

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PARENTIFICATION EXPERIENCES
AMONG MALE ADOLESCENTS DUE TO JUVENILE LABOUR

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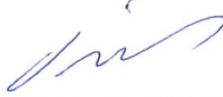
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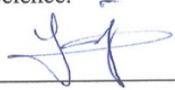
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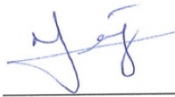

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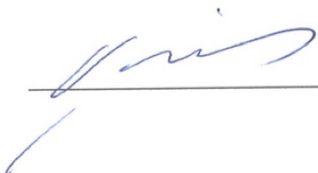
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ABSTRACT

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PARENTIFICATION EXPERIENCES AMONG MALE ADOLESCENT DUE TO JUVENILE LABOUR

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The main aim of the current thesis was to examine parentification experiences of male adolescents due to juvenile labour. Accordingly, both instrumental and emotional parentification experiences of labourer children were investigated throughoutly from a developmental perspective. A qualitative study was performed to achieve this goal. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with seven male adolescents who were working at industrial areas of Ankara. Obtained data was analyzed by Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). Results suggested five super-ordinate themes across seven cases. These themes were (1) Compromisation of childhood for labour: the forced entry into adulthood, (2) Justification of being in labour as a child, (3) Implicit longing for the lost childhood, (4) Subtle inducement by family to enter labour and adulthood, and (5) 'The third parent' in the house, respectively. These themes were discussed in relation to relevant literature focusing on parentification and social injustice.

Key Words: Parentification, Working Male Adolescents, Juvenile Labour, Social Injustice, Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis

ÖZ

Çalışan Erkek Ergenlerde Çocuk İşçiliğine Bağlı Ebeveynleşme Olgusunun İncelenmesi

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Bu tezin temel amacı, çocuk işçi olarak sanayide çalışan erkek ergenlerin aile içindeki ebeveynleşme deneyimlerini derinlemesine incelemektir. Bu bağlamda, çalışan çocukların gerek araçsal gerek ise duygusal ebeveynleşme deneyimleri gelişimsel bir perspektiften derinlemesine çalışılmıştır. Bu hedefe ulaşmak amacıyla nitel bir çalışma yürütülmüştür. Niteliksel araştırma kapsamında Ankara'nın sanayi bölgelerinde çalışmakta olan yedi erkek ergen ile yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiş ve elde edilen veriler Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz (YFA) ile çözümlenmiştir. Analizler sonucunda beş üst tema ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu temalar sırasıyla, (1) Çalışmanın çocukluk dönemine gölge düşürmesi: zorla yetişkinliğe itilme, (2) Çocukların çocuk işçiliği meşrulaştırması, (3) Kaybedilen çocukluğa duyulan örtük özlem, (4) Ailenin, çocuğu işgücü ve yetişkinliğe örtük şekilde teşvik etmesi ve (5) Evdeki 'üçüncü ebeveyn'dir. Söz konusu temalar ebeveynleşme ve sosyal adaletsizliğe vurgu yapan ilgili literatür çerçevesinde tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ebeveynleşme, Çalışan Erkek Ergenler, Çocuk İşçilik, Sosyal Adaletsizlik, Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz



To the slaughtered child labourer, Iqbal Masih...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Although there are various explanations concerning the definition “being a child”, these explanations may vary profoundly depending on the differential perspectives about childhood. The fact that concepts of “child and childhood” change according to the structure, cultural beliefs and economies of societies makes it difficult to reach upon an agreed definition. According to the Article 1 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child ratified on November 20th, 1989 by the General Assembly (and also by Turkey), “the concept of child” has been defined to include all of those under the age of 18 years old except in those cases where the full legal age is lowered through applicable laws (UNICEF, 2004; United Nations, 1989).

Under the Convention on the Rights of the Child, States Parties spent the maximum possible effort for children to survive and develop under optimal conditions. They granted all children with the basic human right of remaining physically and psychologically healthy through benefitting from the boards that provided medical care and rehabilitation services. Accordingly, every child should be provided opportunity to live his/her life under optimal conditions that would help them to thrive physically, spiritually, morally and socially. Besides, parties emphasized children’s right to have access to educational services on the basis of equal opportunity. Accordingly, each child has right to rest, play and engage in age-appropriate recreational, cultural and artistic activities. Thus, without any exception, each child has right to be protected from economic exploitation or from performing all kinds of work which might be harmful for child’s education, health, and psychosocial development (UNICEF, 1989).

Unfortunately, many children still leave school at an early age and become juvenile labourers. The definition of child labour differs from one country to another depending on the developmental stage of the corresponding society. Still, the majority

of working children are from less developed countries and it is estimated that there are millions of them around the world (ILO, 2008). The general approach for defining child labour is to identify children who are under the age of 18 and working prematurely in order to earn a living or contribute to the family budget (Fidan, 2004). Consistently, The International Labor Organization has provided the following definition: “Child labour is defined as the employment of children in jobs that deprive them of their childhood, diminish their potential and dignity and damage their physical and mental development” (ÇSGB, 2017).

While the international community has clearly and unambiguously condemned child labour and proclaimed it illegal in many nations, the problem of child labour still continues at significant rates (People, 2018). The sources of child labour have their roots mainly in poverty caused by social, financial and educational inequality (Union, 1996). More specifically, low socio-economic status, migration, traditional perspective, inadequate educational opportunities and compromised education quality were amongst the risk factors which seem to increase incidence of child labour globally. In fact, each of these risk factors might be both the cause and the result of each other, thus creating a vicious circle for the maintenance of child labour (Tor, 2010).

It was well-established in the literature that poverty is the strongest predictor of child labour (Gharaibeh & Hoeman, 2003; Musvoto, 2007; Union, 1996). The poverty problem arises from many other issues such as poor income distribution, unemployment, inefficient use of resources, rapid population growth, migration and informal economy. There are also inadequacies in education systems. The problem of education is an important dimension of child labour and is one of the factors that increases poverty further (Oxaal, 1997). Another reason for child labour is the traditional perspective employed by communities. For example, especially in rural areas of Turkey, children work together with their families in the agricultural sector as part of a traditional life style (TUIK, 2012). In fact, child labour is considered normal or even necessary in such agricultural societies. High educational costs in urban areas or unemployment in the educated labour force usually lead families to direct their

children into underage employment. In both cases, the fact that families do not have sufficient information about the negative effects of working life on children causes the problem of child labour to continue (ÇSGB, 2005). Also, familial expectations, parental death and low academic achievement were referred as significant predictors of child labour globally (McMahon & Luthar, 2007; Omokhodoin & Uchendu, 2010; Phlainoi, 2002). In fact, these variables are combined together directing children into harsh labour conditions which forces them to make autonomous decisions at an early age. It is therefore possible to name social problems, economic hardships and family dysfunction as the primary causes of child labour (ILO, 2004). Regardless of the reasons, the participation of children in labour may negatively affect their physical, mental and psychosocial development (Tor, 2010). Despite its debilitating effects, child labour still continues to be a major public health problem with increasing percentages (Woodhead, 2004).

Although issue of child labour has been profoundly investigated from a socio-cultural perspective (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002; Van Laar & Sidanius, 2001) to the researchers' knowledge, there isn't any study examining the parentification experiences in child labour context. In fact, this lack of research is understandable since examining socio-economic dynamics would be more pro-active to combat with the problem of child labour. Still, the main aim of the current thesis was to investigate the interplay between child labour and parentification in order to facilitate understanding of the psychological implications of the issue more throughoutly.

1.1. Child Labour in the World

The ILO (2008) estimates that over 351 million children worldwide are prone to underage employment. Most of them have no access to education, and their working conditions have detrimental impacts on their physical and mental health. About half of these children (73 million) are living in Africa. The following majority (62 million) are from Asia and Pacific, and the rest is residing in America, Arab Countries, Europe and Central Asia. Particularly, in Africa, almost 20% of children are involved in child labour, while this prevalence ranges from 3% to 7% in other regions.

Nearly half of 152 million child labour victims are between the ages of 5 and 11 years old. While 42 million are aged between 12 and 14; 37 million are aged between 15 and 17 years old. Still, hazardous child labour is most common between the ages of 15 and 17. There are 88 million boys and 64 million girls among those 152 million labourer children. The child labour rates are higher for boys when compared to girls. Child labour is more frequently seen in agricultural sector (71%), which involves fishing, forestry, cattle and aquaculture, and involves both subsistence and business farming. The other sectors employing child labourers are service sector (17%); and industry (12%) (ILO, 2017).

1.2. Child Labour in Turkey

Within the ILO/IPEC framework, substantial effort had been spent in order to create a relevant database for child labour. The Child Labor Force Survey (CIA) was conducted respectively in 1994, 1999, 2006 and 2012. According to the survey reports, total population between the ages of 6 and 17 was 14 million 968 thousand in 1994. However, 2 million 270 thousand of this population were victims of the child labour. In 1999, out of 15 million children aged between 6 and 17, more than 1 million were still in underaged employment. In 2006, total population between the ages of 6 and 17 was over 16 million. Still, 958 thousand of these children were working in economic affairs to contribute their family budget (TÜİK, 2006). Although there was a descending trend in the number of labourer children between the years of 1994 and 2006; this trend unfortunately remained same from 2006 to 2012. Particularly, the employment rate of children between the ages of 6 and 17 remained the same (5.9 %) until 2012 (TÜİK, 2012). Although this is the most comprehensive data set for child labour in Turkey, these figures are not thought to be reflecting the actual number of children working in our country. In fact, a great majority of working children had not been involved in these statistics since they worked in household duties or in other unregistered settings without payment and insurance. Unfortunately, these figures provide evidence that child labour is still a serious public health problem in Turkey.

According to the Child Labor Survey results in October 2012, 55.2% of the employed children were living in the rural areas of Turkey. Besides, 68.8% of them were male while 31.2% of them were female. In addition, while 49.8% of the working children attend a school, 50.2% do not. Moreover, the main reasons for child labour in Turkey were reported as contributing to the household income (38.4%), helping the economic activities of households (19.8%), family demand (15.9%), learning a skill and having a profession (10.4%) (DİE, 1999; TÜİK, 2006; TÜİK, 2012).

1.3. Family and Child Labour

It is evident that children exposed to child labour are usually from low socio-economic status families with a low family income and limited environmental facilities (Camacho, 1999; Oberle, Schonert-Reichl, & Zumbo, 2011). Therefore, the socioeconomic status of the family is an important psychosocial factor in determining child labour (Union, 1996). The cultural and socio-economic parameters should be paid attention to when discussing and investigating the reasons underlying this problem. When we look at the social factors; population increase appears as one of the most important social determinants of child labour (ÇSGB, 2005). It is obvious that the number of children is high especially in families with low educational level and inadequate income (TÜİK, 2006). The fact that family planning is not known and adopted in these families is the major factor contributing this result. This leads to more people sharing an already insufficient income. The fact that the current income is not sufficient to meet even the basic needs makes it necessary to earn more money in such families. The low level of education also implies a lack of awareness and knowledge of child rearing, which is another aspect of the problem (Walker, 2007). The inadequacy of the education level causes parents not to fully perceive responsibilities of having a child. At this point, they may fail to predict and perceive the present and future risks and adversities of child labour. In general, the phenomenon of working children is the result of economic factors and social elements, and this is the source of an important socio-psychological problem (Ariyanti, 2016; Ranjan, 1999).

The phenomenon of working children refers to a situation where children are abused. Still, the survival of the family also requires child's earnings (Spencer and Hawamdeh, 2001). As can be seen, child labour is a result of the macro-perspective, socio-economic conditions and the characteristics of families from a 'micro' approach. When children in labour are examined, it is seen that they model people in their social environments. They are usually reluctant to attend school because of the difficulties they have during their education (such as failure to meet their needs because of lack sufficient income and/or inability to adapt to the social environment). Consequently, children usually lose their motivation to continue school and consider leaving the school is the only option they have (Jensen & Nielsen, 1997). In this case, education loses its appeal, and participation in working life becomes inevitable. Thus, for children who withdraw from education, work becomes the main field of activity. In addition, earning money both for themselves and their families through work increases the attractiveness of underaged employment for such children. Accordingly, entrance into working life is usually an involuntary phenomenon for children (Fidan, 2004). And it can be inferred that children become willing to work in order to improve their living conditions.

1.4. Family Education

Human beings are integrated with the environment they live in and this environment plays an important role in shaping human life. Therefore, the education level of families and the social environment of the children set an example for them and determine the role they will play at society in the future. In a study conducted jointly by ILO and ÇSGB within the scope of IPEC Program, 89.2% of the fathers of working children and 94.3% of the mothers of working children were found to have primary or lower education levels (ÇSGB, 2000). The low level of family education of child workers is directly related to poverty. Because, for adults lack of education comes along with poverty (TUİK, 2006). The fact that families with low educational backgrounds direct their children to working life is not only related with low family income. In fact, awareness and belief in the benefits of education is also low in those families which is once again due to their poor educational backgrounds. Therefore, for

uneducated families, the education of their children is only a formal practice or an obligation to fulfill (Bakırcı, 2004). Instead of this obligation, it is more important for such families that their children enter workforce as soon as possible and contribute to the family budget (Buchmann, 2000).

1.5. Poverty

From past to present day, poverty is one of the leading causes of child labour in society (Centel, 2000). As families are struggling to make a living, children are seen as individuals who are obliged to help the family budget alongside with adults. For this reason, children either felt compelled to work or were forced by their families into forced labour even if they did not want to (Ranjan, 1999).

In the short term, increasing household earnings is the most evident financial effect of child labour at the family level. While parents may behave rationally by sending their children to work to boost their likelihood of survival, they may not perceive the long-term adverse effects of child labour on their own family. As children's job competes with school attendance and skills, children on the job accumulate (or underaccumulate) human resources and miss the chance to improve productivity and future income. This reduces their potential families' wages and increases the chance that they are sent to work. This transmits poverty and child labour from one generation to the next (Kempe Ronald, 2005; Swinnerton & Rogers, 1999). Everyone in the research field agrees that poverty is the primary factor in child labour, and child labour considerably improves the family's revenue and chance of survival (Hilson, 2012).

In the poverty hypothesis, child labour is the inevitable effect of poverty (Amin, 1994; Guha & Pattel, 2014; Khathar, Malik, & Malik, 1998) and argues, that the labour participation of children who contribute to household incomes in most less developed countries with low levels of technological development, low wages, rising unemployment rates and decreased household incomes is important. Factors like low parental income, unemployment, high rates of illiteracy, large family size and parental

involvement in informal employment at the household cause child labour. (Bass, 2004; Canagarajah & Nielsen, 2001; Deb & Rosati 2002; Patrinos & Psacharopoulos, 1997).

1.6. Psychosocial Impacts of Child Labour

In developing nations, emotional, behavioral and mental issues regarding working children are a significant public health concern. In child labour, threats to psychosocial health may include emotional abuse and neglect (Musvoto, 2007; Runyan et al., 2002), peer problems (Bandeali et al., 2008), coping difficulties (Al-Gamal et al., 2013), social isolation (Krug et al., 2002; Woodhead, 2004), and substance abuse (Gharaibeh & Hoeman, 2003). Other impacts may include the loss of educational opportunities and skills gained through schooling (Heady, 2000; Woodhead, 2004) and increased antisocial behavior such as aggression, conduct problems or substance misuse (Cicchetti & Manly, 2001).

In child labour research, a differentiation is made between physical, educational and psychosocial effects. Physical effects are associated with environmental hazards, accidents and/or illnesses. Limited or lack of access to education and effects on literacy are amongst the educational impacts. Psychosocial effects seem to cover much of the rest. With regards to Article 32 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), psychosocial considerations should therefore be taken to cover mental, spiritual, moral or social development of children (ILO, 1989). Key factors that could affect the psychosocial well-being of any children are the safe relations, non-chaotic environments, depending on accountable adults, co-responsibility and solidarity, safe physical environments, and a non-conflictual family life (Woodhead, 2004).

1.7. Lack of Safe Relationships and Stable Environments

Working life is an expansion of household life for young adults and they rapidly adapt to fresh routines and interactions (Bey, 2003). By contrast for children, job initiation includes a drastic upheaval in the psychosocial structures supporting their

growth and well-being. When children are suddenly separated from their parents, siblings, or other family members, they may feel emotionally insecure (Dumont & Provost, 1999). Consequently, such children may get increasingly distressed, feel little control over what is going on or unable to contact with the sources of safety. The sudden loss of familiar environments, daily routines, and social procedures might in fact disorient working children. They may also face with new sets of relations, new daily patterns and unexpected demands at work settings (Camacho, 1999). In fact, children are less capable of dealing with unstable settings and/or multiple disturbances especially when they are not psychologically supported by broader social networks (Peer, 2006).

1.8. Lack of Age-Appropriate Activities and Guidance

Parents and children may think that acquiring early vocational skills would ensure long-term economic security (Woodhead 1999). Children identify heavily with role models that they rely on for guidance and training (Pleiss & Feldhusen, 1995). They may be at risk in environments where adults who are supposed to provide care demand age-inappropriate tasks from those children. Such children may also be deprived of the academic possibility of schooling, even on a part-time basis. They may be subjected to adverse effects such as substance abuse, violence, and illicit activities, including economic exploitation, bullying, or offending those who are weaker than themselves in turn (Acehan et al., 2013). These hazards can be linked to their workplace, peers, or clients, or the social environment in which they are working. Children can particularly be vulnerable if they are not emotionally, socially and financially guided by appropriate sources (McLoyd, 1990).

1.9. Psychologically Hazardous Work Settings

Working children are more likely to be exposed to maltreatment and emotional abuse by the authority figures, employers, supervisors, and clients (Gharaibeh & Hoeman, 2003). They are particularly at risk when they work under conditions that are not open for government examination such as their homes or other unregulated areas

(Bulut, 1996). They might be subjected to ill treatments of their employers from whom they actually expect to receive help and encouragement. They are much more susceptible to maltreatment in environments where they are expected to be submissive (Bequele, Myers, & Baykaldi, 1998). Psychological maltreatment can take six forms according to one important definition given by U.S. specialists. These are spurning (hostile rejection/ degradation); terrorizing (threatening); exploiting/corrupting; not reacting to emotional requirements; isolating (denying interaction possibilities); and neglecting (Glaser, 2002). In the context of harsh working conditions, emotional abuse can be expressed through unreasonable expectations of work productivity; absence of encouragement and support; scolding and penalty for mistakes; humiliation, intimidation or shame; and isolation. In addition, employers who are constantly scolding yet rarely praising children might undermine the self-esteem of these children by making them feel worthless (Woodhead, 2004).

1.10. Peer Support and Solidarity

Friendships are usually a basic source for children's social support and personal identity, particularly through middle and late adolescence (Chatterjee, 2005; Kehily & Swann, 2003; Rubin, 1980). Work can be a socially remote experience, particularly in cases where children lack opportunity to get together with their peers and to engage in a play and peer culture. Because of their poverty and degrading working conditions, labourer children might feel rejected or stigmatized by their peer groups, as well. Even in comparatively controlled and benign settings such as school playgrounds, children experience intimidation as a stressful life event (Redmond, 2008; Smith et al., 1999). In less controlled job environments, intimidation by other parties may be a greater danger particularly when such an intimidation comes from children of employers. In fact, working children might be most vulnerable when they can not complain, seek assistance or even escape from abuse (Fidan, 2004).

1.11. Physical Environment and Work Schedules

The workplace often combines chemical, physical, biological and psychological risks. Not only are their adverse effects cumulative, but they are also

often magnified by their synergistic interaction (ILO, 1998). Many well-recognized physical risks have severe psychosocial implications, as well. Toxic substances can affect the development of the nervous system and, in turn, the psychosocial functioning of children (Banks et al., 1997; Lewendon et al., 2001; Tong et al., 1996). An unhealthy, noisy, badly lit and ill-ventilated environment risks the overall health of children and increases stress, tiredness and demoralization. In these conditions, if youngsters find it hard to work, stress levels may rise (Yüksel, 1995).

Hazardous instruments may cause stress and fear of accidents without appropriate safety precautions. Children may be traumatized as a result of pain or severe events. All children may be affected by the psychosocial effects of exposure to physical risks, but the severity of trauma depends on the age, maturity and vulnerability of the children. Generally, during times of rapid physical and psychological modifications, younger children are at a greater risk regarding physical impacts of work conditions (Durkin, 1995). Besides, many children work for extremely lengthy hours in these challenging conditions, without sufficient rest. They risk exhaustion and accident if they work beyond their strength, stamina and ability. In addition to decreasing their overall well-being, such work can lead to loss of trust, low self-esteem and fear of being punished for poor productivity (Baland & Robinson, 2000).

1.12. Work and Family Life

Parents are usually an essential source of emotional security, socialization and learning for children. Personal identity and psychological well-being can be strengthened by contributing to a family-based job (e.g. through farm job or tiny companies). But if the working conditions are extreme, exploitative or abusive, child-workers can be at even higher danger than children working outside their family. Unfortunately, these children are mistreated by the individuals they are most psychologically dependent on (Khamis, 2000). Children's family-based work experience is highly distinguished by gender. Accordingly, girls are typically assigned to assume household responsibilities and sibling care (Dodson & Dickert, 2004). When

child labour is not situated within family environments, the connections between family and work life can help to decrease occupational hazards. For instance, expectations of parents about child labour strongly mediate the effect of working conditions on their children. Particularly, children handle work related difficulties easier when their parents provide support and encouragement (Woodhead, 1998). In cases of extreme circumstances, families have little option but to cooperate or at least think that they have no authority to stop employers from exploiting their children. In the worst case, children can be caught in sources of mental and/or physical abuse from employers, customers, relatives, or even parents (Donnelly, 1997).

1.13. Others Factors Affecting the Impact of Child Labour

Many other situations can contribute to the exacerbation or attenuation of labour's psychosocial hazards. For instance, children living in societies where school attendance is the norm for their age groups feel more embarrassed to work instead of continuing their education. The accessibility of beneficial part-time college experiences are also associated with adverse job effects (Tor, 2010; Woodhead, 2001). Working children may most likely to be subjected to humiliation or refusal in schools and community environments by their peers, colleagues and/or educators where they have been scolded for their low status jobs. Children in socially degrading jobs are particularly vulnerable at school settings (Bourdillon, 2000). As a final point, it is essential to recognize that the political background of family and discrimination might increase child labourers' risk of being abused at work settings (Anker, 2000; Lieten & White, 2001; Schlemmer, 2000; Stephens, 1995; Woodhead, 1999).

1.14. Parentification

Throughout normal psychological and physiological development, roles and responsibilities of individuals within the family and society change (Winnicott, 2012). Such changes in roles and responsibilities must be consistent with the developmental stage of the individual. Responsibilities imposed improperly and at an early age may lead to a variety of family related and individual problems (Minuchin, Montalvo,

Guerney, Rosman, & Schumer, 1967). Although the shift of roles in between parents and their children has been mentioned from time to time in the past, the concept of ‘parental child’ was first used by Minuchin and his colleagues (1967). In the following years, Bozsormenyi-Nagy and Spark (1984) introduced the term “parentification” to express the process of improper role changes between parents and their children. Jurkovic (1997) and Hooper (2007) stated that parentification can occur in two ways which are namely emotional and instrumental parentification. This distinction is made according to the content of the duties and responsibilities undertaken by the child in the family. In “emotional parentification”, the child meets the emotional needs of parents and siblings. These children imperatively assume the role of a negotiator in family conflicts, becoming a peacemaker, mediator and/or confidant (Jurkovic, 1997). In “instrumental parentification”, the child can take on responsibilities such as meeting the financial needs of the family, doing household chores and caring for his/her siblings (Jurkovic, 1997).

Research has shown that emotional parenting is associated with more emotional difficulties when compared with instrumental parenting (Champion et al., 2009; Hooper, Marotta, & Lanthier, 2008; Jurkovic, 1997). Destructive emotional parentification might even involve child maltreatment. In such cases, the emotional responsibilities of the child are overwhelming and not compatible with his/her developmental stage. Parentified children usually disregard their own wishes and meet the needs of their parents (Camacho, 1999; Chase, 1999). This may lead those children to prioritize the desires and needs of others even in their adult lives (Chase, 1999).

1.15. Risk Factors and Impacts of Parentification

Some socio-demographic characteristics may be particularly disadvantageous in the experience of parentification. For example, being the eldest child in the family and the number of younger siblings were predictors of instrumental parentification while being the only child was referred as a risk factor for emotional parentification (Earley & Cushway, 2002; McMahan & Luthar, 2007). The single-parent family structure, combined with the mother's working outside the house and lack of social

support are also associated with both emotional and instrumental parentification experiences (McMahon & Luthar, 2007).

When a parent or both of the parents have substance dependency, roles and responsibilities of the parents might also be undertaken by the children (Burnett, 2006). If one of the parents is physically or mentally disabled, the balance in the family may be well-disturbed (Buchino, 1993; Champion et al., 2009; Fitzgerald et al., 2008; Hooper et al., 2012; Olkin, 2000; Stein, Riedel, & Rotheram-Borus, 1999). The tangible and emotional tasks carried out by parents so far might be left to children in such cases (Rolland, 1999). Children of divorced parents reported to have more parentification experiences, as well when compared with children whose parents are together (Garber, 2011; Jurkovic, Thirkield, & Morrell, 2001).

Parentification is associated with both social and psychological problems. It was found that adolescents whose parents used drugs had to undertake household chores and had more depression, anxiety and somatic complaints (Stein et al., 1999). Similarly, disorders such as depression, anxiety and somatization can be a risk factor for emotional parentification of the affected children (Hooper et al., 2008). It was revealed that such children are more socially withdrawn and their social functioning is compromised (Jurkovic, 1997). The experience of parentification was found to be associated with risk of addiction, low self-esteem and a generalized tendency for shame, as well (Castro, Jones, & Mirsalimi, 2004; Wells, Glickauf-Hughes, & Jones, 1999). In fact, those who assume responsibility for their parents and try to fulfill their needs can fail to prioritize their needs for their own identity development (Fullinwider-Bush & Jacobvitz, 1993).

Role changes with parents in early childhood can also result in externalization problems and attention deficit and hyperactivity symptoms (; Jacobvitz, Hazen, Curran, & Hitchens, 2004, Macfie, Houts, McElwain, & Cox, 2005; Van Loon., et al, 2017; Wingsiong, 2015). Anger, crime, substance abuse and risky sexual behavior increases as adolescents play more parental roles in their families (Stein et al., 1999). It was also found that the academic success of parentified individuals also decreased

due to overwhelming adult responsibilities (Chase et al., 1998; Jurkovic, 1997). Last but not least, children who are the caregivers of their parents occasionally experience somatic complaints in order to receive attention and care from their parents (Jacobvitz et al., 2004; Schier et al., 2015).

1.16. Scope of the Current Thesis

Being deprived of basic childhood needs such as nurturance, safety and guidance, labourer children are facing with extreme situations which are challenging even for adults. Although, impacts of such a premature entry into adulthood have been examined from sociological, cultural and psychological perspectives, there is no reference in the literature regarding parentification experiences of children in labour. It can be inferred that children in workforce experience various role changes with their parents both in emotional and instrumental realms due to social injustice. In addition, having to be sacrificing childhood needs to care for family might make working children more susceptible to the experiences of parentification. Because child labour is an important public health problem in Turkey, it seems crucial to understand the experiences of child labourers in the framework of parentification to delineate psychological vulnerabilities of these children. Thus, the research question of the current thesis was formed as follows: “What are the parentification experiences of male juvenile labourers working at industrial area?”

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

2.1. Methodological Background

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is an idiographic qualitative approach which helps diffusively analyze single or small case groups. It studies samples with particular characteristics and discovers individuals' experiences via use of language. IPA tries to learn individuals' own point of view while making sense of their experiences. First, every case is diffusively analyzed, and then differences and similarities across cases are examined through cross-case comparisons. Since individuals' experiences are learned via language, how an experience is lived and expressed is researched taking into consideration the socio-cultural background of the related phenomenon (Frost, 2011; Giorgi & Giorgi, 2008). Besides, IPA utilizes the interaction between the researcher and participants (Jarman, Smith, & Walsh, 1997). As such, experiences showing up are the result of participants' own conceptualizations, researcher's comments and the interactive data emerged from the relation between the researcher and the participants (Smith, Jarman, & Osborn, 1999).

In the current research, IPA was selected as the most proper methodology to understand parentification experiences of male children in labour for several epistemological and theoretical reasons. Firstly, parentification experiences of children in labour is a relatively less researched topic in the literature. Hence, IPA's inductive approach was preferred to provide an in-depth description of the lived experiences of those children (Frost, 201; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In other words, rather than confirming or rejecting a hypothesis, we aimed to contribute to a newly developing framework which might direct future studies on this topic. Besides, IPA aims to obtain an in-depth conceptualization of a focus subject without being restricted to any preliminary framework (Smith, Larkin, & Flowers (2009), which was consistent with our research agenda. Secondly, children and adolescents provide more fruitful

information through less structured data collection methods (Atkinson, Coffey, & Delamont, 2003). Since IPA aims to reveal “embodied experience” through use of interaction and observation (Smith, 2004). IPA once again was preferred to understand parentification experiences of children in labour.

2.2. Participants

Participants of the current study was composed of 7 male adolescents who were working at organized industrial site. Participants were reached through personal networks of the first researcher (Deveci) who were also working at organized industrial site and had personal communication with those children. Consistent with IPA guidelines, purposive sampling was adopted and sample size was determined to be sufficient as the saturation of categories was achieved and the data started to repeat itself.

Inclusion criteria for selecting the participants were as follows: (1) Being a male adolescent between 13-17 years old, (2) working at industry, (3) having dropped out of school at the time of study, (4) having no mental and/or physical disability (5) parents being married, (6) both parents being alive, and (7) both parents being mentally and physically non-disabled. Criteria regarding parents’ marital status and health were purposefully set as these factors might also make adolescents more vulnerable to parentification experiences (Champion et al., 2009; Fitzgerald et al., 2008; Jurkovic et al., 2001., Peris & Emery, 2005).

The mean age of the participants was 15.86, with ages ranging from 14 to 17 ($M= 15.86$ $SD= 1.22$). All participants were living in Ankara, Turkey. Regarding their education, 71.43 % of them ($N=5$) dropped out of school after secondary grade and 28.57% ($N=2$) dropped out of high school. While 71.43% of the participants’ mothers ($N = 5$) and 85.71% of their fathers ($N=6$) were graduated from primary school, the other parents were graduated from high school ($N=3$). Besides, 71.43% of the participants ($N=5$) were living with nuclear family, while 28.57% ($N=2$) of them were living with their extended family. Participants were working at industrial site for an

average of 2 years. The mean hour of working for per week was 61.26 hours. (See Table 1 and 2 for detailed information).

Examining socio-cultural characteristics of these children's families, they were generally raised and lived in socio-economically disadvantageous environments of Ankara (e.g. Etimesgut, Sincan, Çubuk). Besides, they have culturally and religiously conservative families in which patriarchal values are domineering.



Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics of the participants*

<i>Variable</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
Gender		
Male	7	100
Family		
Nuclear	5	71.43
Extended	2	28.57
Education Level		
Secondary School	5	71.43
High School (Dropout)	2	28.57
Education Level of Mother		
Primary School	5	71.43
High School	2	28.57
Education Level of Father		
Primary School	6	85.71
High School	1	14.29
Income Level		
Under Medium	1	14.285
Medium	5	71.43
Upper Medium	1	14.285
Siblings Status		
Little	2	28.57
Medium	5	71.43
Working Months	7	24
Working Hours	7	61.26

*All demographic data was obtained through adolescents' own accounts.

Table 2: Characteristics of Participants

<i>Anonymized Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Education Level</i>
Ahmet	17	Secondary School
Can	16	Secondary School
Deniz	15	Secondary School
Mert	14	Secondary School
Hasan	17	Secondary School
Yiğit	17	High School (Dropout)
Uğur	15	High School (Dropout)

2.3. Semi-Structured Interview Form

Initially, a semi-structured interview form was developed by a research team (Deveci, Ar-Karcı, & Gökler-Danışman) who were experienced both in clinical psychology and qualitative methods. Twenty two open-ended questions were constituted by based on the principles of IPA (Rapley, 2001). Accordingly, a great attention was paid to develop non-directive questions which did not impose any restrictions on participants' accounts (Sample items: “Ne oldu da çalışmaya başladın?”, “Sence, senin yaşlarında olup çalışmayan akranlarının aile hayatlarıyla karşılaştığında, senin aile hayatında neler farklı?”, “Çalışmıyor olsaydın hayatında neler farklı olurdu?”).

2.4. Ethical Permission

Ethical approval of the current thesis was obtained from Human Subjects Ethics Committee of TEDU. The masters of the children were informed about the interview which is held with the children participating in the research and verbal permission was obtained from the masters. In addition, written and signed permission

was obtained from the parents while both verbal and written permission was obtained from the children.

2.5. Procedure

Consistent with the principles of IPA, purposive sampling method was employed. Purposive sampling aims to generate a homogenous group through reaching individuals who have similar experiences regarding research topic (Willig, 2008). Accordingly, following criteria were set as the inclusion criteria: (1) Being a male adolescent between 13-17 years old, (2) working at industry, (3) having dropped out of school at the time of study, (4) having no mental and/or physical disability (5) parents being married, (6) both parents being alive, and (7) both parents being mentally and physically non-disabled. Criteria regarding parents' marital status and health were purposefully set as these factors might also make adolescents more vulnerable to parentification experiences (Champion et al., 2009; Fitzgerald et al., 2008; Jurkovic et al., 2001; Peris & Emery, 2005).

To reach out to the participants, industrial estates placed in Ankara were initially visited by the first researcher (Deveci). Adolescent workers who were working in industrial estates at the time of study were contacted with the help of the researcher's network in these industrial areas. First of all, the masters of the children were informed about the interview which is held with the children participating in the research. Verbal permission was obtained from the masters by mentioning the written permission which will be obtained from children's parents.

The appointments were made through contacting with the families of the child workers who met the eligibility criteria via phone calls. Since the participants of the current study were minors, one of the parents were required to company the child on the day of appointment.

Interviews mostly were carried out in the clinical interview rooms of TEDU. Others were performed in other places upon the request of adolescents (e.g. house,

workplace). A room suitable for interviewing and guaranteeing confidentiality was purposefully selected for those meetings. On interview days, parent permission form was provided to the accompanying parent (see appendix C) and information in the form was explained verbally to the parent, as well. Issues regarding confidentiality, audio-recording and anonymous transcription of raw data was emphasized, and written consent was obtained from each parent. After that, demographic information form was given to the parent and the participants were steered to the room where the interview would have taken place. Firstly, adolescents were informed about the purpose of the research and then, voluntary participation forms were given and information in these forms were verbally explained in detail. Participants were informed that they had the chance of withdrawing from the research at any time they wanted. Moreover, adolescents were informed about the following issues: (1) interviews would be recorded, (2) records would be stored in encoded files in computer, (3) interviews would be used only for scientific purposes by keeping the identity of the child confidential and (4) information would be only shared with the other researchers. Written consent for participation and audio-recording was also obtained from the child. After all, semi-structured interviews were completed with every participant. The longest interview lasted 97 minutes, while the shortest was 65 minutes with an average of 81.4 minutes. The children who participated in the interview were given a scarf and glove as a gift to thank them for participating in our study. In addition, by taking into consideration of the travel time to the place where interview took place for children and length of interview, since the children interviewed may need both rest and food after the interview, they were taken to a nearby restaurant and their food were paid for them. This small incentive was not mentioned to the children before the interviews in order to avoid any detrimental effect on the volunteering and naturalness of the interview.

A research team was established from beginning to contribute the analytic process and increase trustworthiness of the study. Research team met several times prior to interviews to prepare non-leading questions aiming to obtain detailed data. Essential discussions were made during the preparation of the questions. Besides, a

great deal of effort was paid to create questions which were concrete enough for adolescents' comprehension.

Throughout the interviews, 22 open-ended questions form were used. However, the interviews were not structured in the same way for all the participants. In some interviews, additional questions were asked by the researcher to get detailed information. During the interviews, adolescents were provided room to freely express their personal experiences. All the recorded interviews were transcribed word by word and, personal data were distorted to keep the participants' identities confidential.

2.6. Data Analysis

Audio-recorded interviews were transcribed word by word by the first researcher (Deveci). On transcribed interviews, left margins were used to note first impressions that might be used to conceptualize raw data. As a first step, transcripts were read and re-read again to master the contents of the interviews. Note taking process was continued prior to analytic process as new opinions emerged through repeated readings (Smith & Osborn, 2003) to be used in the analytic process. Due to idiographic nature of IPA, subsequent cases were not analyzed before analyzing the previous case (Smith, 2004). Thereby, data analysis started with the detailed examination of the first case. At the first level of analysis, conceptual words and phrases were assigned to analyze the first case, also using the notes taken on the left margin. Repeated themes were noted and clustering themes were merged to develop super-ordinate themes. Clusters representing the super-ordinate themes were given names depending the contents of each sub-ordinate theme (Smith & Osborn, 2003). For the first case, super ordinate themes, sub-ordinate themes and a table including this information were created. After that, the same analytic process was repeated for the second case and the first case was reviewed to integrate data from the second case. Then the second case was analyzed by using the same procedure and same analytic steps were repeated for each case. In this process, every participant was analyzed one by one. Before establishing the theme table of one participant, the next participant was

not analyzed. Cross case comparisons were performed by the researcher till the list of master themes was developed.

Initially, all interviews were coded by Deveci and Ar-Karci, separately. For each case, they met regularly to come up with the best conceptualization of sub and super ordinate themes. After a tentative master theme list was established for the first case, Deveci and Ar-Karci received conceptual feedback from the third researcher (Gökler-Danışman). Upon her suggestions, two sub-ordinate themes were added to the master theme table (i.e. ambiguity of the status in hierarchical order and lack of future projection as a child) and all remaining data was subsequently inspected to identify conceptualizations regarding suggested sub-ordinate themes. Finally, a master theme table was established for all cases by Deveci and Ar-Karci, which was revised and given its final form by Gökler-Danışman.

2.7. Reflexivity

Understanding researcher's impact on analytic process has a pivotal function in qualitative methodology. Hence, researcher is required not only to be aware of his/her own personal presumptions but also to reveal his/her position to the reader to increase the transparency of the results (Patton, 2002). Accordingly, reflexivity refers to a process through which researcher becomes aware of his/her assumptions and how his/her experiences impacts the expression of the phenomenon being researched (Fischer, 2009). For this reason, researcher actively take notes of his observations and emotions throughout the interviews and uses this information to contextualize data. Besides, the researcher is supposed to bracelet his/her own socio-cultural background and how this background influenced the raw data (Morrow, 2005). Another important reflexivity strategy is consulting to a research team throughout the research process (Elliott, Fischer, & Rennie, 1999) which was also employed in the current study. In this context, the first researcher (Deveci) provided information regarding his personal and professional stance about the parentification experiences of male adolescents in labour below:

“I am a twenty nine-year-old male psychologist and still studying for my master’s degree in clinical psychology at Developmental Focused Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology Programme of TEDU. Turkey. I was raised in a slum from birth through my adolescence years. In other words, I have spent a great part of my life in a disadvantaged neighbor. Our neighbors mostly consisted of close or distant relatives. Almost everyone were from low socio-economic conditions. Looking back to my childhood years, I never have had a so-called “elite” life. Educational backgrounds of slum-dwellers in our territory were also low. In summers, children were working to earn their own pocket money. As a child, I was also selling bottles of water and Turkish bagel in bazaar on weekends. During summers, I was doing light duties and working in stationery shops. In my childhood, I had never dreamt to be a doctor, teacher or lawyer which are usually the dream jobs of many children. My father opened a stationery shop when I was 6 years old and this shop became a printing house while I was going to middle school. Although not spoken explicitly, I was feeling that my parents were expecting me to work in this job as my future career. Starting to study at vocational high school, I started to think myself in business life to earn money. The job that I would have after graduation was clear in my mind. Just as I thought, I worked in industrial environment for a long period before I decided to study at university. Our workplace is at an industrial environment and I still have responsibilities there even though I am studying for my master degree.

As a clinical psychologist candidate working with children and adolescents, I have a profound interest in children in labour. My professional interest is probably rooted into my own past where I and my peers had to be working at early years due to socio-economic positions of our families. I think being an insider to t industrial environment and being raised in a disadvantaged neighbor facilitated the interaction with my participants and helped them feel more comfortable while expressing their emotions and needs. Besides, I have witnessed that children working in industrial environment generally used slang language and sustained conservative lives which were not really unusual for me. As it is known, building trust, sincerity and warmth is important for self-revelation of the children. Hence, being familiar to their jargon helped me to accommodate children during interviews and made them become more

comfortable with me. Since most interviews were held at a university, interviewed children had a chance to discover university conditions for the first time. I observed that this experience made some of them curious and increased their motivation to study at university. During the conversations we had café after the interviews to make children rest, I understand that they analyzed the environment carefully and had just discovered “the popular city center”.



CHAPTER 3

RESULT

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) across seven male adolescents in juvenile labour revealed five super-ordinate themes. These themes were (1) Compromisation of childhood for labour: The forced enter into adulthood', (2) Justification of being in labour as a child, (3) Implicit longing for the lost childhood, (4) Subtle Inducement by Family to Enter Labour and Adulthood and (5) The third parent' in the house. (See Table 3). Quations for each sub-ordinate theme was provided for the corresponding super-ordinate theme in order to increase transperancy of the results.

Table 3. Interpretative Phenomenological Analyses of Parentification Experience: Superordinate and Subordinate Themes.

Compromisation of Childhood for Labour: The Forced Entry into Adulthood
Describing hobbies and interests in relation to work and chores performed
Labour and economic conditions preventing childhood activities
Lack of future projections as a child
Labour context leading early exposure to adult life
Justification of being in Labour as a Child
Over-emphasis of the advantages of being in labour as a child
Assuming responsibility for choosing to become a labourer choice' ('I have chosen this path')
Devaluation of education and childlike behaviors
Implicit Longing for the Lost Childhood
If I had continued school, I would still be a child
Ambivalent emotions about quitting school
Subtle Inducement by Family to Enter Labour and Adulthood
Child losing motivation for school because of family neglect
Parents favoring adult like behaviors
'The Third Parent' in the House
Child contributing to the family budget and household chores
Child as the negotiator between parents
Ambiguity of the status in hierarchical order

3.1. Compromisation of Childhood for Labour: The Forced Entry into Adulthood

Throughout the interviews, children did not refer themselves as a “child or adolescent” but as “an adult”. They mention that childhood was a period “stayed in the past” and they were living a life necessitating fulfillment of adult responsibilities. Thus, it was inferred that children who were interviewed compulsorily lost their childhood mainly because of labour conditions.

The first sub-theme was ‘describing hobbies and interests in relation to work and chores performed’. When asked about their hobbies and interests, children did not readily mention activities expected in classical childhood period (e.g. spending time with friends, engaging in sports or arts). Instead, children specified their hobbies as installing, repairing and taking down (“*takma, tamir, sökme*”) which were typically main tasks of the work they performed. It seems that an important part of their identity centered on labour conditions. Besides, some children gave examples from house chores as part of their hobbies and interests:

Researcher: Could you please a little bit talk about your hobbies and interests?

Ahmet: How can I describe? How can I say? I don't know but I really like repairing. It is something that I like... Such as dismantling and fixing parts of cars... I help my mother at home, like cleaning the house. At outside, I labour with our own car. I check its lube oil and water. In fact, working at industry is difficult but it is fun for me”

“Nasıl tarif ederim, nasıl söyleyeyim. Ne biliyim tamir işiyle kendimi çok severim, sevdiğim bir iştir... böyle bir şeyler söküp takmayı falan... Evde anneme yardım ederim. Temizlik falan... Dışarıda da arabayla uğraşırım bizim arabamızla... Yağına, suyuna öyle bakarım... Aslında sanayide çalışmak zor bir şey... Ama benim için eğlenceli tamir işi.”

The second sub-theme was “labour and economic conditions preventing childhood activities”. Both difficult work conditions and disadvantageous socioeconomic status seems as main barriers to engage in the usual activities of childhood. Children usually stated that “waking up very early”, “working long hours”, “returning to home late after work” and having “limited days off” lead them to take part in limited social activities. Besides, leaving the school due to labour usually resulted in loss of friendship network. Children emphasized that their friendship network narrowed down since other children still continued education and they themselves had not sufficient time to meet with them. It was observed that these

children's social activities mainly composed of visiting relatives on holidays (e.g. religious celebrations, weekends). To illustrate 16 years-old Can stated that:

“I don't have many friends as I am working. I did have friends at school but now I don't because I leave early and come late to the house due to labour. I am not able to meet with them because of work. I only have one Sunday for myself and I spend time with my family on that day. We play when my cousins come bro (“abi”), once in two weeks. We play when they visit us. Before working, you have more time to spend with your family. But while working, you can't... At Bayrams and Ramadans, there are family visits... My uncles come... Their wives and children, all together... We go to parks”

“Arkadaşlarım pek fazla olmuyor, yok yani çalıştığım için. Okula giderken arkadaş ortamım vardı da sabah gidip işe akşam geldiğim için o yüzden arkadaş ortamım yok. Görüşemiyorum çalıştığım için. Bir pazarım oluyor onda da ailemle geçiriyorum... Kuzenlerim falan geldiği zaman öyle oynarız abi... İki haftada bir falan, bir hafta da bir falan oynarız. Geldikleri zaman oynarız... Çalışmadan önce zaten ailenle fazla vakit geçiriyorsun, çalıştıktan sonra vakit geçiremiyorsun... Bayramda veya ramazanda akraba ziyaretleri oluyor bir o zamanlar çıkıyoruz... Bayramda mesela Sudan'dan amcalarım geliyor... Onların eşleri çocukları hep beraber parka gidiyoruz yani.”

Uğur, who was 15 years old gave a similar account:

“I hang up with one child who has just called me (during interview). Sometimes I make push ups at park. There are also religious chats of our family on each Saturday. Our relatives come together and we meet at one's house for each week. After all, we do not have enough time because we work. I only have that friend whom I hang up with always. At weekdays, I take a bath after I come from work. If I am hungry, I eat something... I immediately sleep after I drink tea... Sometimes I even do not eat dinner and go directly to sleep. If I am very tired, I even can not bear to take a shower, I immediately sleep”

“Takıldığım tek bir çocuktur biraz önceki arayan arkadaşım ikimiz beraber takılıyoruz. Sınav çekerim. Mesela parkta çardağın köşesinden barfiks falan çekerim. Bir de her cumartesi günü dini sohbet var bizim ailede. Baya akrabalar toplanıyor, onlar ile beraber her gün birinin evinde sohbet yapıyoruz. zaten çalıştığımızdan fazla gezmeye de fırsat olmuyor. Öyle tanıdığım çok da öyle sürekli takıldığım bir insan tek o arkadaşım var. Hafta içi geldiğim gibi direkt duşa giriyorum zaten. Duştan çıktığım gibi aç olursam yemek yiyorum. Çay falan içtikten sonra direkt yatıyorum. Bazen hiç yemek falan yemeden direkt yatıyorum. Yorgun olduğum zaman bazen duşa falan bile girmeyi gözüm almıyor, direkt geldiğim gibi yatıyorum.”

For example;

Although not stated explicitly, children seem to engage in limited social activities due to their families' low socio-economic status, as well. All children interviewed came from economically disadvantaged families and lived in poor neighbors. Families usually had credit debts or basic living expenses that seems to

limit their social engagements. Besides, families in the current study were usually not educated and did not offer creative and insightful social activities to their children. Thus, children usually described both cheaper and more accessible engagements (e.g. pushing up at park, participating in familial religious meetings, drinking tea) while talking about their leisure time interests.

The third subtheme was 'lack of future projections as a child'. When asked about their future plans, almost all children had a tendency to adopt an adult-like language (e.g. "I have to guarantee my life", "I will do my wedding myself", "I have to learn my job") Unfortunately, their plans were not compatible with the usual plans of school aged children (e.g. becoming an artist/soldier/doctor/engineer etc.). Instead, their future concerns were mainly centered around improvement of the economic conditions of themselves and their families. Particularly, all interviewed children dreamt of becoming a competent master at industry. They also wanted to "make their own wedding", "buy a house for their mother" or "pay the debts of the family". Interestingly, none of the children had talked about their dream jobs or tried to find the best job that would be fitting with their skills and interests. Instead, they seem to shape their future plans in a way that would easily remove the economical barriers they faced. Hence, their future projections were minimalistic aiming to survive economically. For instance; Hasan, 17 years old, conveyed that:

"Imagine you graduated from Islamic divinity students' high school (i.e. İmam Hatip Lisesi)... You would wait for state assignment for your work, something would happen, you would have to wait... But if you work at industry with a master, you will directly learn the job from him. You can take your official registration (from state) to be a master in the future. Then you will rent a workplace for your self, you will be breadwinning, it will be sufficient for you... I don't like spending money, you have to keep the money... I will be a master one day."

"Şimdi imamhatip okusan mezun olacan, mezun olamayacan. Atama bekleyecen, şu olacak bu olacak, bir sürü iş. Ama tamirhanede şimdi ustanın yanında çalışırsın işi öğrenirsin. Kalfalık ustalık belgesini alırsın. Gidersin bir dükkan tutarsın. Ekmek parayı çıkarırsın. Yani çorbanı kaynatır o. Günde 2 araba yaparsın 3 araba yaparsın... Para harcamayı çok sevmem. Tutumlu olacan biraz... Gerektiğine göre para harcama yapacan... Yarın bir gün aynı dükkanı bizde açacaz."

Similarly, 14 years-old Mert gave the following account:

"I want to have a job. I am investing my money right now. As I grow up, I will direct my investments depending on the job I will make ...I cannot spend money recklessly, I will continue to save my money. I first imagine to buy a car, and then I will make

my wedding. After that I might buy a house, maybe my father helps, as well. Imagine I finished university, I would start business immediately... but now I can continue my work, even though I cannot achieve the exams, I can run my own business... That is, I want to be a master in my own place. I want to take my official registration letter for being a master at industry.”

“Hem elim meslek tutsun hem okurum dedim. Şu an biriktirmeye devam ediyorum. Büyüdükçe artık neye girişeceksem ona yatırım yapacağım... Parayı çarçur etmem. Biriktirmeye devam ederim. Zaten ilk önce araba almayı düşünüyorum. Ondan sonra düğünümü yaparım. Bir ev alırım ondan sonra babam da yardım eder... Yani okul okusam mesela üniversiteyi bitirsem bir iş sahibi olamasam işe başlayamam ama hem mesleğimi hem işimi yaparım hem okulumu okursam da kazanamazsam da işim olduğu için mı dükkanda mı açar kendim işletirim... İş yerimi açarım. Yani ilk önce bir dükkan açıp usta olmak isterim. Belgemi almak isterim.”

The last subtheme was “labour context leading early exposure to adult life”. It seems that children had to make a forced entry into adulthood due to harsh labour conditions at industry. Mostly, they were required to complete heavy physical tasks (e.g. lifting large parts of the cars, dismantling tires of the cars) which were physically burdensome even for adults. Besides, during labour times, they always communicated with adults (e.g. masters, costumors etc.) rather than interacting with children of same ages. Unfortunately, some children even reported to be exposed to verbal abuse from their bosses when they made a mistake. Still, these children tolerated these kind of acts in order to gain occupational experience. All of these conditions seem to expose these children to negative conditions which forced them to behave like an adult in a harsh adult environment. To illustrate, 17 years old Ahmet stated that:

“For example, an item will be taken. He (his boss) says ‘could you take it?’ (Implying that it is not part of his job under ideal conditions). I feel used... They demand things very rudely; these men had grown up at industry. They command to do things. They shout, they swear...”

“Yani mesela parça getirilecek, şunu şurdan alıp götürür müsün diyorlar mesela... Kullanılıyor gibi hissediyorum... Kaba şekilde söylüyorlar yani, sanayi ortamında büyümüş adamlar... Şimdi gel buraya şöyle yap, böyle yap. Bağırıyorlar, küfür ediyorlar...”

Uğur gave a similar account by stating that:

“There is no physical beating in our workplace but there is bad language; swearing... It happens sometimes. If you dismantle something incorrectly, they (referring to bosses at industry) swear... It is not offending but you still feel resented to be sworn by a stranger... I lift cars, I dismantle tires... I make auto-maintenance when the car arrives.

I learn all of them... This is my job... I learn all of them by observing, nobody directed me including my boss”

“Bizim dükkanda dayak yok ama hani biraz kötü söz var küfür falan. Bazen oluyor öyle de. Bir şeyi yanlış sök falan bir küfür oluyor da öyle gocuncak şekilde değil yani açık küfür falan ediyorlar. Fazla kırıcı değil ama yine de insanın biraz zoruna gidiyor başka insana küfür etmesi. Lifte falan kaldırıyoruz. Hani lastiklerini, falan söküyoruz. Araba geliyor bakım yapıyorsun, bakımını ben yapıyorum öğrendim. Biz de izleyerek öğrendik Usta da bana şunu şöyle yaparsın gibi bir şey demedi zaten. İzleyerek öğreniyorsun.”

3.2. Justification of being in Labour as a Child

All children dropped out of school due to failure in classes or absenteeism. None of the children mentioned parents’ lack of support or external barriers (e.g. low SES) as contributory factors for discontinuation of education. These children believed that leaving school was the best option for them in terms of their personality development and future career goals. Throughout the interviews, almost all of them had a tendency to underline positive sides of labour conditions. They did not talk about disadvantages unless prompted or rationalized those negativities by emphasizing the silver linings. That is, they had a tendency to justify being labour as a child by emphasizing advantages of work life and devaluing the lives of school children. It was inferred that these rationalization tendencies protected children psychologically from the possible negative impacts of early exposure to labour conditions.

The first subtheme of this super-ordinate theme was “over-emphasis of the advantages of being in labour as a child”. Children usually perceived entering into labour as a positive mile stone in their lives. They viewed their school periods as “disorganized”, “messy” and “chaotic”, and believed that being in labour brought “order” into their lives. Additionally, children stated that this orderliness was favored by their parents as well which seem to decrease the parent-child conflicts in those families. For example 17 years old Ahmet expressed that:

“Now, I get up early, I am doing my job properly. I am learning something. While I was in school, I was always hanging out with my friends. I was leaving the house very early and not coming until very late. Now it is not the case, it is better. I sleep and wake up on time. My father was calling me (before labour), but I wasn’t going to house. He was saying ‘the dinner is ready, we are waiting for you’. I was saying ‘I

would come' but I was not going. Now, I leave home early with my parents and come with them. These are advantages. I am spending my time effectively right now. In the past, I was just killing time.”

“Ne biliyim düzenli kalkış, işimi falan düzgün yapıyorum... Önceden çok geziyordum sabahtan akşama kadar eve girmiyordum, sabah bir çıkıyordum akşam evdeydim. Şimdi böyle değil... Şimdi daha iyi, saatinde yatıp saatinde kalkıyorum...: Babam çağırıyordu, eve gitmiyordum...Şimdi sabah onlarla gidiyorum akşam onlarla geliyorum. Öyle avantajları oluyor yani iyi... Evde durduğum zaman, zaman geçmiyordu. Çalıştığım zaman bir şeylerle oyalandığım zaman, zaman geçiyor.”

Children in the current study also underlined that thanks to their jobs, “they have money in their pockets”. They gained various skills related to auto-mechanics which prepared them for their future jobs as a “master at industry”. Although they admitted the difficult conditions of labour to some extent, they perceived these difficulties as “challenges” teaching the “realities of life”. Besides, they believe the social interactions they had with their clients provided them a chance to familiarize with the work environment and to get to know the “real life conditions”. For example, Yiğit expressed that “At least I have money in my pocket bro. You see different environments, you meet with different people. You have interaction with everyone, you get acquaintanceship.” Similarly, Mert conveyed that:

“Now I am a part of society, I learn about humanity, this is something very good. I came here (meaning entering into labour), I am repairing cars, and another car comes, and then there is another task...It is really different... I am both learning and doing. I was not doing anything in the past while at home. But now I have come here and I start to repair things. I did it. I worked, I persisted and now I continue. I feel very good.”

“Topluma katıldım yani insanlığı öğrendim hayata karıştım yani güzel bir şey. Ama buraya geldim arabayı yapıyorum arkasından başka bir araba geliyor başka bir iş... Farklı... Hem öğreniyorum hem yapıyorum. Hiç bir şey yapmazdım evde. Ama buraya geldim elim anahtar tutmaya başladı. Yani yaptım. Çalıştım, azmettim yani devam ediyorum şu an... Çalıştım. Çok iyi hissettim.”

The second subtheme of this theme was “assuming responsibility for choosing to become a labourer”. Children usually attributed leaving school either to their own incompetencies on school subjects or “not liking the school”. Almost all of them made the statement that “I didn’t have enough capacity” while referring their lack of success at school. Some children also emphasized that they were “not eager to go to school”

since they didn't like it. For example, Ahmet stated that "It wouldn't have been good for me. I would have failed in class. I don't like studying much. My capacity is not enough, as well. Schooling was hard for me, so I decided to leave". Interviewed children also underlined that their parents did not force them to drop out of school. Instead, they themselves had realized their incompetencies and made a decision to start working. Upon leaving the school, they felt there was not another option but entering into labour. To illustrate, Uğur explained that:

"After I was exempted from school (due to repeated failures), you have to work eventually, you can not stay at home. I wanted to work myself. You have no money while continuing to go to school. As far as I see, nothing better happens even if you continue your education unless you enter a great department. But I don't have that capacity either. After I repeated the same class for two years, in fact, I lost my motivation. So, I wanted to start working, to have a job of myself."

"Hani okuldan atılınca mecbur çalışacın ya, hani evde oturacak halin yok. Kendim de istiyordum biraz çalışmayı. Okurken para da yok artık, okuyan da bir şey olmuyor gördüğüm kadarıyla. Güzel bir bölüm tutturursan ayrı. Bende de o kadar yetenek yok ki tutturacak kadar. Abi zaten 2 sene sınıfı öyle okuyunca içimde pek bir his kalmadı zaten. Hem okuldan atılınca da zaten o da buna vesile oldu çalışmaya başladım. Elime bir meslek alıp, dükkan açmak gereği duydum içimden."

The last subtheme of this super-ordinate theme was "devaluation of education and childlike behaviors". Children in the current study usually perceived formal education as useless since it did not readily offer job opportunities after graduation. They believed that gaining job-related skills at early ages provided more advantages over schooling. Accordingly, they continuously emphasized disadvantages of continuing to formal education. To illustrate Hasan stated that "You will study for exams, and then wait for finding a job. A lot of waiting...". Similarly, Uğur explained that:

"Of course, school might sound better than working at first...But you do not have a job, then you will have no resource. It might be better to study and work at the same time. Even if you are not successful at university exams, you will still have a job, you can run your own business. For example he completed schooling (referring to his cousin), now he became nothing, he is just hanging around."

"Okul çok iyi gelir yani iş hayatından ama bir mesleğin olmaz ortada kalırsın. Hem çalışıp hem okursan hem mesleğini alırsın hem okursun yani. Kazanamasan bile mesleğin elinde olur... Yani okul okusam mesela üniversiteyi bitirsem bir iş sahibi olamasam işe başlayamam ama hem mesleğimi hem işimi yaparım hem okulumu

okursam da kazanamazsam da işim olduğu için dükkanı mı açar kendim işletirim... O okudu hiçbir şey olamadı, şimdi öyle dolaşıyor yani.”

Interviewed children usually referred their schooling counterparts as “children” who were not aware of the “realities of life”. They believed that those children were wasting their times by displaying “childish” behaviors (e.g. hanging around with friends, staying late at nights). Accordingly, schooling children did not have organized lives and more likely to be display risky behaviours (e.g. substance abuse, accidents) since they had a lot of spare time. For example, Uğur explained that “Children of rich are not working mostly... They study at smart colleges. Then the child has 200 Turkish Lira in his pocket daily. He drinks, he uses pots. If you do not have a business, you might be involved to bad situations”: Besides, children in the current study usually criticized the lives of the schooling children as they did not gain the necessary skills to handle life difficulties. To illustrate Hasan stated that:

“They are spending their fathers’ money 7/24. We are not spending our fathers’ money. We are earning our own money. They are the men who are hanging around 7/24. They are lazy and doing nothing. They are doing nothing. There are a lot of children like this around me. Time is not valuable for them. But it is for us. You have to wake up at 7.00 am to go to work and return to home at 8.00 pm. But this is not the case for them. If you do nothing, then you become an idler (*aylak*). Maybe you become and addict. But if you are working, then you will have a focus in life.”

“Onlar baba parası yiyip geziyorlar. 7/24. Biz baba parası yemiyoruz. Biz kendi harçlığımızı kendimiz çıkartıyoruz onlar 7/24 gezen adamlar. Boş kalfanın boş insanları onlar abi. Boş boş geziyorlar. Öyle çok çevremde. Yani abi onlar için zaman önemli değil. Ne zaman isterse yatar ne zaman isterse kalkar o insanlar. Ama bizim için öyle değil belli bir saati var. Mecbursun 7’de kalkıp işe gitmeye akşam 8.00’de eve gelmeye. Gerektiği zaman uyumak, zamanında eve dönmek, zamanında gezmek. Ama onlar için öyle değil ki. Boş gezsenserseri olup çıkarsın. Belki madde bağımlısı olursun. Ama şimdi çalıştığın için onlardan da uzak kalmış oluyorsun. Odaklandığın bir şey oluyor yani.”

3.3. Implicit Longing for the Lost Childhood

Interviewed children usually had a tendency to express their physical, social and emotional needs as if they were an adult. However, both economic and labour conditions seemed to prevent access to various resources that were necessary for a healthy child development. It was observed that children in labour were exposed to a

harsh environment which did not allow them to express their needs as a child. Still, their psycho-social needs were inherently same as the psycho-social needs of their school age counterparts. Although they mostly rationalized being in labour as a child, longing for the childhood period, depressed feelings and regret due to quitting school were still evident between the lines of their accounts.

The first subtheme of this super-ordinate theme was “If I had continued school, I would still be a child”. Although rarely, there were moments that children visibly realized they lost their childhood after they entered into labour. During those moments, interviewed children expressed their longing for school period which in fact represented their childhood period. Particularly, they associated beginning of adult responsibilities with quitting school. Accordingly, they missed their “childly responsibilities” which were, in deed, more compatible with their developmental period. During school years, they were not responsible for the financial needs of their families and were not patronized by their bosses. Hence, their longing for childhood period was most evident when they remembered their school lives. They also believed that continuing education gave other children the opportunity “to behave like a child”. Hence, they expressed their regrets over not continuing school because of overwhelming responsibilities of work and family conditions. For instance Deniz expressed that:

“I ran away from school to play games with my friends at internet café. We were playing football, hanging at parks. Sometimes our parents realized and came to school. They became angry, they were saying ‘Do not do this again’ and I was saying okay. And it was over. Yes, working is good but sometimes I regret, I wish I had continued school. Because you do not have free time. If you do not fix a car, your boss becomes really angry, there is a lot of stress. But there was not such stress at school. Imagine you didn’t do your homework, they can be angry momentarily and it is over. But now there are a lot of hardships. When I returned to home after school, I was going outside, playing soccer and playing games at internet café. Then, I was preparing my bag for the next day and going to school. But now, you experience a lot of stress, you become exhausted. Things were not that stressful at school. You go there (referring to school) at 8 o’clock and come home at 1 o’clock. But now I go to work at 8.00 am and leave the work at 6 or 7 pm. It is really hard, there are times I wish I had continued school. Now I work. When I get my weekly salary, I have to pay my expenses myself. While I was studying at school, my brother and my father was paying for my needs. Now I understand that working is harder. While I had been at school, my mind was more relaxed, I was worrying about nothing other than studying, hanging out with my friends and playing football.”

“Kaçıp internet kafe’ye gidip arkadaşlarla oyun oynardım. Maç yapmaya giderdik. Sonra arkadaşlarla parkta otururduk. Arada sırada yakalanırdık velilerimiz gelirdi işte... Kızıyorlardı, bir daha yapma diyorlardı. Bende tamam diyordum. Arada sırada kaçıyorduk...Çalışmak iyi bir şey ama insan arada sırada pişmanlık duyuyor keşke okusaydım. Çünkü sabahı akşamı yok. Zorluk var. Hani bir araba geldi mi yapamadı mı kızıyor usta stres var ama okulda öyle bir şey yoktu. Ödevini yapmadın mı yapmadım, kızardı biterdi giderdi. Bunda zorluk var işte... Okuldan eve geldiğimde de hemen çantayı fırlatıp aşağı iniyordum. Dışarı çıkıyordum, maç yapıyordum, internet kafeye gidiyorduk, oturuyorduk mahallede. Sonra hava kararınca da eve gidiyordum. Çantamı hazırlıyordum yine okula gidiyordum. Mesela çok strese giriyorsun, çok zorlanıyorsun, çok yoruluyorsun. Okulda öyle değildi. Belli bir saat vardı saat 8 de gidip 1.00 de gelmek vardı. İşe giderken saat 8 de gidiyorsun akşam 6-7 gibi çıkıyorum. Çok zormuş bana göre keşke okusaydım dediğim zamanlar oldu... Mesela ben çalışıyorum, haftalığımı aldığımda kendim ya mağazadan alırım ya da sipariş ettiğimde kendim veririm. Okuduğumda da babamla abim karşılardı. Çalışmak daha zormuş, ama okuduğumda hiçbir şey umrumda değil, sadece oku, arkadaş çevresi, gezmek, maç yapmak.”

The other sub-theme was “ambivalent emotions about quitting school”. Interestingly, after longing for school became more evident in their accounts, children immediately had a tendency to legitimize labour conditions and leaving school prematurely. Their ambivalent emotions towards school life became much more visible after they expressed their regrets over not continuing school. In other words, expression of longing for school created a cognitive and emotional conflict for children in labour which was over-compensated by underlying silver linings of being in labour. For example, Uğur stated that:

“At first, earning money seems easy to an outsider. But after you start working, you understand how hard to earn money. I mean, sometimes you wish you had continued school. Sometimes this momentary feeling emerges... In fact, I do not have such a regret but others say that ‘you will regret one day for not continuing your education’. Of course, I prefer to study at school bro; everyone wants to continue school and spend his family’s money. But I believe earning and spending your own money is better. This is the positive side. But still, you work like a donkey here while others are spending their family’s money. Sometimes you become resentful to this situation and you just say ‘I wish I was at school now without any responsibility, with money in your pocket.’”

“Dışardan para kolay kazanılıyor gibi görünüyor ama hani işe girdikten sonra insan anlıyor zor kazanıldığını. Hani keşke de okusaydım diyor çalıştıktan sonra. Öyle bir his oluşuyor insanın içinde. Yani abi okuma diye şimdi bir pişmanlığım yok ama herkes diyor ki ilerde olursun. Burada hem çalışıp kendi parayı yemek daha iyi bence. Bir yandan da güzel yanı var böyle. Zorluk olarak sen burada sabahtan akşama kadar eşek gibi çalışıyorsun orada oturduğu yerden para yiyor. Öyle bir insan güceniyor mesela. İşin bir anda insan sinirleniyor yani iş sıkıştırıyor insanı. Ondan sonra diyorsun ki şimdi okulda olup boş boş oturmak vardı. Cebinde para olması vardı”.

3.4. Subtle Inducement by Family to Enter Labour and Adulthood

Interviewed children assumed responsibility for both quitting school and entering into labour. Although they emphasized that “dropping out of school was their own choice”, their parents did not seem to provide neither emotional nor tangible support to handle school related problems. It was observed that main reason for quitting school was “school failure”. Children were usually not interested in classes or could not obtain support from their parents and/or teachers to compensate for this failure. Accordingly, they attributed this failure either to their lack of interest in school subjects or lack of intellectual capacity. Another reason for dropping out of school was “absenteeism”. It seems that children’s education lives were frequently interrupted due to various external factors. Firstly, they were involved in particular group of friends who had adaptation or conduct problems encouraging skipping courses. Besides, many interviewed children were working part-time while they still continued their school life. These children stated to be physically exhausted when it was time to complete school requirements. Coupled with these children’s already low motivation, these external factors seemed to decrease children’s motivation more to attend school on a regular basis. Even though these external barriers seemed like the main reasons of compromised education life, “parents’ attitudes” towards school might have been the hidden root cause for entering into labour. Although implicitly, families seem to exert a powerful impact on children’s decision of leaving school prematurely and starting labour subsequently.

The first subtheme of this super-ordinate theme was “child losing motivation for school because of family neglect”. It was interesting that families of all interviewed children had very common attitudes towards education life. Although none of the families explicitly pressurized their children to quit school, they did not take concrete steps to solve educational problems of their children, as well. Education seemed to be an unimportant agenda for those families since they themselves did drop out of school to save money at early ages. Accordingly, saving money was a more pressing concern for those parents rather than supporting education of their children. Besides, parents of the interviewed children did not fulfill emotional and instrumental needs of their

children while attending to school. For example, some children stated to have no money for transportation and lunch while they were at school. Even though these children had some talents that might have boosted their success at school (e.g. being bilingual, being athletic), parents seemed not to support those strengths. Rather, achievement and discipline problems were assumed as sufficient causes for dropping out of school for those parents. Hence, when school authorities sent warnings related to failure or absenteeism, parents usually supported children's decision to start labour emphasizing that the child did not have "enough capacity to continue school". Since these children did not already feel successful at school, their lack of motivation was intensified by the lack of parental support. Internalizing their inherent failure at school, entering into labour was felt as the only option to continue living. At this stage, families accepted their children's will to start working readily rather than providing alternative to improve education life. After all, children tried to accept work life as a compulsory option and started to rationalize advantages of labour over school. For example, 15 years old Uğur stated that:

"They (referring to his parents) wanted me to work on Saturdays and Sundays to earn my pocket money (while he was still at school). I asked my friend for a job. There was restaurant. The job was starting at 4 pm and continuing till 2 or 3 am at night. I was leaving the school at 3 pm, going to house to change my clothes. I was leaving the restaurant at 2-3 am and arrived to house at 4 am. Imagine a person will come to home at 4 am and go to school at 8 am. Then I started leaving school at lunch times, then my attendance increased gradually over time. In the last day of my attendance, felt asleep and skipped the school, than it was over. I was trying to tell this to my parents but they did not understand. They were saying 'If you have motivation for school, you will wake up and go to school'. Then a school warning was sent. My father said that 'I see it coming; go and find at least a job'. It passed like this. My mother also said that 'I knew you would not continue your education'. What could I do bro? I had to find a job, I couldn't sit at home."

"Sürekli çalış diyorlardı cumartesi Pazar okul harçlığımı çıkar diye. Hani bende bir arkadaşşıma sormuştum. Kokoreççi dükkanı vardı, o da tam 4'te iş başlıyordu. Gece 2-3 gibi falan bitiyordu. Benimde tam okul çıkış saatime geliyordu. 3'te çıkıyordum okuldan eve gidip üstümü değiştirip 4'e kadar işe yetişiyordum işte. Gece 2-3 te çıkıyordum zaten eve gelmem 4'ü buluyordu. 4'te gelen insanda sabah 7-8 de kalkıp okula gitcek. Genellikle öğle arasından sonra gidiyordum, o da yarım gün yazdıkça devamsızlık baya çoğaldı. Son günde uyuyakalmışım o da yazılınca bitti... Söylüyordum onlar sürekli kızıp duruyordu. Kalkmıyorsun, içinde okuma isteği olsa kalkıp gidersen. Zaten okuldan tasdiknameyi verdiler beraber yolladılar bizi. Annemgil falan geldi gittik. Babam dedi böyle olacağı zaten belliydi dedi. Git kendine iş bul çalış bari meslek edin dedi. Geçti öyle. Annemde aynı şeyi gösterdi senin okumayacağın belliydi falan dedi... iş bulcaktım abi evde oturarak bir yere gidilmez."

Similarly, Ahmet expressed that:

I said 'I will quit school, I will work'. My father said 'you know, it is your choice'. My mother said nothing but 'it is your choice'. Then I entered into labour. Before, I was going to school, my parents was coming to home at 8 pm. I was hungry and bored. Now I am leaving and coming to house with them. Bro, for example, they weren't giving money to me while I was at school. I only had my lunch, I was eating that. There was no other money."

"Ben okumuycam dedim, ben çalışcam dedim. Babamda kendin bilirsin dedi. Annem bir şey demedi ya seçim senin dedi. Kendin bilirsin dedi, bizde girdik. Önce ben okuyordum annemler 8'e doğru geliyordu. O sırada acıkıyordum evde dururken. Şimdi sabah onlarla gidiyorum akşam onlarla geliyorum. Mesela abi okurken bana para vermiyorlardı. Beslenmem vardı, onu yiyordum. Başka yoktu."

The other subtheme of this super-ordinate theme was "Parents favoring adultlike behaviors". Parents usually criticized "childish" behaviors (e.g. hanging out with friends) of their children during school life. Yet, this attitude became the opposite after children entered into labour. Starting to work, children's activities became limited to going and coming from work. They slept and woke up at the same time each day and earned their own money. These so called regularity was usually perceived as an indicator of "being more mature" by the parents. Hence, previously criticized children started to be appreciated by their family members due to their adult like behaviors. These appreation, in turn, seemed to increase the satisfaction children obtained from working and being an adult, as well. As an example, Uğur explained that:

"Of course bro, it makes me happy. Recently, my mother bought cooking pot with my money. She showed it and said 'I bought it thanks to your money'. For example, she (referring to his mother) is buying something from the supermarket and we are having breakfast and she is saying that 'I bought it with your money'. It makes me really happy. When I come from work, she says 'my boy is working, maşallah'. I mean she is praising me sometimes. She is saying 'my son has grown up and earning money, he is bringing bread to this house'. It is different now. Imagine I come from work, he (referring to his father) will sent my brother to buy bread instead of me. He will say 'He comes from work, he is tired, and you should buy it'. But if I was younger and still continuing school, I have to go and buy my own bread. Now I have the priority because I am working. Imagine there is a big cake in the house, they will give me the largest slice now because I am working. My mother is saying that 'this is bought thanks to your money, you have right to eat the biggest slice'."

"Tabi mutlu eder abi sonuçta evde bir sıkıntı olsa annem geçen biraz tencere falan almış bunları senin paranla aldım dedi hani beni mutlu ediyor bunu demesi. Senin paranla aldım diyince kahvaltı yapıyoruz mesela annem markete falan gidip şunu alıp geliyorsa bu senin paranla alındı dediği zaman insan kendini bir mutlu hissediyor. Kendi paranla kazanıldığı için. Bazen eve geldiğimde şey diyor oğlum çalışıyor,

maşallah falan diyor. Hani biraz övüyor öyle. Oğlum büyümüş eve para getiriyor, ekmek getiriyor şöyle böyle övüyor beni. Annem fazla çalışmamla ilgili beni kötü bir şey demiyor beni iyimsiyor yani. Öyle yönden bir şeyi var, farklılığı var. Ben işten geldim ekmek alınacak, ben yemek yiyeceğim. Beni yollamaz annem abime verir sen al gel der o işten geldi yorgun der. Hani küçük olsam, okuyor olsam ben yine yemek yiyecek olsam kendi ekmeğimi kendim gidip alırdım. Çoğunlukla öncelik sende oluyor abi. Eve pasta geliyor diyelim, çalıştığım için büyük dilimi bana veriliyor. Öyle diyim sana öyle yönden faydası var. Annem diyor ki senin paranla alındı büyüğünü sen ye.”

3.5. ‘The Third Parent’ in the House

The fifth super-ordinate theme, “the third parent in the house”, simply refers to the instrumental and emotional parentification experiences of children in labour. It seems that earning money at such an early age was not the only duty that children had to fulfill in their families. Instead, they were assuming other adult responsibilities such as negotiating arguments and contributing to the family budget. In other words, interviewed children were not only obliged to work like an adult outside the house but to adopt a parental role in their family dynamics.

The first subtheme of this super-ordinate theme was “child contributing to the family budget and household chores”. Children’s accounts indicated that the money children earned in labour was mainly allocated to the family expenses. Children only used their money themselves when their needs were compulsory (e.g. food, clothing, transportation). Otherwise, they gave their salary to their parents which were then used for situations such as house debts, loan payments, and credit card debts. Besides, children were well-aware of the house expenses like an adult and felt obliged to contribute to the family budget. Unfortunately, they were not able to spend money they earned for their social interests and were blamed by their parents when they had additional financial requests. For example, Uğur conveyed that:

“I give my money for house expenses, for bills like fuel deposit. I mean I am not taking money for myself. I only take money for transportation. I only take 10 or 20 Turkish liras for myself. I am not complaining because my parents are nagging a lot about money issues. They are saying ‘you spend money without doing anything significant’. I get tired of hearing such things. So I give the money I have earned. I am not insisting, I am not saying ‘this is not enough’. I mean, bro, when I spend my money for myself, my dad becomes angry. When I get extra tips, they are saying (referring to his family) ‘so you will not want money for today’. I am earning 250 liras for now, and giving

200 liras to my family. 30 liras for transportation and 20 lira for myself. 200 liras is used for house expenses. Imagine I like to eat döner kebab...If I ask my mother to eat döner kebab, she would say that 'use your own money'. This is their attitude.”

“Evin giderine. Mesela faturasına, yakıt parasına. Hani benim paradan fazla bir şey aldığım yok yani. Yol parasını alıyorum ben böyle. Kendim için aldığım haftalık 10 lira 20 lira. Ben eve veriyorum abi. Kimseye de bir şey demiyorum abi şimdiye kadar da çok laf yaptılar para mevzusundan. Yok yattığınız yerden para yiyorsunuz falan diye. İnsanın da canına tak ediyor hiçbir şey demedim yani. Aldığım parayı veriyorum ne kadar verirsel. Hiç üstelemiyorum bu az yetmez falan demiyorum... Öyle de abi söyleyince de babam mesela kendi paramdan bir şey harcayım kızıyorlar. Elllerinden gelse para harcatmayacak hiçbir şekilde. Hani bahşiş olduğu zaman, iyi o zaman bugün para istemezsin. İyi o zaman bahşiş aldıysan onunla idare edersin para vermeme gerek yok. 250 lira alıyorum 200 lira eve veriyorum. 30 lira falan yol parası 20 lira da bana kalıyor zaten öyle. 200 lira eve gidiyor ev masrafını falan karşılıyor. Benim canım bir şey çekti döner çekti. Döner çekti canım anne döner alalım falan desem der ki evde yatacağına kendi paranı kendin kazanda istediğini ye falan der yani. Tam bu yönde yani.”

The second subtheme of this super-ordinate theme was “child as the negotiator between parents”. It was observed that children had the duty to maintain family balance and peace at home. Children explained that they not only negotiated conflicts between their parents but also solved their siblings’ problems when necessary, acting as an interpersonal bridge at home. For instance, Mert expressed that:

“I mean, for example when a conflict arises, I do not talk about that problem again in order not to hurt my parents. When positive things happened, we gather as a family. If something positive happens, I will share it with them (referring to his family). But I do not mention negative things. I do not want to sadden my parents. There might be times that my parents argue. If my mother is right, I will be on her side. If my father is right, I will be on his side. We (referring himself and his siblings) try to solve those problems and support them (referring to his family).”

“Yani mesela bir şey olsun o orada konuşulur ondan sonra da kimse üzülmesin diye ben hiç o konuyu açmam yani. Açılmaz zaten bizim evde bir kere konuşulunca. Olumlu şeyler olunca işte tabi herkes orada olur. Mesela olumlu bir şey olunca onu söylerim, belki konuşmaya başlarım, muhabbet olur sohbet olur. Güzel bir şey oldu paylaşırım. Öyle kötü şeyleri çok paylaşmam. Babamgil de üzülmesin ben de üzülmeyleyim diye hem benim kafama sıkıntı olur yani o yüzden. Annemle babam tartıştığı zaman, annem haklıysa annemin tarafına geçeriz. Babam haklıysa babamın tarafına geçeriz. Bu konuda çok destek oluruz.”

The last subtheme of this super-ordinate theme was “ambiguity of the status in hierarchical order”. Children in the current study either shared duties of their fathers at home or tried to support their father financially. In fact, this connection was perceived as the only way to establish a close relation with the father figure. Hence,

they parentified their siblings, and even acted as parents of their own parents in certain situations (e.g. financial issues, marital conflicts). In spite of these overwhelming responsibilities, children were not granted for permission in family decisions and positioned at the bottom of family hierarchy. While they were demanded to behave like an adult in work and house life, they were regarded as the “children of the family” when important decisions were to be taken. Uğur explained this ambiguity I as follows “Everyone in family behave in the way they want. Bro, they (referring to his family) don’t ask our opinions about family issues like buying a house. If they believe the house is big, then it is over. Children are not asked for their opinions in our house”.



CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

This study aimed to investigate parentification experiences of children in labour who economically contributed to their family budgets. Although the issue of child labour have been commonly addressed regarding its social aspects, to the authors' knowledge, there is no study in the literature examining the relationship between child labour and parentification phenomenon. Our study was based on the main theoretical assumption that child labour might have been an important vulnerability factor for both instrumental and emotional parentification experiences (Champion et al., 2009; Hooper et al., 2012; McMahan & Luthar, 2007). Accordingly, five super-ordinate themes were identified through semi-structured interviews with seven male adolescents: (1) Compromisement of childhood for labour: the forced entry into adulthood, (2) Justification of being in labour as a child, (3) Implicit longing for the lost childhood, (4) Subtle inducement by family to enter labour and adulthood, and (5) 'The third parent' in the house.

4.1. Compromisement of Childhood for Labour: The Forced Entry into Adulthood

The age for child labour corresponds to an inherently important developmental period in which children and adolescents go through profound physical, mental, and psycho-social transitions. (Mercer, 2018; Shaffer & Kipp, 2010). For a child or adolescent to be able to become a healthier adult, these developmental tasks are supposed to be completed at least optimally (Bakirci, 2004). Accordingly, the more successfully completed the developmental tasks, the healthier the individual could move forward to the next stage in life (Baltes, Lindenberger, & Staudinger, 2007). Unfortunately, children in our study were exposed to harsh physical and psychosocial conditions both at work and at home which posed a significant threat for their healthy development. Interviewed children were working in physically hazardous settings which included dust, chemicals and heavy physical burden. As it is obviously known, such conditions interfered with healthy physical development of children and

adolescents, which might have negative psychological and social implications, as well (Beegle, Dehejia, & Gatti, 2019; Parker, Fassa, & Scanlon, 2010; Woodhead, 1999). Throughout the school years, children's gains constituted a great amount of investment for their future lives as adults. Accordingly, it was necessary for them to take part in facilitative activities both at school and at home that boosted their mental and psychosocial development. By contrast, if children were made devoted their time to monotonous and non-creative tasks under the authority, they were less likely to search for their interests and fulfill their potential (Admassie, 2003; Bloom, 1964; Orazem & Gunnarsson, 2004). Eventually, a child needs to spend quality time with his/her family and socialize with friends at school and in the neighborhood (Catalano et al., 2004; Christian et al., 2015; Forastieri, 2002; Harold & Leve, 2018; Oberle, Schonert-Reichl, & Zumbo, 2011). Besides, children should be provided with various stimulative activities (e.g. playing games, doing sports, going to the cinema or theater and listening to concerts) that would enable them to take part in social life (Fletcher, Nickerson, & Wright, 2003; Gadermann et al., 2016). Sadly, children in our study were spending most of their times at industrial area, the conditions of which were challenging even for adults. Paralel to the findings of the previous studies, they were also under-achievers at school and usually left school prematurely which seems to create a vicious cycle between the problem of child labour and school attendance (Acosta, 2011; Heady, 2000). However, a note to caution is due here. The only reason why children did not have access to "usual childhood activities" was not the demanding labour conditions. These children were also living at disadvangated neighbors which did not offer a socially and psychologically stimulative environment either. Hence, vulnerability of these children were doubled since poor quality neighbor (i.e. an unsafe, chaotic and poor environment) put children at risk of not only internalizing and externalizing problems, but also of a disadvangated position at a societal level (Anderson, Leventhal, & Dupéré, 2014; Brody et al., 2001; Karagiannaki, 2012; Li, Johnson, Musci, & Riley, 2017).

In Turkey, 5.9 % children aged between 6-17 start to work prematurely mainly to contribute economic conditions of their families (TUIK, 2006). Globally, the most driving reason behind underage employment is poverty (UNICEF & ILO, 2019).

Consistent with the profiles of our children, children in labour usually came from large families with low income, and lived in disadvantaged areas where social inequality resulted in lack of access to educational, health and social service opportunities (Thabet, Matar, Carpintero, Bankart, & Vostanis, 2010; UNICEF & ILO, 2019). In spite of experiencing aforementioned disadvantages, children in our study usually had a tendency to ignore the developmental and social hardships they experienced. Instead, they seem to adopt to the “adult role” they were assigned by their families and by the society in general. Accordingly, they usually used an adult jargon while describing their roles and responsibilities, and shaped their future projections using an adult mind. It seems that external barriers resulting from social inequality were internalized by those children, which gradually became an internal barrier further limiting their capabilities and potential. Also, it is probable that interviewed children pretended like grown-ups since underage employment obliged them to contact more frequently with adults, rather than with their peers. Coupled with the adult responsibilities assigned by their families, they might symbolically believe that the childhood period was over. In fact, this finding was in line with the previous studies. Accordingly, children in labour usually desired to be treated like adults at work force since they believed that they were not a child anymore (TISK, 2002; Yapıcı & Yapıcı, 2006). Unfortunately, interviewed children referred their schooling peers as “children” while defining themselves as adults, which further revealed the marginalized differences among children brought by social inequality (Bornstein, & Bradley, 2014; Conroy, Sandel, & Zuckerman, 2010).

4.2. Justification of being in Labour as a Child

Interviewed children had a tendency to overemphasize advantages of being in labour at an early age without any prompt. These advantages mainly included “having an organized life” and “having pocket money” like an adult. Besides, they usually assumed responsibility for underage employment without imposing any responsibility on external agents. Accordingly, they inherently did not have motivation for and capacity to continue education. Hence, leaving school and joining to workforce was the most rational option for their future attainments. Certainly, the equation is not that

simple from a social injustice perspective. There are numerous studies in the literature indicating the bidirectional relation between child labour and school achievement (Bezerra, Lúcia, & Arends-Kuenning, 2006; Gunnarsson, Orazem, & Sánchez, 2003; Heady, 2003; Rathod & Koli, 2015; Sakurai, 2007; Xayavong & Pholpirul, 2017). Children from disadvantaged backgrounds were usually compelled to work while simultaneously continuing their education. Working while schooling had detrimental impacts on children's achievement on various subjects like math and language (Bezerra, Lúcia, & Arends-Kuenning, 2006, Heady, 2003). Absenteeism, loss of motivation due to exhaustion and diversion of interests away from education were other obstacles leading higher school dropout rates among those children (Xayavong & Pholpirul, 2017). Besides, working children usually did not receive the same educational opportunities offered to the children from socio-economically advantaged backgrounds (Sakurai, 2007; Xayavong & Pholpirul, 2017). Consequently, all of these external barriers hindered learning achievement of children in labour either prior to or after entering into workforce. Nevertheless, none of the children in the current study did emphasize those social barriers forcing them to enter workforce at an early age. Instead, they usually attributed lack of school achievement to their own intellectual capabilities. In fact, this finding was dramatically discouraging regarding the future attainments of those children. It was well-established that poverty and social inequality led these children to remain at a disadvantaged position in their adult lives. Coupled with this "learned inadequacy", these children might not develop an awareness to combat with the detrimental impacts of poverty imposed on them. Instead, they might continue to live the fate assigned by the society which might never allow them to fulfill their potential on intellectual, aesthetic and sportive fields.

Children in the current study might also have highlighted the silver linings of working conditions more due to their doubts about the research project's implications. Some children and families were hesitant about the use of interview results although they were assured of confidentiality and use of obtained data only for scientific purposes. Accordingly, children might have tried to protect their parents from possible legal enforcements by assuming responsibility for entering into labour. Last but not least, children might have rationalized the conditions they had to be in due to social

injustice in order not to feel powerless and to increase their adaptation to the current situation (Festinger, 1957; Freedman, Sear, & Carlsmith, 1993; Plutchik, 1995). The fact that children not attending to school due to social inequality might increase their motivation for work to compensate for poor school achievement. Thus, children might be protecting both their motivation and themselves by legitimizing the working conditions they had to endure.

4.3. Implicit Longing for the Lost Childhood

Deprived of access to basic educational, economic and social opportunities, interviewed children usually associated being at workforce with the end of childhood period. Still, their longing for being a child was evident in their accounts. They basically missed being free of adult responsibilities like working under the authority of an abusive boss or contributing to family budget. They perceived childhood responsibilities (e.g. studying, passing exams) as privileges only granted to schooling children. Socio-economic status (SES) has been shown to be a robust predictor of achievement and self-efficacy among children and adolescents. Children from low SES usually had poorer achievement and mastery particularly at school (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002; Laar & Sidanius, 2001; OECD, 2009). Unfortunately, over time, disadvantaged children run the risk of developing social inferiority in which they started to attribute their failures to their own capabilities, rather than to inequality of opportunities brought by social class differences (Wiederkehr, Darnon, Chazal, Guimond & Martinot, 2015). In fact, our findings perfectly fit with these previous findings. Children in the current study were instinctively aware of the educational, economic and social challenges they faced although they tried to legitimize underage employment by emphasizing advantages of working life. They felt that their responsibilities restricted basic freedoms of childhood. Since there was an inconsistency between their developmental stage and their current situation, they might have shown a tendency to marginalize themselves as adults. This awareness might also explain why our children had anger and resentment towards their schooling counterparts who had the privilege to remain as a child. In fact, what they perceived as a privilege was a basic child right that should be provided to every children without

exception (UNICEF & ILO, 2019). Thereof, “implicit longing for the lost childhood” super-ordinate theme was a great example proving strong evidence that children in labour are still only “children” who are trapped with overwhelming adult responsibilities.

4.4. Subtle Inducement by Family to Enter Labour and Adulthood

None of the children in the present study claimed that their parents forced them to enter into labour at an early age. Instead, they owned responsibility for this so called choice. Still, families’ implicit inducement for underage employment was evident in children’s accounts. Although they did not explicitly pressurize, parents did not provide either tangible (e.g. pocket money) or emotional support (e.g. collaborating with teacher) during school period. By contrast, they seem to sabotage regular school attendance through encouraging working or blaming the child for the lack of achievement. Many families dictated that “if you want to continue your education, you would somehow be successful”. Sadly, interviewed children seem to internalize their parents’ assumptions regarding their capabilities and aspirations. Nevertheless, this finding must be interpreted with caution since only blaming families for underage employment would provide an insufficient understanding of the issue of child labour. It was well established in the literature that one significant predictor of child labour was low SES of families (Basu, 2000; ÇSGB, 2000; ILO, 2006; National Center for Education Statistics, 2016; Wiederkehr et al., 2015). SES did not simply refer to family income but also to family’s education, prestige and social class at society (Wiederkehr et al., 2015). Disadvantaged families usually directed their children for underage employment due to overwhelming economic pressures. In fact, they themselves had restricted access to educational and social opportunities (Brown, Deardorff & Stern, 2002; ÇSGB, 2000; Ray, 2002). Since their education levels were also low, education was not their main concerns, yet earning money for survival was. Besides, they were not aware of the importance of education due to their poor educational backgrounds (Radhod & Koli, 2015). In fact, not the poverty but parents’ education seems to be an overriding factor for the continuation of education among disadvantaged children (Xayavong & Pholphirul, 2017). Accordingly, the current study provided further

support for these previous findings. Parents of the interviewed children usually behaved reluctant towards continuation of education and did not provide sufficient support for the educational attainments of their children. Instead, they seem to reinforce adult like behaviors of their children (e.g. buying assets with child's money) which might be perceived as incentives by those children. Although such a reluctance might be regarded as parental neglect according to some sources (Acehan, 2013; Block, 1999; Krug, et al., 2002; Runyan, 2002) parents' attitudes towards education and premature employment must be evaluated considering external factors such as SES and social injustice since these parents might also be the victims of social inequalities.

4.5. The Third Parent in the House

Children in the current study fulfilled adult responsibilities not only in workforce, but also in their family settings. Throughout the interviews, children reported to spend the money they earned for monthly expenses of the house (e.g. kitchen shopping, bill payments) and loan payments of the family. However, they did not lay their money for personal interests, yet for compulsory basic needs (e.g. clothing, transportation). They had future concerns like getting credit to buy a family house which were not compatible with the usual projections of the children of the same ages. Having felt exhausted after work, they still felt obliged to take an active role in houseworks (e.g. setting table, dishwashing), as well. In fact, all of these experiences provided evidence that child labour is a potent risk factor instrumental parentification. Although the initial objective of this research was to identify parentification experiences of children in labour, what we have encountered was beyond this psychological concept. The vast majority of children in labour usually lived in the poorest segments of the society. In such segments, every individual in the house were obliged to work for physical survival regardless of the developmental stage (Alpar, 2002). Hence, social inequality automatically poses a significant threat for instrumental parentification experiences of children in labour in which the child was obliged to take responsibilities such as meeting the financial needs of his family, doing housework and caring for his siblings (Hooper, 2007; Jurkovic, 1997). Although there

has been no explicit reference to “instrumental parentification” in child labour literature, there are numerous findings indicating that these children were deprived of basic childhood rights such as adequate living conditions, protection from exploitation, education and play/recreation (Basu, 2000; ÇSGB, 2000; ILO, 2006; National Center for Education Statistics, 2016; UNICEF, 2017; Wiederkehr et al., 2015). In fact, these children’s rights were compromised because of the social inequalities and the harsh labour conditions they were in (UNICEF, 2017). Thus, although previous studies adopted a sociological perspective, what they have documented was fairly matching with the instrumental parentification experiences cited in the psychology literature. Accordingly, children in the current study provided tangible and instrumental support to their families exceeding their developmental capabilities, although it was themselves who needed to be parentified in a nurturing environment problems (Chase, 1999; Hooper, 2007; Minuchin, Montalvo, Guerney, Rosman & Schumer, 1967).

Interestingly, our children behaved like the parents of their own parents in emotional respects, as well. They usually acted as a negotiator to delegate family conflicts assuring peace of the household. They mediated arguments between parents and siblings. Besides, they tried not to reflect working problems to their parents in order not to pose an additional burden on them. These findings, in fact, indicated that adult responsibilities of these children were not limited to industrial area, yet included family life, as well. This “immature maturation process” brought by labour somehow seems to make these children more vulnerable to emotional parentification experiences. Since these children faced with the challenges at an early age (e.g. working in hazardous conditions, communicating with adults having low educational background at work), they might learn to behave like an adult in order to increase their adaptation in such environments. Accordingly, child labour seems to be a risk factor also for emotional parentification experiences. All in all, these children seem to disregard their own emotional needs to be a negotiator, confidant and reconciler at home (Chase et al., 1998; Hooper, 2007; Jurkovic, 1997). Similar to children in labour, depression, anxiety, school failure and somatic complaints were common particularly in emotionally parentified children (Hooper et al., 2012; Katz et al., 2009). Coupled with the mental health implications of child labour (e.g. substance abuse, depression,

anger problems) (ILO, 2016), examining parentification experiences of these children might provide a more comprehensive understanding of the psycho-social needs of those children.

Ambiguity in family hierarchy was another important finding of the current study enlightening family structures of children in labour. While children in labour behaved and treated like adults in workforce and to some extent at home, they were not given right to participate in family decisions. Fathers of the interviewed children were mostly the authority of family decisions (e.g. deciding needs of the children, deciding on personal expenses) while those children were expected to behave like the father of the house in terms of providing money and delegating family conflicts. A possible explanation for the status ambiguity in those families might be grounded on Theory of Structural Family Systems. Accordingly, each family is supposed to have a hierarchical structure in which parents and children have different levels of power. The Theory of Structural Family Systems assumes a hierarchical structure in which family members have different levels of power (Minuchin, 1974). To put it more clearly, there is a hierarchy of power in the family that reflects different levels of authority which also functions to separate parents and children. In functional families, parents have more power than their children. In non-functional families, by contrast, differences are observed in the hierarchical structure (Aponte & Van Deusen, 1981). Differences in the hierarchical structure of children in labour also put them into a non-functional family group. While children in labour behaved like adults in their workplace and at home particularly on financial aspects, they were being treated as children particularly in familial decisions. In other words, while these children had overwhelming responsibilities like an adult, they had little saying on family decisions which might create uncertainty about their status in family. Consequently, this ambiguity might be a serious risk factor for establishing identity during already complex adolescence period (Kroger, 1993).

4.6. General Conclusion

This thesis mainly aimed to investigate experiences of children in labour to understand the phenomenon of parentification. Nevertheless, our results revealed that experiences of child labourers could not only be explained by parentification since these children assumed various adult responsibilities which were not covered by this concept. Therefore, limiting the experiences of children in labour only to parentification might be insufficient to capture psycho-social needs of those children. Accordingly, further studies are suggested to examine child labourers' experiences from an adultification perspective in order not to ignore various adult roles these children have assumed.

Adultification involves contextual, cultural and developmental processes, where children or adolescents take on adult family roles and duties early and inappropriately. Adultified children usually provide instrumental and emotive assistance to their families. (Hopper, 2007; Jurkovic, 1997; Minuchin, Colapinto & Minuchin, 1998). Adultification includes different types of tasks for various reasons (Burton, 2007). Firstly, the most ambiguous and common type of childhood adultification is referred as "*precocious knowledge*". This type includes children's inappropriate acquisition of sophisticated knowledge. Precocious knowledge often enables children to engage in adult discussions and transactions as a result of which children are exposed to harsh facts of life at an early age (Burton, 2007; Mouw, 2005). Secondly, *mentored adultification* refers to children with limited guidance and mentoring which lead them to take an adult position (Dodson & Dickert, 2004). The third one is *peerification/spousification*. In this type of adultification, the hierarchy of parent-child is unclear and children are given a status equal to that of their parents (Sroufe & Ward 1980, Weiss 1979). This is particularly obvious when children become quasi wife, husband, partner, or confidante of their parents. The last one is Parentification where a child is permitted to periodically step into or leave a parenting role with his or her sibling, but a parentified child is a quasi-parent in full time of his or her siblings and parents. (Bozsormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1984; Jurkovic, 1997; Minuchin, 1967). It is particularly important to identify children at risk for

adultification phenomenon since it was associated significant developmental difficulties and loss of lifetime possibilities for children (Elder & Conger, 2014).

All in all, adultification concept (Burton, 2007) includes children being exposed to family issues at a premature age (emotional burden), having an adult role (instrumental burden), changes in the parent-child hierarchy (uncertainty between role boundaries, expectations and hierarchies between parents and child), and children in a parent role at home. Thus, adultification concept seem to better capture the themes that showed up in our study. Particularly, the most relevant themes were “Compromisation of childhood for labour: the forced entry into adulthood”, “Justification of being in labour as a child”, “Subtle inducement by family to enter labour and adulthood”, and “The third parent’ in the house”.

4.7. Clinical and Social Policy Implications

The current study suggests important clinical implications which can not be conceptualized independent of social policy implementations. First of all, this work sheds light on the psychological needs of labourer children in Turkey who have been forced to work because of social inequality. It is obvious that those children undertake psychological, economic and physical responsibilities beyond their developmental capabilities. The obligation to take care of their families clearly compromises psychological needs of these children such as protection, empathy, play, creativity and nurturance. Besides, underage labour also hinders educational and social aspirations of labourer children in Turkey. What is more worrisome is the fact that interviewed children were not aware that they were deprived of basic child rights and seem to internalize the challenges that were imposed on them by their families and by society in general.

Child labour is a multidimensional public health problem caused by various factors such as poverty, family income, social class, migration and education (UNICEF, 2006). In order to talk about implementing clinical interventions, children’s rights initially should be protected by government rigorously. Although rate of child

labour displays a descending trend in Turkey at recent years, a nonnegligible number of children are still working under physically and psychologically hazardous environments (ILO, 2011; Tor, 2010). Unfortunately, 319 children had died due to work accidents between 2013 and 2018 (EMO, 2018). Although it is legally forbidden in Turkey to make children work under the age of 15, lack of systematic inspection of legislations still encourages employers to utilize child power especially in industrial areas (Tor, 2010). In that respect, laws and legislations protecting children's rights needs to be implemented more strictly in Turkey. Besides, free and good-quality compulsory education should be provided every child without exception. To combat with the psychosocial impacts of child labour, policy makers and mental health professional needs to work in collaboration, as well. First of all, family and community awareness about the psychological risks of child employment should be increased through internationally funded projects. At risk children should also be an active agent of such projects in order to give voice to their psychosocial needs both in their family and at society in general. In such prevention and intervention programmes, families should also be targeted to increase their awareness about psychological impacts of child labour such as instrumental and emotional parentification. Besides, mental health professional should provide settings in which children freely express and fulfil their age-appropriate psychosocial needs. It is also possible that these children are prone to various psychological problems due to overwhelming responsibilities they have to endure during their formation years. In that respect, mental health professionals need to assume social responsibility to provide psychological support to those children in order to combat with the emotional risks of child labour. Still, the authors of this study want to make a final comment. Unless social policies are implemented commitmently in Turkey, offering clinical work to these children to combat with child labour would mean undermining the real situations of these children and their families. Hence, government agencies and mental health professionals need to work side by side in order to eliminate multifaceted complications brought by child labour in Turkey.

4.8. Limitations and Future Directions

The present thesis is not without limitations. First of all, interview questions used in our study might not be fully comprehended by the children because of their educational backgrounds. Accordingly, future studies might utilize more implicit and/or age-appropriate methods to collect data. Secondly, our study included only male adolescents. Therefore, the parentification dynamics of younger and female children might be explored in the future studies to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the psychosocial needs of child labourers in Turkey. Maybe, the possible relation between gender roles and underage employment might be examined in the future studies, as well. Answers to questions like “What are the families' expectations from female children?”, “Are they expected to earn money like males, or do expectations diminish or increase with traditional gender roles?” might be explored from a social and clinical perspective. Thirdly, our study was held only with children working in industrial environment. Children working in industry constitute 12% of child workers (ILO, 2017). There may be different dynamics depending on the different works that children are performing. In fact, the largest part of child labour resides in the agricultural sector, where children work with their parents for free (ILO, 2017). Also, participants of the current study mostly our included 16 and 17 years old male adolescents which might suggest that these children are closer to adulthood period. On the other hand, a 17-year-old still has various social, developmental and psychological needs different than those of an adult. Hence, they cannot be counted as fully matured adults. Although age may seem like a limitation, the family structure and the environment may be more important than the age to understand adultification and parentification of those children. Finally, future studies can be conducted to understand the psychosocial impacts of working setting. Finally, further qualitative studies are suggested to understand children working in different sectors and to elaborate on the results of child labour, especially in relation to females.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION FORM

DEMOGRAFİK BİLGİ FORMU

Ebeveyn ile İlgili Bilgiler:

A. Anne (Anneye sorulacak sorular)

Doğum Tarihi: / /

Yaş:...

1. Lütfen eğitim durumunuzu işaretleyiniz:

Okuryazar

İlkokul

Lise

Lisans

Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

2. Size uygun seçeneği lütfen işaretleyiniz.

Çalışıyor

Çalışmıyor

2.a. Çalışıyor iseniz kaç yıldır çalışıyorsunuz?

0-2 yıl

2-5 yıl

5-10 yıl

10 yıl üzeri

2.b. Çalışıyor iseniz mesleği:

3. Kronik bir hastalığınız var mı?

Hayır

Evet

3.a. Evet ise açıklar mısınız?.....

4. Şu anda tedavi gördüğünüz bir hastalığınız var mı?

Hayır

Evet

4.a. Evet ise açıklar mısınız?.....

5. Sürekli kullandığınız bir ilaç var mı?

Hayır Evet

6. Daha önce psikolojik/ psikiyatrik destek aldınız mı?

Hayır Evet

6.a. Evet ise açıklar mısınız?.....

B. Baba (Babaya sorulacak sorular)

Doğum Tarihi: / /

Yaş:..

7. En son mezun olduğunuz eğitim seviyesini işaretleyiniz:

Okuryazar

İlkokul

Lise

Lisans

Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

8. Size uygun seçeneği lütfen işaretleyiniz.

Çalışıyor

Çalışmıyor

8.a. Çalışıyor iseniz kaç yıldır çalışıyorsunuz?

0-2 yıl 2-5 yıl 5-10 yıl 10 yıl üzeri

8.b Çalışıyor iseniz mesleği:

9. Kronik bir hastalığınız var mı?

Hayır Evet

9.a. Evet ise açıklar mısınız?.....

10. Şu anda tedavi gördüğünüz bir hastalığınız var mı?

Hayır Evet

10.a. Evet ise açıklar mısınız?.....

11. Sürekli kullandığınız bir ilaç var mı?

Hayır Evet

12. Daha önce psikolojik/ psikiyatrik destek aldınız mı?

Hayır Evet

13.a. Evet ise açıklar mısınız?.....

C. Aile ile İlgili Bilgiler

14. Lütfen aşağıdaki seçeneklerden size uygun olanı işaretleyiniz.

Evli Bekar Boşanmış Diğer

Diğer ise lütfen açıklayınız:

.....

15. Kaç yıllık evlisiniz?

0-2 yıl 2-5 yıl 5-10 yıl 10 yıl üzeri

16. Hanenizde kiminle yaşıyorsunuz?

Çekirdek aile Geniş aile

16.a. Çekirdek aile ise aile üyelerinizi yazınız:

.....

.....

.....

16.b. Geniş aile ise kimler olduğunu yazınız:

.....

.....

.....

17. Ailenizin ortalama aylık geliri:

500 TL ve altı 500 - 1000 TL

1001 – 1600 TL 1601-2500 TL

2501 – 3500 TL 3501-5000 TL

5001 TL ve üzeri

18. Lütfen ekonomik durumunuzu 1’den 5’e kadar olan bir sayı ile belirtin.

Alt Ortanın altı Orta Ortanın üstü Üst

19. Yaşamınızın büyük bölümünü geçirdiğiniz yeri işaretleyiniz.

Büyükşehir İl İlçe Kasaba Köy Diğer

Diğer ise lütfen belirtiniz

.....

20. Çalışmaya hangi ilden katıldığınızı belirtiniz:

Ankara İstanbul İzmir Diğer

Diğer ise lütfen belirtiniz

.....

D. Çocukla İlgili Bilgiler

Doğum Tarihi:...../...../.....

Cinsiyet: kız erkek

Yaş:

21. Kardeş Sayısı:

1 kardeş.

Cinsiyet: kız erkek

Yaş:.....

Çalışmıyor Çalışıyor

Çalışıyor ise;

Çalışmaya başlayalı ne kadar zaman oldu?

0-2 yıl 2-5 yıl 5-10 yıl 10 yıl üzeri

Nerede çalışıyor, ne iş yapıyor lütfen belirtiniz.

.....
.....
.....
.....

2 kardeş.

Cinsiyet: kız erkek

Yaş:.....

Çalışmıyor Çalışıyor

Çalışıyor ise;

Çalışmaya başlayalı ne kadar zaman oldu?

0-2 yıl 2-5 yıl 5-10 yıl 10 yıl üzeri

Nerede çalışıyor, ne iş yapıyor lütfen belirtiniz.

.....
.....
.....
.....

3 kardeş.

Cinsiyet: kız erkek

Yaş:

Çalışmıyor Çalışıyor

Çalışıyor ise;

Çalışmaya başlayalı ne kadar zaman oldu?

0-2 yıl 2-5 yıl 5-10 yıl 10 yıl üzeri

Nerede çalışıyor, ne iş yapıyor lütfen belirtiniz.

.....
.....
.....
.....

22. Lütfen aşağıda yer alan seçeneklerden size uygun işaretleyiniz.

22.a. Okula gidiyor

Okula gidiyor ise kaçınıcı sınıf:

22.b. Okula gitmiyor

Okula gitmiyor ise;

22.b1. Hiç okula gitti mi:

Hayır Evet

22.b2. Evet ise kaç yıl okula gitti

22.b3. Okuldan ayrılma nedeni lütfen belirtiniz.

.....
.....

22.c. Çalışmıyor Çalışıyor

Çalışıyor ise;

22.c1. Çalışmaya başlayalı ne kadar zaman oldu?

0-2 yıl 2-5 yıl 5-10 yıl 10 yıl üzeri

22.c1. Nerede çalışıyor, ne iş yapıyor lütfen belirtiniz.

.....
.....
.....
.....

23. Kronik bir hastalığınız var mı?

Hayır Evet

23.a. Evet ise açıkla mısınız?.....

24. Şu anda tedavi gördüğünüz bir hastalığınız var mı?

Hayır Evet

24.a. Evet ise açıkla mısınız?.....

25. Sürekli kullandığınız bir ilaç var mı?

Hayır Evet

26. Daha önce psikolojik/ psikiyatrik destek aldınız mı?

Hayır Evet

26.a. Evet ise açıkla mısınız?.....

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Gönüllü Katılım Formu

Sevgili Genç Arkadaşımız,

Ben, TED Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü'nde yüksek lisans öğrencisiyim. Tez danışmanlarım, Doç. Dr. Ilgın Gökler Danışman ve Dr. Yağmur Ar-Karcı ile birlikte bir tez çalışması yapıyorum. Bu çalışmanın amacı sanayide çalışan gençlerin, aile içindeki yaşantılarını derinlemesine incelemektir.

Bu araştırmaya katılman sanayide çalışan çocukların yaşantılarını anlamamıza çok kıymetli katkıda bulunacaktır. Öncelikle çalışma hakkında bilgi vermek istiyorum. Bu çalışmada katılımcılarla bire bir görüşmeler yapacağım ve bu görüşmelerde çalışma hayatı ve aile ilişki konularında bazı sorular soracağım. Bu soruların doğru veya yanlış yanıtları olan sorular değil; herkesin kendini ve düşünceleri içinden geldiği gibi ifade edebileceği sorulardır. Yapacağımız görüşme yaklaşık bir buçuk saat sürecektir. Verilen yanıtları kaçırmamak için yaptığımız görüşme sırasında ses kaydı alınacaktır. Bu ses kaydını sadece ben ve yukarıda ismi geçen hocalarım dinleyecektir ve başka kimseyle bu kayıtlar paylaşılmayacaktır.

Bu çalışmaya katılım gönüllük esasına dayalıdır. Gönüllü olarak katılmayı kabul ettiğin durumda da araştırmanın herhangi bir yerinde katılımcı olmaktan vazgeçebilir ve araştırmadan ayrılabilirsin.

Teşekkürler

Araştırmacı yapacağı çalışma ile ilgili beni yeterince bilgilendirmiştir. Araştırmaya gönüllü olarak katılmayı ve yukarıda yazan koşulları kabul ediyorum.

Araştırmaya katılmak istiyorum

Evet / Hayır

Ad Soyad:

Tarih

Oğuzhan Deveci

Ziya Gökalp Cad. No:48 Kolej/ Çankaya /ANKARA

İletişim Bilgileri:

E-mail- Telefon no:

oguzhan.deveci@tedu.com.tr

ilgin.danisman@tedu.edu.tr - 0 (312) 585 0181

yagmur.ar@tedu.edu.tr - 0 (312) 585 0307

APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Sayın Veli,

Bu çalışma TED Üniversitesi, Gelişim Odaklı Klinik Çocuk ve Ergen Psikolojisi Yüksek Lisans Programı'nda yüksek lisans öğrencisi olan Oğuzhan Deveci tarafından, Doç. Dr. Ilgın Gökler Danışman ve Dr. Yağmur Ar-Karcı danışmanlığında yürütülmekte olan bir tez çalışmasıdır.

Yapılacak olan bu çalışmanın amacı sanayide çalışan çocuk ve gençlerin, çalışma hayatlarının ve aile içi ilişkilerini derinlemesine incelemektir. Çocuğunuzu bu araştırmaya katılımcı olarak davet etmek ve bunun için sizi bilgilendirmek ve sizden onay almak istiyoruz.

Çocuğunuzun bu araştırmaya katılımını onayladığınız takdirde, çocuğunuzla bir görüşme gerçekleştirilecektir. Görüşme yaklaşık bir buçuk saat sürecek olup, çocuğunuza çalışma yaşamı ve aile ilişkileri ile ilgili bazı sorular sorulacaktır. Bu sorular çocuğunuza rahatsızlık verecek nitelikte değildir. Siz ve çocuğunuz onay verdiğiniz takdirde yapılacak görüşmeler TED Üniversitesi'nde ya da sizin ve çocuğunuzun uygun gördüğünüz görüşmeye uygun bir ortamda gerçekleştirilecektir. Çocuğunuzla yapılan görüşmelerde, verilen yanıtları kaçırmamak ve bu yanıtların üzerine değerlendirme yapabilmek için görüşmenin ses kaydı alınacaktır. Bu görüşmeler sadece bilimsel amaçlı kullanılacak olup, ses kaydı ve görüşmelerin yazıya dökülmüş hali bilgisayar ortamında şifre ile saklanacaktır. Ayrıca, saklanan verilerde çocuğunuza ya da size ait kimlik belirtici hiçbir bilgi yer almayacaktır. **Araştırmada çocuğunuza yöneltilen soruların DOĞRU ya da YANLIŞ cevapları yoktur.** Bu nedenle çalışmaya katılan çocuklardan sorulan sorulara içtenlikle yanıt vermesi istenecektir. Çalışmaya katılım gönüllülük esasına dayalıdır. Bu nedenle sizin onayınız alındıktan sonra çocuğunuzun da gönüllü olarak katılmak isteyip istemediği sorulacak ve onayı alınacaktır. Araştırmada yer alan bu görüşme çocuğunuza rahatsızlık verecek nitelikte sorular içermemektedir. Ancak herhangi bir nedenden ötürü çocuğunuz ya da siz rahatsızlık hissederseniz, nedenini açıklamaksızın çalışmadan ayrılabilirsiniz.

Bu çalışma kapsamında elde edilecek olan bilimsel bilgiler, sadece araştırmacılar tarafından yapılan bilimsel yayınlarda, sunumlarda ve eğitim amaçlı kullanılacaktır. Çalışma süresince sizin ve çocuklarınızın kimlik bilgisi araştırma ekibi dışındaki hiç kimseyle paylaşılmayacaktır. Süreç içerisinde çocuğunuzun cevapları gizli tutulacak ve sadece araştırmacılar tarafından değerlendirilecektir. Toplanan veriler isimler silinerek, bilgisayarda şifreli bir dosyada tutulacaktır. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak ve yanıtlanmasını istediğiniz sorularınızı aşağıda yer alan iletişim kanalları aracılığıyla bana sorabilirsiniz. Zaman ayırdığınız için teşekkür ederim.

Yukarıda açıklamasını okuduğum çalışmaya, velisi olduğum _____'nin katılımına izin veriyorum. Araştırmacılar tarafından çalışma hakkında yeterince bilgilendirildim. Bu çalışmaya çocuğumun katılmasına, görüşme boyunca ses kaydı alınmasına izin veriyorum. Çocuğumun, istediği zaman bu çalışmadan ayrılabileceğini ve araştırma süresince elde edilen bilimsel bilgilerin

bilimsel makaleler ve akademik sunumlar dışında kesinlikle kullanılmayacağını biliyorum.

Velinin Adı, soyadı: _____
_____ Tarih: _____

İmzası:

Oğuzhan Deveci

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APPENDIX D: ETHICAL COMMITTEE APPROVAL

TED ÜNİVERSİTESİ İNSAN ARAŞTIRMALARI ETİK KURULU

19.12.2018

Sayı:88

Konu: Etik Kurul Kararı

Sayın

Oğuzhan DEVECİ
Psikoloji A.B.D., Gelişim Odaklı Klinik Çocuk ve Ergen Psikolojisi Programı
Yüksek Lisans Öğrencisi

TED Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulunun **19.12.2018** tarih ve **2018/254** sayılı kararı ekte sunulmuştur.



Prof. Dr. Melike SAYIL
TED Üniversitesi
İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurul Başkanı

TED ÜNİVERSİTESİ
İNSAN ARAŞTIRMALARI ETİK KURULU

ETİK KURUL KARARLARI

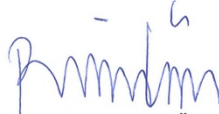
Toplantı Tarihi: **19.12.2018**


Toplantı Sayısı: **2018/88**

TED Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu **19.12.2018** Çarşamba günü saat 13:00'te toplanarak aşağıdaki kararları almıştır.

Karar:(254) TED Üniversitesi, Lisansüstü Programlar Enstitüsü Gelişim Odaklı Klinik Çocuk ve Ergen Psikolojisi Yüksek Lisans Programı Öğrencisi **Oğuzhan DEVECİ**'nin sahibi olduğu "Çalışan Erkek Ergenlerde Çocuk İşçiliğine Bağlı Ebeveynleşme Olgusunun İncelenmesi: Nitel Bir Çalışma" başlıklı yüksek lisans tezine ilişkin **23.11.2018 -3538** tarih ve sayılı etik kurul onay talebi görüşülmüş ve proje önerisinde, araştırma kapsamında uygulanacağı beyan edilen veri toplama yöntemlerinin araştırma etiğine uygun olduğuna **OYBİRLİĞİ** ile karar verilmiştir.


Prof. Dr. Melike SAYIL
Başkan


Prof. Dr. Berin GÜR
Üye


Doç. Dr. Cem AKGÜNER
Üye


Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Bengi ÜNAL
Üye


Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Kürşad DEMİRUTKU
Üye


Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Tekin KÖSE
Üye


Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Mana Ece TUNA
Üye


Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Aylin ÇAKIROĞLU ÇEVİK
Üye