edmonds, 2008). The definition of child labor includes children between 5 to 11 years of age who do at least one hour of economic activity or at least 28 hours weekly domestic work and any child between 12 to 14 years who does at least 14 hours of economic activity or at least 42 hours weekly of economic and domestic work combined (UNICEF, 2008). Consistent with this definition, the Child Labor Survey conducted in Pakistan (FBS, 1996), included children between the ages of 5 to 14 in their child labor sample. The present study aims to study working adolescents. For this purpose, the UNICEF (2008) definition was used for the hours worked, but instead of children the study includes adolescents till the age of 15.

This study has a mixed methods design. It consists of a quantitative and a qualitative part. The quantitative study examines the three research questions and the six hypotheses. It addresses the gaps and inconsistencies in the literature by measuring the differences between the self-esteem and life satisfaction of working and non-working adolescents by looking at their levels of familism. It also measures the differences between the self-esteem and life satisfaction of working adolescents who are forced to work and those who work on their own volition, based on the framework of the self-determination theory.

The research questions and hypotheses are as follows:

1. Do adolescent laborers have lower self-esteem and lower life satisfaction than adolescents who are not working?

H1.1. Working adolescents will have lower self-esteem than non-working adolescents.

H1.2. Working adolescents will have lower life satisfaction than non-working adolescents.

2. Do adolescent laborers, who are forced to work, have a lower self-esteem and life satisfaction than those who are working at their own volition?

H2.1. Working adolescents who are forced to work will have a lower self-esteem than adolescents who are working at their own volition.

H2.2. Working adolescents who are forced to work will have a lower life satisfaction than adolescents who are working at their own volition.

3. Does the strength of family interdependence make a difference in self-esteem and life satisfaction of working adolescents?

H3.1. Working adolescents with lower family interdependence will have a lower self-esteem than working adolescents with higher family interdependence.

H3.2. Working adolescents with lower family interdependence would have a lower life satisfaction than working adolescents with higher family interdependence.

The qualitative part of the present study aims to bolster and provide an in-depth understanding of the meaning of working adolescents as it is perceived by working and non-working adolescents. For this purpose, open ended questions were asked to adolescents in an interview.

CHAPTER 3 METHOD

3.1 Participants

For the quantitative part of the study, a sample of 180 adolescents with 95 males and 85 females was recruited through NGOs that work with adolescents from the lower socio economic status. The power analysis showed that with an effect size of $d=0.58$ and power value of $1-\beta=0.95$ a total sample of 120 would provide accurate and reliable judgments (G*Power, 1992). The sample consisted of 92 working adolescents between the ages of 12 to 15 ($M=13.4$, $SD=1.06$) and 88 non-working adolescents between the ages of 12 to 15 as well ($M=13.17$, $SD=1.15$). Adolescents in both groups attended school, where the working adolescents went to their jobs either before or after attending classes. Adolescents in both groups had a basic level of reading and writing. Table 3.1 and Table 3.2 show the gender distribution as well as the demographic characteristics of both groups. Demographic differences between a) male and female adolescents, b) working and non-working adolescents, c) forced and volitionally working adolescents, and d) adolescents with higher and lower familism, were examined.

Comparisons of demographic characteristics of boys and girls in the whole sample showed that there was a significant difference in education levels (in years), $F(1,179)=6.85$, $p=.01$, $\eta^2=.037$, boys ($M=4.75$; $SD=.93$) having higher years in education than girls ($M=4.42$; $SD=.76$). Also, the number of work hours showed a gender difference, indicating that the number of hours worked

by the boys ($M= 36.2$; $SD=8.5$) was significantly higher than the hours worked by girls ($M=31.1$; $SD=8.2$), $F(1, 90) = 8.2$, $p=.005$, $\eta^2 = .083$.

The comparison of the demographic characteristics of the working and non-working adolescents showed no significant differences. For the comparison of volitional and forced working adolescents, results showed a significant socioeconomic status (SES-calculated as the mean of mothers and father's education level and family income) difference such that adolescents who were forced to work ($M=1.16$, $SD=.25$) were coming from relatively lower SES families than adolescents who worked on their own volition ($M=1.58$, $SD=.63$), $F(1, 91) = 14.16$, $p<.000$. Also, adolescents who were working with their own volition ($M=35.96$, $SD=.8.22$) had higher number of work hours than adolescents who were forced to work ($M=30.69$, $SD=.8.46$), $F(1, 91) = 8.678$, $p=.004$. The comparisons of working adolescents with higher and lower family interdependence showed no significant demographic differences.

For the qualitative part of the study, a sample of 25 adolescents, 13 working and 12 non- working between the ages of 12 to 15 ($M=13.7$, $SD=1.05$) were separately recruited through the same sampling frame and were interviewed by asking the open ended questions given above.

Table 3.1
Descriptive characteristics of the participants

<i>Age</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Minimum- maximum</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Working adolescents (Quantitative)				
Males	50	12-15	13.40	1.03
Females	42	12-15	13.40	1.27
Non-working adolescents (Quantitative)				
Males	45	12-15	13.40	1.17
Females	43	12-15	12.93	1.09
Working adolescents (Qualitative)				
Males	6	13-15	13.5	.83
Females	6	12-15	13.16	1.16
Non-working (Qualitative)				
Males	7	12-15	14.2	1.11
Females	6	13-15	14.0	.89
Education level (in number of years)				
Quantitative		<i>maximum</i>		
Males	95	3-7	4.75	.93
Females	85	3-6	4.42	.76
Working adolescents	92	3-7	4.61	.92
Non-working adolescents	88	3-7	4.57	.81
Adolescents forced to work	36	3-6	4.52	.77
Adolescents working volitionally	56	3-7	4.67	1.01
Adolescents with higher familism	66	3-7	4.58	.86

Adolescents with lower familism	26	3-7	4.62	.89
<hr/>				
<i>Education level (in number of years)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Minimum- maximum</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Qualitative				
<hr/>				
Males	13	3-5	3.92	.75
Females	12	3-5	3.75	.62
Working adolescents	12	3-5	3.75	.62
Non-working adolescents	13	3-5	3.92	.75
<hr/>				
<i>SES (mean of parents education level and family income)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Minimum- maximum</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Males	95	1- 3.67	1.47	.54
Females	85	1- 3.67	1.33	.53
Working adolescents	92	1- 3.67	1.42	.55
Non-working adolescents	88	1- 3.67	1.39	.53
Adolescents forced to work	36	1- 3.67	1.16	.25
Adolescents working volitionally	56	1- 3.67	1.58	.63
Adolescents with higher familism	66	1- 3.67	1.43	.43
Adolescents with lower familism	26	1- 3.67	1.33	.44
<hr/>				

Table 3.2
Number of hours worked by the participants

<i>Source</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Maximum- minimum</i>	<i>SD</i>
Males	50	36.2	20-60	8.50
Females	42	31.16	15-50	8.25

Table 3.3
Characteristics of the participant's occupations

<i>Source</i>	<i>Total N= 92</i>	<i>Girls N= 50</i>	<i>Boys N= 42</i>
Domestic worker	31	19	12
Laborer	22	8	14
Shopkeeper	14	4	10
Tailor	11	6	5
Car mechanic	4	0	4
Construction worker	2	2	0
Waiter	2	0	2
Painter	1	0	1
Carpenter	1	0	1
Fryer	1	0	1
Maison	3	3	0

3.2 Procedure

To begin the process of data collection, a few NGOs in Pakistan such as SPARC (Society for the Protection and the Rights of Children), BLLF (Bonded Labor Liberation Foundation), especially those working with children and

adolescents from lower SES, were approached to gain access to adolescents who study as well as work. After several meetings with multiple NGOs, JAQ trust and Rahnuma trust, two separate organizations were selected, because both have set up low cost schools in various parts of Pakistan to encourage families with low incomes to send their children to schools. These schools have morning as well as evening classes so that the children and adolescents who work can attend school as well. Emails were exchanged, and meetings were held with the principals of the schools where they were explained the procedure and intentions of this research. The process of data collection began once dates were set and written permission was granted by the authorities of the school. Students as well as their families were given consent forms and those who gave consent and were granted permission, took part in this study. Special care was taken so that important class work was not missed, and permission was taken from the teachers as well. Data was collected in groups. The students were told that their participation is voluntary and the information they give will be kept confidential. They were informed that they were free to ask any questions. They were also told to take their time and fill out the questions carefully, that the questionnaire was not a test or exam and that there were no right or wrong answers. The questionnaires were handed out to them, rules were explained and questions were read out to the students once before they began. In cases where, while filling out the questionnaire, the participants could not read or understand the questions, clarification was provided to them individually.

Of those who gave permission, 25 were interviewed individually. The adolescents were selected randomly from the sampling frame and were asked if they

could be interviewed. They were told that their responses were being recorded.

Those who did not agree to be recorded were not interviewed. The interview was a structured interview with predetermined questions which are given later. The interview did not take longer than ten minutes per participant. Once the interviews were recorded, they were transcribed verbatim and then translated into English. Their answers were analyzed and themes were derived through a bottom-up approach of interpretive phenomenological analysis (Reid, Flowers & Larkin, 2005).

3.3 Measures

3.3.1 Demographic form

Demographic data was collected through designed forms in Urdu language and included variables such as parental employment, household income, parental education (this was measured by providing options in the demographics forms ranging from ‘did not attend school’, ‘did not attend more than 7th grade’ up until ‘graduated with a Masters degree’), the occupation of the participants and the estimated number of hours that they worked. The demographic form also included questions to identify the reasons why they worked and whether or not they worked on their own volition or were being forced to. (Appendix A)

3.3.2 Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965)

The self-esteem of the adolescents was measured using a validated Urdu translation of the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES). The scale consists of 10 items, which are rated on a four point Likert scale (1=strongly disagree; 4=strongly agree). Higher scores indicate higher levels of self-esteem. The scale has five

positively worded items (1, 3, 4, 7 and 10) and five negatively worded items (2, 5, 6, 8, and 9) and can be used with adolescents (Rosenberg, 1965). The Urdu version of this scale was translated by Farid and Akhtar (2013) and was modified to a 5-point Likert scale by adding an option of 'Neutral' if participants wish to neither agree nor disagree. The negatively worded items in the Urdu version are items 3, 5, 8, 9 and 10. The original translated version had a reliability of .68 and the initial reliability of the scale for the present study had a reliability coefficient of .51 initially. After items 6 and 8 were removed alpha level reached .59. (Appendix B)

3.3.3 Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985)

The Satisfaction with Life Scale measures the global cognitive judgment of the participants' life satisfaction. For the purpose of this study the Urdu translation of Diener's Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS) was used, which has a Cronbach value of .87 (Mehmood & Shaukat, 2014). The participants were given the scale questionnaire with 5 statements that they may agree or disagree with. The items are on a 7-point Likert Scale (1=Strongly disagree; 7=Strongly agree), higher scores indicating higher levels of life satisfaction. In this study, the Cronbach value for this test was initially .45 but after removing item 5, Cronbach value increased to .54 (Appendix B)

3.3.4 Family Interdependence Scale (Phinney, Kim-Jo, Osorio, & Vilhjalmsson, 2005).

In order to measure familism in the adolescents, a family interdependence scale was used to gauge how much importance an individual gives to relations and interdependence with family members. The scale used in the original study scale had a Cronbach's alpha of 0.78. This scale was translated into Urdu through by a native Urdu speaker and then back translated by a bilingual speaker; a pilot test was conducted. The translated version had a Cronbach value of 0.81 but after item 1 was removed, the Cronbach value rose to 0.84. (Appendix B)

3.3.5 Volitional working scale

To distinguish between adolescents who work volitionally and those who are forced to work, a 4-point Likert scale was designed. The scale consisted of 4 items which were 'I work for pay with my own volition', 'I enjoy working' and the reverse coded items 'I have to work for pay even though I don't want to' and 'I would rather like to do something else instead of working for a pay' (which were reverse coded). The factor analyses in the present data yielded 1 factor with factor loadings ranging between .64 and .78. This scale has a Cronbach value of .64. (Appendix C)

3.3.6 Interview

Adolescents who were interviewed were asked predetermined questions in the form of a structured interview. The questions asked of every participant were the same and were as follows: 'How do you feel about adolescent work?' 'Would you like to work?' 'What are things that you like about working?' 'What is the reason

for your answer?' 'What are things that you do not like about working?' 'What is the reason for your answer?'



CHAPTER 4 RESULTS

In this chapter the findings of the study are presented in the following sections including descriptive statistics of the sample collected. Later sections present the levels of self-esteem and life satisfaction with relation to their working status, volition and family interdependence.

4.1. Descriptive Analyses

In this section descriptive findings of the studied variables are presented. Correlation analyses of self-esteem, life satisfaction, family interdependence and age, education and hours worked are all presented in Table 4.1. Results indicated significant correlation between socioeconomic status (calculated as the mean of mothers' and father's education levels and the family income) and life satisfaction, indicating that as socioeconomic status increased life satisfaction decreased. There was also a significant correlation between education level and life satisfaction indicating that as education level increased, life satisfaction also increased.

Table 4.1
Correlations between variables, hours worked and SES

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Hours	33.9	8.7	-						
2 SES	1.4	.54	.09	-					
3 Self-esteem	3.6	.63	-.00	-.03	-				
4 Life satisfaction	2.6	1.1	-.18	-.17*	.01	-			
5 Familism	4.4	.77	-.18	.06	.06	.09	-		
6 Education level	4.6	.86	-.17	.08	.01	.24*	-.01	-	
7 Age	13.2	1.11	.19	-.05	.11	.08	-.03	.16*	-

p<.05* SES= Socioeconomic status,

4.2 Quantitative Analysis

4.2.1 Analysis of hypothesis ‘The self-esteem of working adolescents will be significantly lower than that of non-working adolescents.’

A 2 X 2 between-groups analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was conducted to assess the differences in scores on self-esteem of working and non-working adolescents. The independent variables were the working status and gender of the adolescents. The dependent variable was self-esteem. As the education levels of girls and boys were significantly different, it was entered as covariate. Results showed that there was no significant difference between the self-esteem levels of working and non-working adolescents. Although the interaction effect did not reach statistical significance level, one-way ANOVA results indicated that while the self-esteem levels of working ($M=3.60$; $SD=.64$) and non-working ($M=3.57$; $SD=.47$) male adolescents was not different, working girls ($M=3.75$; $SD=.1$) had significantly higher levels of self-esteem than non-working girls ($M=3.45$; $SD=.59$), $F(1, 81) = 4.55$, $p = .036$, $\eta^2 = 0.05$. The results of this analysis are presented in Tables 4.2 and 4.3.

Table 4.2
Analysis of covariance for self-esteem scores by working status

<i>Source</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>F(df)</i>	<i>η^2</i>	<i>p</i>
Working status(A)	1.1	2.98 (1)	.01	.086
Gender(B)	.00	.01 (1)	.00	.089
(A)*(B) Interaction	.80	2.18 (1)	.01	.142
Error (Within groups)	69.10	174		

Table 4.3
One-way ANOVA for self-esteem scores by gender of working adolescents

Source	Working	Non-working	SS	df	F	p
	M(SD)	M(SD)				
Males	3.60(.64)	3.57(.47)	.01	1	.04	.82
Females	3.75(.1)	3.45(.59)	1.88	1	4.55	.036

4.2.2 Analysis of hypothesis ‘Life satisfaction of working adolescents will be significantly lower than that of non-working adolescents.’

A 2 X 2 between-groups analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was conducted to assess the differences in scores on life satisfaction of working adolescents and non-working adolescents with education level entered as a covariate. Results showed that after adjusting for the education level of the adolescents, there was a significant main effect of working status, working adolescents ($M=2.79$; $SD=1.31$) scoring higher than non-working adolescents ($M=2.47$; $SD=1.00$) on life satisfaction, $F(1,175) = 4.23$, $p = .041$, $\eta^2 = .024$. The interaction between gender and the working status of the adolescents was also significant, $F(1,175) = 9.62$, $p = .002$, $\eta^2 = .052$. Follow up analyses showed that the female working adolescents had higher life satisfaction ($M=3.10$; $SD=1.31$) as compared to non-working female adolescents ($M=2.18$; $SD=.89$), $F(1,85) = 14.47$, $p < .000$, $\eta^2 = .008$ whereas the difference between life satisfaction scores of working and non-working male adolescents was not significant, indicating that the significant main effect of

working status was due to the difference between working and non-working girls.

The results of this analysis are presented in Tables 4.4 and 4.5.

Table 4.4
Analysis of covariance for life satisfaction scores by working status

<i>Source</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>F(df)</i>	<i>η²</i>	<i>p</i>
Working status(A)	5.29	4.23(1)	.024	.041
Gender(B)	.495	.396(1)	.002	.530
(A)*(B) Interaction	12.02	9.62(1)	.052	.002
Error (Within groups)	218.878	175		

Table 4.5
One-way ANOVA for life satisfaction scores by gender of working adolescents

<i>Source</i>	<i>Working</i>	<i>Non-working</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>				
Males	2.53(1.27)	2.75(1.03)	1.09	1	.802	.373
Females	3.10(1.31)	2.18(.89)	18.25	1	14.47	.000

4.3.1 Analysis of hypothesis ‘Working adolescents who are forced to work have a lower self- esteem than adolescents who are working at their own volition’.

To determine the self-esteem of working adolescents based on their volition status, adolescents were divided into two groups. Adolescents who checked the answer ‘forced to work to support family’ for the question “what are the reasons you work?” were grouped under the ‘forced’ category, whereas those who answered otherwise, that is, ‘interested in working’ and ‘personal need’ or combinations of the

three were grouped under the ‘volitional working’ category. There were 56 adolescents in the volitional group ($N_{girls} = 19$; $N_{Boys} = 37$) and 36 adolescents in non-volitional group ($N_{girls} = 23$; $N_{Boys} = 13$). The education level of the adolescents, number of hours worked and their socioeconomic status (SES) was used as covariates to control for demographic differences. A 2 X 2 univariate analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was conducted to assess the differences in self-esteem of adolescents who work on their own volition and adolescents who are forced to work. The independent variables were the volitional status of the adolescents and the gender. Results indicated no significant difference between the two groups. The results for this analysis are presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6
Analysis of covariance of self-esteem by volition status of working adolescents

<i>Source</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>F(df)</i>	<i>η^2</i>	<i>p</i>
Volition status(A)	.272	.602(1)	.007	.440
Gender(B)	.396	.875(1)	.010	.35
(A)*(B) Interaction	.084	.185(1)	.002	.668
Error (Within groups)	38.91	86		

4.3.2 Analysis of hypothesis ‘Working adolescents who are forced to work have a lower life satisfaction than adolescents who are working at their own volition’.

A 2 X 2 univariate analysis of covariance was conducted to assess the differences in life satisfaction of adolescents who work on their own volition and adolescents who are forced to work with SES, educational level of adolescents and number of hours of work entered as covariates. Results showed that after adjusting

for the education level, SES and number of hours worked by the adolescents, there was a significant main effect of volitional status $F(1, 86) = 6.50, p = .013, \eta^2 = .07$, where those forced to work ($M = 3.25; SD = 1.41$) scored higher than those working at their own volition ($M = 2.5; SD = 1.17$). The results are presented in table 4. 7.

Table 4.7
Analysis of covariation of life satisfaction by volition status of working adolescents

<i>Source</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>F(df)</i>	<i>η^2</i>	<i>p</i>
Volition status(A)	9.20	6.5(1)	.070	.013
Gender(B)	4.02	2.84(1)	.032	.095
(A)*(B) Interaction	.015	.010(1)	.000	.919
Error (Within groups)	121.62	86		

4.4.1 Analysis of hypothesis ‘Working adolescents with lower family interdependence would have a lower self-esteem than working adolescents with higher family interdependence.’

Two groups were created which were low familism and high familism. These groups were created by dividing the participants according to the mean familism scores. Therefore, participants who scored lower than the mean ($M = 4.47, SD = .71$) were put into the low familism group whereas those who scored above the mean were put into the high familism group. A 2 X 2 analysis of covariance was conducted to assess the differences in scores on self-esteem of adolescents who have high levels of familism and those who have low levels of familism. The independent variables were levels of familism and gender and the dependent variable was the scores on the self-esteem. The education level of the adolescents and the number of

work hours were entered as covariates. Results yielded a significant main effect of gender. Accordingly, girls ($M=3.89$, $SD=.12$) had higher levels of self-esteem than boys ($M=3.54$, $SD=.11$), $F(1, 86)= 3.75$, $p=.056$, $\eta^2=.042$. The results are presented in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8

Analysis of covariation of self-esteem by family interdependence level of adolescents

<i>Source</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>F(df)</i>	<i>η^2</i>	<i>p</i>
Family	.0135			
Interdependence(A)		.307(1)	.004	.58
Gender(B)	1.64	3.75(1)	.042	.056
(A)*(B) Interaction	1.46	3.34(1)	.037	.071
Error (Within groups)	37.7	86		

4.4.2 Analysis of hypothesis ‘Working adolescents with lower family interdependence would have lower life satisfaction than working adolescents with higher family interdependence.’

A 2 X 2 analysis of covariance was conducted to assess the differences in scores on life satisfaction of working adolescents who have higher levels of familism and those who have lower levels of familism with education level and number of working hours of adolescents entered as covariates. The results indicated no significant differences. Results for this analysis are presented in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9

Analysis of covariation of life satisfaction by family interdependence level of adolescents

<i>Source</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>F(df)</i>	<i>η²</i>	<i>p</i>
Family	.418	.28(1)	.003	.598
Interdependence(A)				
Gender(B)	3.32	2.22(1)	.025	.139
(A)*(B) Interaction	1.92	1.29(1)	.015	.259
Error (Within groups)	128.13	86		

4.3 Qualitative analyses

Verbatim transcriptions of the answers given to the four open ended questions were reviewed by two researchers to generate the themes. As the interviews were reviewed, qualitative database was gradually constructed. The coding manual was continuously refined during the process of reading interviews in order to account for all interview data and coding themes were clearly defined. The qualitative database recorded both the coding themes and the verbatim response for each participant answer. Answers were coded by the two researchers. Cohen's κ was calculated to determine if there was agreement between the two raters on the emerging themes. There was an almost perfect agreement (Landis & Koch, 1977) between the raters, Cohen's $\kappa=.84$.

Talking to the participants and gaining their perspective provided a more elaborate picture of their work and its values. The thematic analyses of the data revealed both positive and negative evaluations on working. Positive evaluations reflected themes such as "enjoying working", "financial benefits" and "the ability to assist the family" and negative evaluations reflected themes such as "loss of

educational opportunities”, “heavy demands of work”, and the idea that “adolescence is not the time to work”. In general, the most common theme that was seen in their responses was Enjoy Working, followed by the theme Financial Benefits and Assisting Family. The participant’s responses are divided based on the questions that they were asked and further themes were generated. Tables 4.10 through 4.13 show the responses given to each question by the working and non-working adolescents. Detailed table with responses is provided in appendix E.

Table 4.10

Distribution of the number of responses to the question ‘How do you feel about working?’

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Nonworking</i>	<i>Working</i>
	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>
Priority and value of education	3	1
Freedom of choice	3	2
Assisting the family	1	2
Life phase of adolescence	4	0
Compromising work and study	0	2
Value of work	1	5
Total	12	12

Table 4.11

Distribution of the number of responses to the question of ‘reasons for working’

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Nonworking</i>	<i>Working</i>
	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>
School is fun	2	0
Priority of education	4	0
Assisting the family	1	0
Financial benefits	1	1
Compromising work and School	1	0
Enjoy working	0	2
Total	9	3

Table 4.12

Distribution of the number of responses to the question of 'things you like about working'

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Nonworking</i>	<i>Working</i>
	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>
Financial benefits	6	7
Assisting family	5	3
Compromising work and school	3	0
Personal gains	3	0
Enjoy working	1	5
Total	18	15

Table 4.13

Distribution of the number of responses to the question of 'things you don't like about working'

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Nonworking</i>	<i>Working</i>
	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>
Loss of educational opportunities	5	4
Life phase of adolescence	2	0
Heavy demands of work	3	2
Enjoy working	3	5
Total	13	11

4.3.1 Adolescent's feelings about working.

Value of working. The most prevalent theme in response to this question was about the value of work. Six out of 24 responses that were given showed that the adolescents gave importance to working and earning, out of which 1 was non-working and 5 were working adolescents. One adolescent was of the opinion that *'when they work they become something great in their life'*. Another gave importance to how work *'keeps you busy and occupied'* and *'enables you to pay for your education.'*

Freedom of choice. Five out of 24 responses mentioned how the decision to work should be up to the person and that they are welcome to their own opinions

and choices. Three of these responses from non-working adolescents whereas 2 were stated by working adolescents. These working adolescents talked about how the decision to work should fall in the hands of the individual and their decision should be respected. The non-working adolescents also believe that people '*should be allowed to do whatever they want to do.*'

Life phase of adolescence. Another emerging theme was about beliefs regarding the compatibility of work and adolescence. Four of the responses stated that adolescents should not have to work as they are young and are not physically or mentally equipped to take on such responsibilities. One of the participants, for example, stated that '*it is their parents or older brothers and sisters jobs*'. However, this theme was only prevalent in non-working adolescents and none of the working adolescents mentioned anything along these lines.

Priority and value of education. Some responses (4 out of 24) emphasized the value and benefits of having education, and they emphasized priority of studying. Adolescents believed that studying will help them get better jobs in the future and believed that studying is more important. For example, one adolescent said: '*I don't think work is important because studying is more important*'. Three of the adolescents who talked about this theme were non-working.

Assisting the family. Only 3 out of 12 responses highlighted how work is important because it helps them support the family. What they mentioned was either in the form of helping their father or '*getting the groceries*'. One response was by non-working and 2 by working adolescents.

Compromising work and study. Only 2 of the responses, both by working adolescents, mentioned balancing work and studying. One of the adolescents said ‘*work is good if you study and work*’ whereas the other one talked about how he works three days a week and goes to school the rest of the days.

Overall, in response to the question of how adolescents feel about working at this age, 8 out of 24 responses expressed negative opinions either highlighting that adolescence or childhood is not a time for working and that it is responsibility of adults and/or mentioning the value of education. However, all except 1 of them were working adolescents. Only 2 adolescents mentioned a compromise between work and study, and 9 out of 24 responses were positive about working mentioning the factor of assisting the family ($N=3$) and/or attributing value to working ($N=6$); however, all of these adolescents, except 2, were working adolescents.

4.3.2 Whether the adolescents would want to work or not and their reasons.

Twelve adolescents responded to whether they would work or not and 7 of them said that they would not want to work whereas 6 said that they would. The reasons that they gave were distributed into six different themes.

Priority and value of education. The most prominent theme in adolescents’ responses to this question was priority of education (4 out of 12) where the adolescents put importance on the attainment and benefit of education. All of the responses on this theme were from non-working adolescents.

School is fun. Some responses (2 out of 12) were about school positively and how they enjoyed attending classes. They also talked about their friends '*I can meet my friends and the teachers are nice and every day I learn new things. It is a lot of fun*' but none of these adolescents were working kids.

Financial benefits. This theme (2 out of 12) also emerged when the adolescents were asked why or why not they would like to work. They talked about how they would like work because it brings them money so they would '*prefer to concentrate on it (work)*'. One response was by a non-working adolescent whereas the other was by a working adolescent.

Enjoy working. As opposed to the 2 adolescents who said that they found school to be fun, 2 of the adolescents, both working also said that they enjoyed working. For example, one adolescent said: '*I like working and I would not want to quit. I work for a few hours and study for a few hours*'.

Assisting family and compromising school and work. In response to this question, only 1 non-working adolescent talked about assisting family as the reason why they would work. Another adolescent, also non-working stated that it is difficult to work and study at the same time '*I cannot do both. I can work or study not both.*'

Overall, responses given to the question of what are/would be the reasons to work, half of the adolescents said "no" and the reasons they provided again highlighted the importance of education in their perception. Interestingly, although the other half of the adolescents were endorsing working there were only 3 responses

providing reasons for their endorsement of working, and these were about enjoyability of work and financial benefits.

4.3.3 What adolescents like about working

Financial benefits. The most prominent thing that adolescents (13 responses) said they liked about working was the monetary gains that they enjoyed or would enjoy because of working. Six of these responses were by non-working adolescents and 7 by working adolescents. Adolescents liked the fact they could do the groceries, pay for their education and get '*richer*'. One adolescent said: '*you can live your life and survive.*'

Assisting family. Eight of the responses appreciated work as it was perceived as enabling adolescents to help out their families. Both working, 3 adolescents, and 5 non-working adolescents talked about this aspect of working positively and mention that it '*benefits the family.*' One working adolescent however said '*there is nothing good about working but I like to help my father.*'

Enjoy working. Six respondents claimed to enjoy working. This theme was more prominent in the responses of the working adolescents; 5 responses. One working adolescent compared it to school and said '*I don't like studying because my heart is not in it and it is very boring.*'

Personal gains. Many of the responses identified tangible benefits as money and experience and intangible such as character building. Overall, three of the respondents talked about the positive benefits work provides them personally and their responses can be divided into sub categories. Adolescents talked about

financial independence and how work would provide them with the monetary benefits that would ultimately lead to their independence ‘*and you can get money and people respect you and give your opinions value*’. In terms of other tangible benefits, the adolescents mentioned how work would provide them with the experience that could help them in other fields or in the future. They showed insight and talked about the future ‘*and if you have work right now you will have more experience by the time you are older*’. Adolescents also talked about self-esteem and sense of self-worth. They mentioned that work makes them feel good about themselves and makes them feel ‘*important*’.

Compromising work and school. Three responses, mentioned how there is always a compromise being made if they work and attend school. Adolescents who spoke on this theme were all non-working adolescents who had never worked before and they believed that ‘*There are no good things about working as children*’ and that they would work after they grew up but first they must only concentrate on their education and graduate.

Overall, as these responses give some hints about what is charming about working in the eyes of adolescents. Responses from both working ($N=7$) and non-working ($N=6$) adolescents highlighted the financial gains from the work. Eight adolescents, 5 non-working and 3 working, emphasized assisting the family, and 5 working and 1 non-working adolescent was of the opinion that work is enjoyable.

4.3.4 What adolescents don’t like about working.

Loss of educational opportunities. Adolescents talked about how work acts as a hindrance for them to avail educational opportunities. Five non-working and 4

working adolescents identified a lack of chance to focus on studies due to commitment to work. They identified these in three different ways. Some adolescents talked about how time is wasted at work. Others talked about how education was good for them '*They will not get educated so they will not become good people. That's it, education makes us good people.*' A third theme mentioned how work distract their studies thus cannot succeed.

Enjoy working. Eight of the responses were about how work was or would be entertaining; they looked at it positively. Three non-working adolescents and 5 working adolescents did not have anything bad to say about work '*Working doesn't have a bad side.*' Or they could not come up with anything particularly negative to say about work. One working adolescent was of the opinion '*I don't think there is anything bad in working, if you enjoy work like I do then it is great.*'

Heavy demands of work. Some adolescents mentioned that there may be some expectation of the employer or the work itself that may be difficult for the adolescent to handle. Eight out of 24 responses talked about this as the reason for not liking the idea of work. These included 3 non-working adolescents and 5 working adolescents. They mentioned that they are at times at the mercy of the employer if '*he is not nice.*' Non-working adolescents also assumed that work would not be too bad for the working adolescents if their employer was good to them. Adolescents who work and study both talked about how '*it is tiring to work as well as study.*' One working adolescent mentioned '*I work with garbage so I never get a chance to clean myself.*'

Life phase of adolescence. Only 2 of the participants, both of who were non-working mentioned that adolescence is not the life phase to work; and that adolescents are not mature enough to take such responsibilities. A nonworking adolescent was of the opinion that *‘when you work but you are child then you are going to fail because you are not old enough’*. Another adolescent said *‘My friends who work never come to school they are always out. They are always going out and buying things with their money and then their parents don’t like it. They get beaten then. I don’t want to work because I don’t want to get beaten and waste my money.’*

Overall, when adolescents were prompted to think about the negative aspects of working at this age, majority mentioned loss of educational opportunities; this theme was followed by heavy demands of work, and that adolescence and childhood is not the time for work. Eight out of 24 responses, though, foregrounded the fun side of work in response of this question.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

The main purpose of this thesis was to explore the relation between working adolescents and their self-esteem and life satisfaction as compared to the non-working adolescents in Pakistan. Based on previous literature, one of the hypotheses that was examined stated that ‘working adolescents have lower life satisfaction and self-esteem than non-working adolescents.’ The self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan ,1985) was used as a framework for deriving two other hypotheses which were ‘adolescents who are forced to work will have a lower life satisfaction and self-esteem than adolescents who work at their own volition’ and ‘adolescents with lower levels of family interdependence will have lower life satisfaction and self-esteem than adolescents with higher levels of family interdependence’.

These hypotheses were examined through data collected through scales. For explorative purposes qualitative data which was also collected through structured but open ended interviews. The perceptions of adolescents provided some hints as to how adolescent employment is perceived by working and non-working adolescents. The important findings regarding the hypotheses have been discussed in this chapter.

5.1 Self-esteem and Life-satisfaction of working and non-working adolescents.

In the present study it was hypothesized that the self-esteem and life satisfaction of working adolescents would be lower than that of non-working adolescents. However, the results showed that there were no significant difference between the self-esteem of the two groups, and the life satisfaction of working

adolescents was higher; which was contrary to what was hypothesized. The results further highlighted that indeed the difference between the working and non-working groups was from girls' responses: the self-esteem and life satisfaction of working girls were higher than that of non-working girls, while there was no difference in self-esteem and life satisfaction levels of working and non-working boys. The discussion below addresses these significant findings and the probable explanations for these results.

The differences between the levels in the two genders may be attributed to the structure of the Pakistani society which is predominantly patriarchal, where in the male is regarded superior and the female is considered to be dependent. These distinctions between the males and females are reinforced such that the female has internalized her dependency to the extent that escaping it is near impossible. The idea that males are far more superior to females leads to the neglect of females and provides them with fewer opportunities (Sultana, 2012). Many females in Pakistan are also told at an early age that their place is in the home, and that their primary responsibility is to ensure effective running of her household. Culturally, leaving the house and working is considered to be a 'man's job' (Ali, Krantz, Gul, Asad, Johansson & Morgen, 2011). Thus, the females in the present study might be experiencing an increase in self-esteem as they may be feeling independent, intelligent and capable enough to do a man's job. Overcoming the obstacles imposed by employment may lead to an increase in confidence and subsequently self-esteem. A non-working girl therefore may not experience the same sense of accomplishment as working girls. One non-working girl in our sample talked about the benefits of working and the sense of pride that she predicts would come with it

'You get money. Then you can help your family. Your family will be happy and you will feel good about yourself'. This is complemented by the working girl's views where they favor work as it allows them to help their families. She explains by saying *'Work gives you money. And you can use the money to pay for your education.'*

It is culturally expected that men will earn and provide for their families. A working boy may not get the same sense of fulfilment and high self-esteem as this is not something out of the ordinary. A working girl however, as in the present study, may take pride in being able to contribute to the family's financial security thus feeling an elevated sense of usefulness; as reinforced by a participant *'I think the good thing is that we get money and we can help our family.'*

It is interesting to explore the effect of adolescent employment based on gender differences, especially in the context of Pakistan. According to Woodhead (1998), the self-esteem of working girls depends on the kind of occupation that they are employed in. The working girls in Woodhead's study (1998) considered brick chipping to be the worst kind of job, however some of the girls working as brick chippers considered domestic helpers to have the worst end of the bargain because of the possible ill treatment at the hands of their employers. This could suggest that the self-esteem and life satisfaction of the girls in our sample was higher because of their nature and quality of life at work. It is likely that the girls, in our sample of which 19 out of 50 were domestic helpers had employers who treated them well. Woodhead (1998) also found that the girls talked about feeling good when they helped with educational expenses and clothes. He also found gender differences when children were asked about what made them feel bad. Working boys talked

about more about work related themes than girls but one working girl also said:

"Sometimes I feel lazy. I feel bad because we cannot just be. Sometimes, I want to do nothing but play, but I cannot do this." (Woodhead, 1998, p. 99).

Anti-Slavery international conducted a multi-country study with 3000 adolescents between the ages of 10 to 17 working as domestic workers. According to the Anti-Slavery international report (2013), while the psychological well-being scores of some groups of domestic workers are low, there are some factors that are positively associated with psychological outcomes. According to their report, the domestic workers who have better psychological outcomes are those who have higher school attendance rate. They saw these differences when comparing the scores of the workers in India and Peru and found that the child domestic workers in India had lower psychological well-being which coincided with low school attendance whereas there was not much significant difference between the scores of the workers in Peru and that coincided with their high school attendance rates. Thus for the present study, the working girls may not have significantly low self-esteem and life satisfaction because they are mostly domestic workers who attend school regularly.

The Anti-Slavery International report (2013) also talked about how in some countries, working as a domestic worker means having better food, better access to health care and a larger amount of free time which results in better psychological outcomes. Since most of the working females in our sample are domestic workers, we may attribute the significant differences in the scores of self-esteem to their access to the above by virtue of the good treatment by the employers.

Previous studies provide some insight into this finding. Bandedali (2008) who studied working adolescents in Pakistan, a collectivist country, found that 91% of their sample, both male and female enjoyed working. This suggests that work was appreciated by the adolescents as it marked their entrance into the monetary world and also opened up doors to new experiences that would hone their skills and help them in the future (Benvegna, 2005). Previous studies also proved that improvement in skills results in higher levels of life satisfaction (Bachman & Schulenberg, 1993; Mortimer, 2008). This may be one of the explanations for the higher life satisfaction of working girls in our study.

Mathew (2003) explains in his research that parents in low socioeconomic settings utilize the skills of their children in a productive manner so that they are not a burden on the family. This may suggest why the working girls in the present sample have higher life satisfaction and self-esteem. These adolescent girls may be more satisfied because they may be considering themselves to be less of a burden and more of a support for the family. Based on the socioeconomic status and culture of our participants it is possible to say that the adolescent whose family is already struggling to make ends meet does not want to be an additional burden on the family. In fact, being economically dependent on their family can even act as a psychological hazard. The sense of being needed can provide them with a deeper sense of independence and maturity. Indeed, our findings also showed that family interdependence of girls was significantly higher than boys, hence, contributing to family budget may be a source of self-esteem and gratification especially for working girls.

A study conducted by Xiao and his colleagues (2009) found that financial satisfaction leads to life satisfaction in a sample of undergraduate students in the US. The connection of financial benefits and life satisfaction has also been made by other researchers (Lynbomirsky, Sheldon, & Schkade, 2005; Otake, Shimai, Tanaka-Matsumi, Otsui & Fredrickson, 2006) who found that students who had positive financial behaviors had higher financial satisfaction and thus higher life satisfaction. These studies might provide some explanation about the results of the present study as the adolescent girls might see some financial security as they earn money at that young age. The study by Woodhead (1998) may also further help us to interpret the findings of the present study. Woodhead (1998) reports that the working adolescents in his study understand the limitations of their circumstances and negotiate the choices that are presented to them so as to improve their living conditions. Woodhead (1999) also described how children gave a lot of importance to money and considered it the most important thing in their life. They realized that their earnings were not money for luxuries but to meet their basic necessities. He claimed that self-esteem had little to do only with work per se. The qualitative responses obtained in this study may be supported by Woodhead's (1999) study. Of the themes that emerged from the responses to the question 'what are the things you like about working', half of the responses were financial benefits. For example, one working adolescent girl said '*Working is good because you get paid. Even though I like to study I just love money*'. While another working girl was said '*Work gives you money. And you can use the money to pay for your education.*' Of the other responses there were those which talked about work needed for financial survival '*children work because of poverty. Why would a child with money need to work? Of*

course they work because there are benefits like survival. Therefore, it can be said that the self-esteem and life satisfaction of working girls may be higher than that of non-working girls because the financial benefits that work provided them contributed to their increased life satisfaction and self-esteem scores.

For children and adolescents in developing nations such as Pakistan, who come from poor backgrounds, school does little to help them develop personally or provide them with the upward social mobility that they see those working around them enjoy (Memon, 2007). This is supported by our qualitative responses as well when some non-working adolescents also talked about how work enabled adolescents to make a worthwhile contribution to the society and considered going to school a negative aspect. For example, one participant was of the opinion that *‘work makes you of some use’* while another said *‘working doesn’t have a bad side. Maybe a little. I mean you get tired. But there are good sides to working also. You don’t have to go to school and school is tiring also anyway’*. Perhaps this attitude towards schooling is what could be a reason for the differences in results of working and non-working girls.

5.2 Life Satisfaction and Self-esteem of adolescents working on their own

Volition and those forced to Work

Contrary to our hypothesis, no difference was seen between the self-esteem of adolescents who were forced to work and those who worked voluntarily whereas the life satisfaction of those who are forced to work was higher than those working at their own volition. The reasons for the results not being in line with the hypothesis could be methodological. Even though the sample was divided according

to forced and volition, true differences might have been observed if the adolescents were bonded workers: a category which sadly still exists in Pakistan today. Due to safety reasons and political and social constraints these adolescents were not easily accessible and it is justified to assume that results would be different for such a sample where the differences in volition would be starker.

Iyengar and Lepper (1999) claim that the level of adolescent motivation differs depending on their collectivist and individualist backgrounds. Based on this claim, another study that was conducted by Hagger (2014) can be used to support the present findings. He found that people from collectivist backgrounds give importance to interdependence in groups and thus when a task is assigned to them by an individual who belongs to their group they have higher intrinsic motivation. Therefore, we may say that despite the fact that some of the adolescents in our sample were forced to work, it had little impact on them as their intrinsic motivation did not decrease. It is possible that they did not work on their own volition but because they belonged to a collectivist society, when their parents or family members forced them to work, it increased their intrinsic motivation as they were part of their group and they gave importance to their needs and to the cohesion of the group, thereby not having a negative effect on the life satisfaction and self-esteem. This can also be supported by the qualitative findings of the present study. When adolescents were asked what the good things about working were, eight adolescents (3 working, 5 non-working) said that they thought of work positively because it enables adolescents to help out their families. One working adolescent even said that *'there is nothing good about working but I like to help my father'*. These responses show that there is the perception that work has the function of

contributing to the family. Further research needs to be conducted on how motivation is constructed in collectivistic cultures especially when it comes to adolescent's volitional participation in workforce.

5.3 Working adolescents with High Familism and those with Low Familism have no Significant Differences in their Self-esteem and Life Satisfaction

Contrary to what was hypothesized, our findings revealed that the self-esteem and life satisfaction of working adolescents with high familism is not significantly different than that of adolescents with low familism. As established through the above literature review, high familism acts as a protective factor for adolescents (Gil, Vega, & Dimas, 1994). The present sample is from Pakistan and belongs to a collectivist culture, and collectivism and high familism work in unison. These cultures greatly underscore the interdependence of the members of the family and discourage independence (Trommsdorff, 2006). A study conducted in China that measured self-esteem and life satisfaction of adolescents in fifth and sixth grades found that high familism leads to high levels of life satisfaction (Leung, Wong, Wong, & McBrideChang, 2010). Ideally, the case should have been the same in the present study, as like China, Pakistan is also a collectivist country (Chen, 2000). Another study that was conducted in Hong Kong, a collectivist country, found that maternal warmth and family interdependence increased life satisfaction (Leung, McBride-Chang, & Lai, 2004). The present results do not coincide with this study either. These differences could lie in the selection of the present sample. Unlike the study conducted in China, the present sample did not include adolescents out of the school system but included those who were part of the school and work

system simultaneously. Secondly, it is possible that our results differ because the present sample already had high familism.

Our findings and the lack of studies that look at familism, adolescent employment and life satisfaction highlight the fact that there is a dire need of more studies that look at these variables specifically in the Pakistani context.

The discussion can be concluded by stating that in the present study, the self-esteem and life satisfaction of the working group, groups of those forced to work as well as the group with lower familism was not low as predicted. The differences between the working and non-working groups was from girl's responses: the self-esteem and life satisfaction of working girls were higher than that of non-working girls, while there was no difference in self-esteem and life satisfaction levels of working and non-working boys.

CHAPTER 6

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Working adolescents for the most part start working at an early age and are usually required to or expected to work with their families for financial reasons (Siddiqi & Patrinos, 1995); since they start when they are young, they may not be fully aware of the sort of life that they are missing out on by working, because that is a kind of “normal track” for adolescents at their age. It is also likely that they have witnessed their older siblings and other children in the community working too, and consequently consider having to work as the norm. Yet, one needs to draw a clear line between the kind of work that contributes to adolescent’s skill and confidence development and the work that hampers their development and deprives them of opportunities that might pave the way for them for a better future.

The capability approach (Nussbaum, 2011) can provide a solid framework for defining adolescent’s activities, which in this case is adolescent employment, and subsequently for designing social policies for their development (Biggeri, Libanora, Miriani, & Menchini, 2006). In line with this approach it can be said that just because the participants see their work as the norm and are not dissatisfied with their life situation, as suggested by our quantitative results, it does not mean that employment is beneficial for them.

It should be made clear that while the present study does not conclude that adolescent employment hampers self-esteem and life satisfaction, one cannot claim that working adolescents are in the clear. Even though culturally helping the family may be a value to be preserved, it should not come at the expense of the adolescent’s future. The opportunity cost of belonging to the work force can be

attaining quality education and schooling. Thus policies are recommended keeping in mind the importance of education and how it effects adolescent employment.

Considering the importance of education, the primary focus should be on ensuring that adolescents attend school instead of forgoing education for the sake of employment. For this purpose, policies that aim at reducing the costs associated with education and school attendance should be implemented so as to encourage families to send their children to schools. Cash contingent transfers may encourage school enrollment and discourage adolescent employment as implemented by *Red de Protección Social*, in Nicaragua (Gee, 2010) and the *Bolsa Escola* program in Brazil which showed cash contingent transfers to have a strong impact on school attendance (Janvry, Finan, & Sadoulet, 2006). The quality of schooling that is provided to the adolescents must be improved because it influences the adolescents' and parents' decision to choose between employment and education. If the quality of education that is provided to the adolescents is poor then they are more likely to turn towards adolescent employment (UNICEF, 2014)

For those who are already working, policies to ease their transition into education and academic life should be implemented to encourage integration into a non-working lifestyle (Lyon & Rosati, 2006). Transitional education programs can ensure that once the working adolescents are removed from the working stream and placed into schools, they do not fall behind their peers academically and thus leave (Winrock International, 2008). Thus remedial education for returning students can facilitate their adjustment difficulties as in the case of *TACKLE*, implemented across 12 countries across Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific group of states (ILO, 2013).

As policies related to adolescent employment are complex, simply eradicating the issue may not be the only course of action. Thus for working adolescents who cannot be successfully removed from the stream of employment, flexible schooling could be implemented (Lyon & Rosati, 2006). While such policies may not aim at reducing adolescent employment they can regulate quality education, school attendance and decrease in school drop-out rates. Flexible schooling can facilitate flexible schedules so that the adolescents can work without compromising their education (ILO, 2008). The courses offered in school can be tailored so that they are more relevant to the adolescents' daily work life such that schooling compliments the skills required at work.

The quality of education provided can reduce the incidence of adolescent employment and increase schooling (Torres, 2003). Policies should be aimed at improving the quality of education and schooling to make education more appealing to the adolescents and their families.

A number of NGOs in Pakistan have been working to fight against adolescent employment. Child Care Foundation took the approach of non-formal education and adapted academic curricula to keep working adolescents invested and involved in their education so that quality education is not compromised (Winrock, 2008). Another NGO called the Society for the Protection of the Rights of Children aims to tackle the issue of adolescent employment by conducting research to create better understanding and awareness of the issue at hand (SPARC, 2013).

A few things to keep in mind when discussing policy recommendations are its implications. Firstly, to tackle adolescent employment, policies should aim to eliminate the cause of the issue as low income households require higher wages to

compensate for the lack of cash inflow occurring after removing their children from the labor force. Secondly, programs such as conditional cash transfer may result in the diversion of policy focus from other development issues. However, if quality of education is improved and education is made mandatory then fewer adolescents will give up schooling for employment (Torres, 2003). As lack of education can lead to poverty trap (Emerson & Souza, 2003) increasing access to education can have long term positive effects on reducing adolescent employment (Fors, 2012)

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This study is important as it looks at how adolescent employment is linked with the self-esteem and life satisfaction. While studies mentioned in the literature review showed that adolescent employment has hazardous effects on them, the present study illustrates how the working status doesn't necessarily have a harmful impact on their life satisfaction and self-esteem.

However, the finding that working adolescent girls have higher self-esteem and life satisfaction than non-working girls should be interpreted with caution. While it may show that the self-esteem and life satisfaction of working adolescents is not negatively affected, it does not disregard the other studies that point out the negative effects of work and should not be used as an argument in favor of adolescents working. The reason for this is that while the self-esteem and life satisfaction of these adolescents may not be negatively affected it is not a hard and fast rule and can be subject to a number of different factors such as the type of work, and most importantly the individuals own resilience.

Another aspect to be wary of is that the reliability of some of the measures and tools used in this study are not as high as would be preferred and finally, it should be taken into consideration that perhaps the explanation for our results could be the sample itself. Perhaps the working adolescents that gave consent for participation in the study were those who had higher life satisfaction and self-esteem to begin with.

The findings of this study direct us towards the appropriate measures that need to be taken to provide working adolescents with the opportunities to live their lives to their full potential and live to ensure their healthy development.

A longitudinal study would give a better understanding of how working status impacts long term psychological outcomes and how the trajectories of people who started work at an early age can differ.

It would be worthwhile to study families in bonded labor including their children and compare their self-esteem, life satisfaction and familism in comparison to other working families and adolescents. The working conditions that each adolescent is subjected to can also be studied in more detail to have a better understanding of our results.

Appendix A

Please answer the following questions.

1. What is your age? _____
2. Are you a male or female? Male _____ Female _____
3. What is your education level? _____
4. What is your father's education level? Check the option that fits best

Did not attend any school _____

Did not attend more than 7th grade _____

Attended school but did not graduate _____

Matric _____

Intermediate _____

Graduated with bachelors degree _____

Graduated with masters degree _____

5. What is your mother's education level? Check the option that fits best

Did not attend any school _____

Did not attend more than 7th grade _____

Attended school but did not graduate _____

Matric _____

Intermediate _____

Graduated with Bachelors degree _____

Graduated with Masters degree _____

6. Is your father employed? YES _____ NO _____

8. If employed, what is your father's current occupation?

7. Is your mother employed? YES _____ NO _____

9. If employed, what is your mother's current occupation? _____

10. What is your annual family income (the total money that comes home from all family members through salary, renting of house etc)

Less than Rs 10000 _____

Rs 10000 to 50000 _____

Rs 50000 and above _____

11. What is the marital status of your parents? Married _____ Divorced _____
Other _____

12. Are you a paid employee (e.g. get money for work either daily, weekly, etc.)?

YES _____ NO _____

13. If you are employed, what is your occupation? _____

14. Where do you work? _____

15. How many hours do you work in a week in your paid job? _____

16. What are your reasons for working for a pay? Please check the relevant items below.

Forced to work to financially support the family _____

Interested in working _____

Personal need for money _____

If there are additional reasons, please explain in your own words the reason why you work for a pay.

Some children help their family at home or in family business regularly.

17. If you do domestic work, what do you do?

19. Approximately how many hours do you perform domestic work in a week?

20. If you work/help in family business, what do you do?

21. Approximately how many hours do you work/help in your family business in a week?



Appendix B

The following questions ask how important certain things are to you in regard

	Not at all important 1	Not important 2	Neutral 3	Important 4	Very important 5
1.To satisfy my family's needs even when my own needs are different?	1	2	3	4	5
2. To be available to family members when they need help?	1	2	3	4	5
3. To spend time with my family?	1	2	3	4	5
4. To consult with my parents before making decisions?	1	2	3	4	5
5. To put my family's needs before my own?	1	2	3	4	5
6. To live at home with my parents until I am married?	1	2	3	4	5
7. To spend time with my parents after I no longer live with them?	1	2	3	4	5
8. To have my parents live with me when they get older?	1	2	3	4	5

to your family. Circle the number (from 1 to 5) next to each statement that indicates the extent to which it is important to you.

Below are five statements that you may agree or disagree with. Circle the number (from 1 to 7) next to each statement that indicates the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement. Please be open and honest in your responses.

	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Slightly Disagree 3	Neither Agree nor Disagree 4	Slightly Agree 5	Agree 6	Strongly Agree 7
1.In most ways my life is close to my ideal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.The conditions of my life are excellent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.I am satisfied with my life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.So far I	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

have gotten the important things I want in my life							
5.If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

We would like to know what thoughts you have about yourself. Think about what you think of yourself most of the time. Here are some questions that ask you to indicate your thoughts towards yourself. Circle the number (from 5-1) next to each statement that indicates the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement. Please answer the question the way you really feel, not how you think you should.

	Strongly Agree 5	Agree 4	Neutral 3	Disagree 2	Strongly Disagree 1
1.On the whole, I am satisfied with myself	5	4	3	2	1
2.At times, I think I am no good at all	5	4	3	2	1
3.I feel that I have a number of good qualities	5	4	3	2	1
4.I am able to do things as well as most other people	5	4	3	2	1
5.I feel I do not have much to be proud of	5	4	3	2	1
6. I certainly feel useless at times.	5	4	3	2	1
7.I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane as others	5	4	3	2	1
8.I wish I could have more respect for myself	5	4	3	2	1
9.All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure	5	4	3	2	1
10.I take a positive attitude toward myself	5	4	3	2	1

Appendix C

If you work for a pay, please rate to what extent the following statements are true for you. Circle the number (from 1-4) next to each statement that indicates the extent the extent to which it is true for you.

	Not at all true 1	Not very true 2	Sort of true 3	Very true 4
I work for a pay with my own volition	1	2	3	4
I enjoy working	1	2	3	4
I have to work for a pay even though I do not want to	1	2	3	4
I would rather like to do something else instead of working for a pay	1	2	3	4

If you do domestic work, please rate to what extent the following statements are true for you. Circle the number (from 1-4) next to each statement that indicates the extent the extent to which it is true for you.

	Not at all true 1	Not very true 2	Sort of true 3	Very true 4
I do domestic work with my own volition	1	2	3	4
I enjoy doing domestic work	1	2	3	4
I have to do domestic work even though I do not want to	1	2	3	4
I would rather like to do something else instead of doing domestic work	1	2	3	4

If you work/help in family business, please rate to what extent the following statements are true for you. Circle the number (from 1-4) next to each statement that indicates the extent to which it is true for you.

	Not at all true 1	Not very true 2	Sort of true 3	Very true 4
I work/help in family business with my own volition	1	2	3	4

I work/help in family business even though I do not want to	1	2	3	4
I would rather like to do something else instead of working/helping in family business	1	2	3	4
I enjoy working/helping in family business	1	2	3	4



Appendix D
Participation Consent Form (for adolescents)

**SELF-ESTEEM AND LIFE SATISFACTION OF WORKING AND NON-
WORKING ADOLESCENTS IN PAKISTAN**

Name and contact of researcher: Maha Rauf (maha.rauf@ozu.edu.tr)

The purpose of this study is to assess the life satisfaction and self-esteem of adolescents. The life satisfaction and self-esteem of adolescents is very important for their positive development and can be affected by the environment as well. We want to measure your life satisfaction and self-esteem by asking you some basic questions through which we will gauge how satisfied you are with your lives and how much value you attach to yourself.

The data will be collected using three questionnaires. You will not be required to miss any classes and will be asked to fill out the questionnaires in your free time such as recess with the guidance of the researchers. It will take each participant 15 to 20 minutes in total to fill out all three forms.

All the answers that you give will be strictly confidential and your privacy will be respected. All forms will be anonymous and the results will not be shared with the other participants, employers and other family members.

Participation in the study is voluntary and you can decline to answer any question that you do not wish to answer. You are also free to drop out of the study at any point.

Participation Consent Form (for parents)

SELF-ESTEEM AND LIFE SATISFACTION OF WORKING AND NON- WORKING ADOLESCENTS IN PAKISTAN

Name and contact of researcher: Maha Rauf (maha.rauf@ozu.edu.tr)

The purpose of this study is to assess the life satisfaction and self-esteem of adolescents. The life satisfaction and self-esteem of adolescents is very important for their positive development and can be affected by the environment as well. We want to measure their life satisfaction and self-esteem by asking them some basic questions through which we will gauge how satisfied they are with their lives and how much value they attach to themselves.

The data will be collected using three questionnaires. The adolescents will not be required to miss any classes and will be asked to fill out the questionnaires in their free time such as recess with the guidance of the researchers. It will take each participant 15 to 20 minutes in total to fill out all three forms.

All the answers that they give will be strictly confidential and their privacy will be respected. All forms will be anonymous and the results will not be shared with the other participants, employers and other family members.

Participation in the study is voluntary and they can decline to answer any question that they do not wish to answer. They are also free to drop out of the study at any point.

Appendix E
Coding Definitions

QUESTION: HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT WORKING?		
THEME	DESCRIPTIONS	EXAMPLES
Priority and value of education	Adolescents mention the value and benefits of having education, and they emphasize priority of studying	<i>I don't think work is important because studying is more important. If we study then we will be more skilled and then we will get better jobs in the future so we have to think of the future and the long run.</i>
Freedom of choice	Adolescents mention how the decision to work should be up to them and that they are welcome to their own opinions and choices.	<i>They [adolescents] should work if they want to and study if they want to.</i>
Assisting the family	Participants talk about how they to work so that they can support the family.	<i>One must work to help the family and assist their father. It is good that they work and they listen to their parents' wishes. They are good children.</i>
Life phase of adolescence	Participants mention that adolescence is not the life phase to work; and that adolescents are not mature enough to take such responsibilities	<i>I think children are children and it is not their job to work it is their parents of older brothers and sisters job.</i>
Compromising work and study	Participants talk about how they can work and study at the time while some talk about how they try to do both.	<i>Working is good if you study and work.</i>
Value of working	Adolescents give importance to working and earning.	<i>I have been working since 6 years. I think children who work should continue to work because when they work they become something great in their life. They learn so much from their jobs.</i>
QUESTION: WHAT ARE YOUR REASONS FOR WORKING/NOT WORKING?		
THEME	DESCRIPTIONS	EXAMPLES

School is fun	Adolescents find school enjoyable and like to study	<i>No. I would like to go to school because it is fun.</i>
Priority of education	Adolescents mention the value and benefits of having education, and they emphasize priority of studying	<i>Yes but studying is important and I cannot do both so I will work after I finish my exams.</i>
Assisting the family	Participants talk about how they to work to that they can support the family.	<i>I would love to work but my parents force me to go to school. I will quit school when I find a good job because when I bring home lots of money they will not care about school. Right now they don't understand.</i>
Financial benefits	Participants mention the monetary gains that get when they work; they say that they are able to pay for education, groceries etc when they make money.	<i>Of course I prefer to study than work but the good thing about working is that I get paid at least 20000 in my job so I prefer to concentrate on it</i>
Compromising work and school	Participants talk about how they can or can try to study and work at the same time	<i>Why not? But I cannot do both. I can work or study not both.</i>
Enjoy working	Many of the adolescents who worked said that they found work entertaining and had fun at work; they looked at it positively.	<i>I like working and I would not want to quit. I work for a few hours and study for a few hours.</i>

QUESTION: WHAT ARE THE THINGS YOU LIKE ABOUT WORKING?

THEME	DESCRIPTIONS	EXAMPLES
Financial benefits	Participants mention the monetary gains that get when they work; they say that they are able to pay for education, groceries etc when they make money.	<i>Children who work get money so that is a good thing about working.</i>
Assisting the family	Participants talk about how work enables them to support and help out their family	<i>They can give their parents money and fulfill their own obligations as well as their parents.</i>

Compromising work and school	Participants talk about how by working and studying both they are not able to give equal time to both and that they must try to balance them.	<i>There are no good things about working as children.</i>
Personal gains	Most of the adolescents identified tangible benefits such as money and experience and intangible such as character building	<i>Like I said, it keeps you busy and occupied and pays you.</i>
	<u>Subcategories of personal gains</u>	
	Financial independence	<i>...and you can get money and people respect you and give your opinions value.</i>
	Work experience	<i>And if you have work right now you will have more experience by the time you are older</i>
	Self-esteem	<i>Your family will be happy and you will feel good about yourself.</i>
	Sense of usefulness and worth	<i>it makes me feel important and good.</i>
Enjoy working	Many of the adolescents who worked said that they found work entertaining and had fun at work; they looked at it positively.	<i>My friends also work where I work so sometimes we sit together and laugh. That is nice.</i>
QUESTION: WHAT ARE THE THINGS YOU DO NOT LIKE ABOUT WORKING?		
THEME	DESCRIPTIONS	EXAMPLES
Loss of educational opportunities	Working adolescents identified lack of chance to focus on studies due to commitment to work	<i>They will not get educated so they will not become good people That's it, education makes us good people.</i>
	<u>Subcategories of loss of educational opportunities</u>	
	Wasting time at work	<i>Their time is wasting if they are working and not studying</i>

	Education makes people good		<i>They will not get educated so they will not become good people That's it, education makes us good people.</i>
	Work distracts from studying		<i>You can't concentrate on your studies.</i>
	Life phase of adolescents	Participants mention that adolescence is not the life phase to work; and that adolescents are not mature enough to take such responsibilities	<i>My friends who work never come to school they are always out. They are always going out and buying things with their money and then their parents don't like it. They get beaten then. I don't want to work because I don't want to get beaten and waste my money.</i>
	Heavy demands of work	adolescents mentioned that there may be some expectation of the employer or the work itself that may be difficult for the adolescent to handle.	<i>Working has a lot of bad effects such as you get tired, the employer is not nice to you sometimes and they lock you up if you do something wrong.</i>
	Enjoy working	Many of the adolescents who worked said that they found work entertaining and had fun at work; they looked at it positively.	<i>Working doesn't have a bad side. Maybe a little. I mean you get tired. But there are good sides to working also. You don't have to go to school and school is tiring also anyway.</i>

Qualitative Responses to interviews

Responses to the question 'how do you feel about working?'

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Responses of non-working adolescents (N)</i>	<i>Responses of working adolescents (N)</i>
Priority and Value of education	(N=3) <i>They should not work they should go to school. Because when we study, it will be easier to get jobs in the future</i>	(N=1) <i>I have been working for two weeks (at a tailors). I don't like working. I used to only study before but now I have to work also. Working is a worldly act but studying is for life after death. Children who work only think about the current world not the long run. I work and study and then with the money that I earn I can fund my education and I can also give some of it to my family.</i>
	<i>I don't think work is important because studying is more important. If we study, then we will be more skilled and then we will get better jobs in the future so we have to think of the future and the long run.</i>	
	<i>Those who work should be studying first so that they can get a job easily. If they work hard then later their life will be easier.</i>	
Freedom of choice	N=3 <i>They should work if they want to and study if they want to.</i>	N=2 <i>have been working for 5 6 years. Children who work? I don't think about them I mind my own business.</i>
	<i>What do I think? I am not here to have opinions about others.</i>	<i>I am a gardener. I don't have any thoughts about children who work.</i>

Who am I to judge them. I am one of them. I think they work for their reasons and I respect them. And those who don't work, I respect them also.

I think humans should be allowed to do whatever they want to do but unfortunately our parents think they can rule us and make us do whatever they want.

Assisting the
Family

(N=1)

(N=2)

It is good that they work and they listen to their parents' wishes. They are good children.

One must work to help the family and assist their father.

I think children work because they have to support their family and themselves. Somebody has to do the groceries. Everyone has their own preferences.

Life phase of
adolescence

(N=4)

(N=0)

I think children are children and it is not their job to work it is their parents of older brothers and sisters job.

Working is important to earn money but not when you are children.

I think work is difficult depending on the kind of work that you do. I mean if you are a small kid and you have to lift heavy things then that is hard but if you are a strong kid then it is easy. If you have to work in a shop and you are not honest then it is hard for you because

you might steal something.

I think we should not have to work because we are children and it is our parents job to work. How can we work if we are not old enough? I cannot become a teacher because I know less than my teacher.

Compromising

work and study

(N=0)

(N=2)

Working is good if you study and work.

I am a shoe polisher I work three days a week. The rest of the days I go to school. My friends also work with me but some times they don't come because their sister is sick.

Value of work

(N=1)

(N=5)

I think working is good

I like to work I earn 250 rupees a month. I sell corn.

I have been working since 6 years. I think children who work should continue to work because when they work they become something great in their life. They learn so much from their jobs.

I think children who work are doing it because they have the capabilities to work and they are thinking practically. I think work is great and I enjoy it thoroughly. At least its far better than studying which is a waste of time. After I study and graduate I would probably earn the same amount of money that I am earning now without graduating. I make at least 20,000 in my tailoring job and I would never want to give them up

and get bored in life just going to school.

I started working because I needed money to run the house. Studying is important but what can one do if they can't pay basic expenses.

I have to work because I need money to survive and my family needs the money. Studying is very important also but I have no choice. There is no big deal when children work because it's a normal thing they all have to work if they want to live in this world no one is going to come throw money at them that is what I tell my brothers they must work also they have no choice. And if they make enough money then good they should go to school as well.

Responses to 'Reasons for working/not working'

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Responses of non-working adolescents (N)</i>	<i>Responses of working adolescents (N)</i>
<i>School is fun</i>	<i>(1)</i>	<i>(0)</i>
	<i>No. I would like to go to school because it is fun. I like to study because it is fun and I can meet my friends and the teachers are nice and everyday I learn new things. It is a lot of fun. If I work then I will not study because I will have no time.</i>	
<i>Priority of education</i>	<i>(4)</i>	<i>(0)</i>
	<i>yes but studying is important and I cannot do both so I will work after I finish my exams.</i>	

Not right now. I want to be a policewoman and for that I need to study right now otherwise I will become a housewife.

No, first I would like to study and then I will decide.

If I'm older Yes. But right now I need education

Assisting the Family

(1)

(0)

I would love to work but my parents force me to go to school. I will quit school when I find a good job because when I bring home lots of money they will not care about school. Right now they don't understand.

Financial benefits

(1)

(1)

I don't know. I want money so I guess sure, why not.

Of course I prefer to study than work but the good thing about working is that I get paid at least 20000 in my job so I prefer to concentrate on it

Compromising work and school

(1)

(0)

Why not? But I cannot do both. I can work or study not both.

Enjoy working

(0)

(2)

I like working and I would not want to quit. I work for a few hours and study for a few hours.

Responses to the question 'what are the things you like about working?'

<i>Themes</i>	<i>Responses of non-working adolescents (N)</i>	<i>Responses of working adolescents (N)</i>
<i>Financial Benefits</i>	<p style="text-align: center;">(6)</p> <p><i>Children who work get money so that is a good thing about working.</i></p> <p><i>It is good because you get rich Money and money</i></p> <p><i>I think it can be good because we can buy food and things of importance.</i></p> <p><i>You get money. You get paid. You can live your life and survive.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">(7)</p> <p><i>Expenses can be paid, groceries can be done. I can earn money.</i></p> <p><i>Work gives you money. Children work because of poverty. Why would a child with money need to work? Of course they work because there are benefits like survival.</i></p> <p><i>Money. Some of the money I give to my family and the rest I keep for myself.</i></p> <p><i>(it) pays you. Its okay, I get a little money. But not enough money so it is not that great.</i></p> <p><i>I mean that is a difficult question because there is not fixed answer. It is different for everyone. I think the good thing is that we get money and we can help our family</i></p>
<i>Assisting Family</i>	<p style="text-align: center;">(5)</p> <p><i>They can give their parents money and fulfill their own obligations as well as their parents.</i></p> <p><i>When they work then they can give the money to their family and help out and they work hard your parents get happy.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">(3)</p> <p><i>Yes it is useful because I take money to the home.</i></p> <p><i>There is nothing good about working but I like to help my father.</i></p> <p><i>I mean that is a difficult question because there is not fixed answer. It is different for everyone. I think the good thing is that we get money and we can help our family</i></p>

	<i>you can help your family and then they are very grateful to you so that Then you can help your family. Your family will be happy</i>	
Compromising work and school	(3)	(0)
	<i>If they study as well as work then there is no harm. There are no good things about working as children. There are no good things about working. I will work when I grow up after I graduate but not now</i>	
Personal Gains	(3)	(0)
Financial independence	<i>I think working is great because you are finally independent and you never have to ask anyone for money</i>	
Work experience	<i>And if you have work right now you will have more experience by the time you are older</i>	
	<i>You can get experienced and you can get money and people respect you and give your opinions value.</i>	
Sense of usefulness and worth	<i>it makes me feel important and good.</i>	
Enjoy working	(1)	(5)
	<i>Working makes you of some use. I can't think of any bad things about working.</i>	<i>I enjoy it My friends also work where I work so sometimes we sit together and laugh. That is nice. But I love to work because I get paid and I don't have to depend on anyone else. I don't like studying because my heart is not in it and it is very boring. Working is good because you get</i>

paid. Even though I like to study I just love money.

Responses to the question 'What are the things you don't like about working?'

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Responses of non-working adolescents (N)</i>	<i>Responses of working adolescents (N)</i>
<i>Loss of educational opportunities</i>	(5)	(4)
<i>Wasting time at work</i>	<i>Their time is wasting if they are working and not studying</i>	<i>You don't have time to think about the life after you die because you are running after the things of the world</i>
<i>Education makes people good</i>	<i>They will not get educated so they will not become good people That's it, education makes us good people.</i>	<i>Future is not good without studying but what can I do. I have to think about the present. But life is not that good.</i>
<i>Work distracts from studying</i>	<i>You can't concentrate on your studies.</i>	<i>It is bad because I can't concentrate on my studies.</i>
	<i>Like I said, I will not have time to study</i>	<i>I would love to quit working and just concentrate on my studies but I would only do it if someone paid me 20,000 a month to skip work</i>
	<i>Well, for children who like to go to school its bad because when they work they don't have time to study for their exams.</i>	
<i>Life phase of adolescence</i>	(2)	(0)
	<i>My friends who work never come to school they are always out. They are always going out and buying things with their money and then their parents don't like it. They get beaten then. I don't want to work because I don't want to get beaten and waste my money.</i>	
	<i>When you work but you are a child then you are going to fail because you are not old enough</i>	
<i>Heavy demands of</i>	(3)	(2)

work

I don't know if there are any bad things. Maybe there are some. What if they make a sale and then misplace the money and then everyone will think that they stole the money and then the parents will be ashamed of them and they will have to get the money from somewhere else.

Sometimes it is tiring to work as well as study.

Working has a lot of bad effects such as you get tired, the employer is not nice to you sometimes and they lock you up if you do something wrong.

Yes, there are some negative aspects of working because you don't have time to study at home or do the homework on the weekends and I get very tired.

Working wastes time. Its okay. I don't know it is not that bad if your employer is nice

Enjoy working

(3)

(5)

Working doesn't have a bad side. Maybe a little. I mean you get tired. But there are good sides to working also. You don't have to go to school and school is tiring also anyway.

There is nothing bad about working.

I can't think of any bad things about working

Nothing at all

But it's not all that bad. Because you can get paid.

*I don't think there are any bad things about working because I enjoy working
I don't know. I can't think of anything right now.*

I don't think there is anything bad in working, if you enjoy work like I do then it is great.

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