

HOW CHILDREN AND THEIR PARENTS REASON ABOUT INEQUALITIES  
AND EXCLUSION BASED ON SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS: THE ROLES OF  
CHILDREN'S AGE, FAMILY SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND AND  
EXCLUSION CONTEXT

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## ABSTRACT

### HOW CHILDREN AND THEIR PARENTS REASON ABOUT INEQUALITIES AND EXCLUSION BASED ON SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS: THE ROLES OF CHILDREN'S AGE, FAMILY SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND AND EXCLUSION CONTEXT

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The aim of this dissertation was to examine children's and their parents' reasoning about inequalities and exclusion based on socioeconomic status (SES). By adopting a mixed-methods approach, one qualitative and one quantitative study was conducted. In the qualitative study, thirty-three parent-child dyads (seventeen from low socioeconomic background) were interviewed separately. Findings of the thematic analyses showed that access to economic and social resources was perceived as important factors shaping both children's and their parents' perspectives about relationships and educational opportunities, even when not asked explicitly. Both children and their parents shared many boundary conditions, which would affect their willingness to contact with others from different socioeconomic backgrounds. In the quantitative study, the roles of children's age,

family SES and context on children's and their parents' reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion were investigated. In total, 270 parent-child dyads from low and high socioeconomic backgrounds attended this study. Despite the great emphasis of socioeconomic exclusion as a form of discrimination and a moral violation, study variables affected participants' judgments. Particularly, older children and children from low SES approached socioeconomic exclusion as less tolerable, and they had a more complex understanding of the consequences of such discriminations. Children from affluent families approached this type of exclusion more in terms of protecting status-quo. For parents' reasoning, the most influential factor was exclusion context such that exclusion in peer context was condoned more compared to educational discrimination. Novel findings of the current study are considered valuable both for the related literature and for its practical applications.

**Keywords:** Socioeconomic Status, Social Exclusion, Moral Judgments, Social Reasoning Developmental Model, Parent-Child Dyads

## ÖZ

### ÇOCUKLAR VE EBEVEYNLERİ SOSYOEKONOMİK DÜZEYE BAĞLI EŞİTSİZLİKLERİ VE DIŞLAMAYI NASIL DEĞERLENDİRİYOR: ÇOCUĞUN YAŞI, AİLENİN SOSYOEKONOMİK GEÇMİŞİ VE DIŞLAMA BAĞLAMININ ROLLERİ

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Bu tezin temel amacı, çocukların ve ebeveynlerinin sosyoekonomik düzeye (SED) bağlı eşitsizlikler ve sosyoekonomik dışlama hakkındaki muhakemelerini incelemektir. Karma yöntem yaklaşımı benimsenerek tez kapsamında, bir nitel ve bir nicel çalışma yapılmıştır. Nitel çalışmada, otuz üç ebeveyn-çocuk çifti ile (düşük sosyoekonomik düzeyden on yedi aile olmak üzere) ayrı ayrı görüşülmüştür. Tematik analizlerin sonuçlarına göre, çocuklar ve ebeveynleri kendilerine doğrudan sorulmadığı koşullarda bile ekonomik ve sosyal kaynaklara erişimi ilişkilerini, sosyal etkileşimlerini ve eğitim fırsatları hakkındaki bakış açılarını şekillendiren önemli etkenler olarak değerlendirmişlerdir. Buna ek olarak, hem çocuklar hem de ebeveynleri, başka sosyoekonomik düzeyden bireylerle ilişki kurmaya dair



isteklerini etkileyen birçok kısıtlayıcı faktör olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Bu faktörler katılımcıların kendi SED'lerinden etkilenmiştir. Nicel çalışmada ise, çocukların yaşının, aile sosyoekonomik geçmişinin ve dışlama bağlamının, katılımcıların sosyoekonomik dışlama hakkındaki muhakemeleri üzerindeki rolü incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmaya düşük ve yüksek sosyoekonomik koşullardan olmak üzere toplamda 270 ebeveyn-çocuk çifti katılmıştır. Katılımcıların sosyoekonomik dışlamayı bir tür ayrımcılık ve ahlaki ihlal olarak değerlendirmesine rağmen, çalışma değişkenlerinin de katılımcıların kararlarını etkilediği bulunmuştur. Özellikle, büyük çocuklar ve düşük SED ailelerden gelen çocukların, sosyoekonomik dışlamaya daha az kabul edilebilir yaklaştıkları görülmüş ve bu ayrımcılığın sonuçları hakkında daha gelişmiş bir anlayışa sahip oldukları bulunmuştur. Daha varlıklı ailelerden gelen çocuklar ise, sosyoekonomik dışlamaya daha fazla statükoyu koruma motivasyonu ile yaklaşmışlardır. Ebeveynlerin muhakemesini etkileyen en önemli faktör dışlama bağlamıdır. Ebeveynler, akran ilişkilerinden dışlamayı, eğitimde ayrımcılığa oranla daha kabul edilebilir değerlendirmişlerdir. Mevcut özgün bulguların hem ilgili alan yazına hem de pratik uygulamalara değerli katkıları olacağı düşünülmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Sosyoekonomik Düzey, Sosyal Dışlama, Ahlaki Yargılar, Sosyal Muhakeme Gelişimi Modeli, Ebeveyn-Çocuk Çiftleri

*To my father*

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Overview**

In a graduate seminar meeting, many other colleagues and I were discussing educational policies. As the discussion continued with sharing personal experiences from our childhood, I shared a memory about a peer in my primary school. I remembered witnessing that he was excluded from some school activities and treated differently by some of the teachers, in a repeated fashion. As I had to change my school after the first year, I was also new in the classroom, so I was in a very similar situation as him, but I was not excluded. Therefore, I had found it hard to understand why some other peers were excluding him for no reason. As I had learned later, he was from an economically disadvantaged family. There was such a social climate at the school that nobody talked about the differential treatment he was exposed to, but it was quite visible. In that meeting, many other colleagues also shared similar memories from their school years; some of them were their own stories of neglect due to their families' financial and social status, and some others witnessed similar occasions. We were surprised by hearing such similar stories from many colleagues, although we were from different parts of Turkey and from diverse backgrounds. Interestingly, like me, many of my colleagues also recalled not knowing why this differential treatment was taking place at that time. It seemed that a problem that was left unspoken during our childhood years, differential treatment, and social exclusion based on the socioeconomic background, was very pervasive in our peer relationships and educational system.

In order to shed light on the salience of socioeconomic status in families' lives, this dissertation aimed to investigate how children and their parents reason

about socioeconomic exclusion. As the nature of social interactions suggests, whom to include -or exclude- to our social circles and groups, and the reasons behind these choices, are multifaceted. From time to time, both children and adults refer to personal factors as the reasons why they choose or not to choose to be in contact with specific individuals, such as personality traits, qualifications, and abilities (Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 2006). However, when the decisions of whom to include or exclude are based on social group memberships (e.g., gender, ethnicity, race, nationality, religion), the reasoning of exclusion include in- and out-group attitudes, prejudice and stereotyping as well as perceptions of status, power, and privilege (Killen, Mulvey, & Hitti, 2013). Excluding others based on social group membership is inherently related to individuals' understanding and attitudes towards unequal access to economic and social resources. While social group memberships -as in the cases of ethnicity, race, and gender- almost always accompanied by inequalities in many realms, the core phenomenon in many social group memberships is restricted access to economic and social resources (Carter & Reardon, 2014). Thus, examining how children and their parents' reason about inequalities based on socioeconomic status provide significant knowledge regarding the ways and contexts socioeconomic background emerges as a criterion shaping individuals' relationships and social encounters. It is also an important contribution to the understanding of the developmental patterns of stereotyping and prejudice towards individuals from socioeconomically disadvantaged backgrounds. By adopting the Social Reasoning Developmental Model (Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010) and extending the previous research on intergroup exclusion and resource allocation (e.g., Burkholder, Elenbaas, & Killen, 2019; Elenbaas & Killen, 2019; Schmidt, Svetlova, Johe, & Tomasello, 2016), this dissertation is the first comprehensive study examining evaluations, judgments, and reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion.

By conducting two studies and incorporating qualitative and quantitative methods, we strived for capturing a broader picture of how socioeconomic status and related dynamics influence children's and their parents' reasoning about their daily experiences, social interactions, and group dynamics. The first qualitative study included interviews with children and their parents aiming to capture in what

ways and contexts access to economic and social resources used as criteria shaping children's and their parents' relationships and social encounters. Content elicited from the first study was used to examine children's and their parents' reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion. To examine developmental trajectories in the understanding of socioeconomic status as a social exclusion criterion, in both studies, we mainly focused on the transition between middle childhood and middle adolescence. We recruited children and their families in the age groups of 8-10 and 14-16-years old. In addition, by including families both from the low and high socioeconomic background, possible differences and similarities between two groups regarding their approach to socioeconomic exclusion are aimed to be revealed.

The following sections of this chapter review the literature on theoretical perspectives and related research. The chapter begins with the conceptualization of socioeconomic status and continues with the definitions and types of social exclusion. Then it is followed by the theoretical background of the dissertation, predictors of intergroup exclusion reasoning as age, socioeconomic background, and context of the exclusion. Lastly, aims and the hypotheses of the current study are presented at the end of this chapter.

## **1.2 Conceptualization of Socioeconomic Status**

As the core context of this dissertation, it is essential to conceptualize socioeconomic status (SES) before proceeding to the literature review. Researchers examining unequal access to different types of resources (e.g., wealth, education, occupation, prestige, and power) and related psychosocial dynamics from different fields used various definitions, terminologies, and methodologies to address SES (Côté, 2011). Often used interchangeably, SES, and social class are the most commonly used terminologies to refer to the related phenomena. Perspectives on the study of SES -or social class- date back to the labor division perspective of Marx and Engels (1848; 1973), focusing on the social stratification between the proletariat and bourgeoisie based on the means of production. Later accounts expanded the social and psychological dynamics associated with SES -or social

class- to a broader perspective by approaching it as a type of cultural identity. According to these perspectives (e.g., Bourdieu, 1985; Destin, Rheinschmidt-Same, & Richeson, 2017; Markus & Kitayama, 2003), individuals socialize to their social classes through certain experiences, norms, and social expectations. A recent perspective on the psychological study of SES, *social cognitive perspective*, combines the labor perspective with cultural approaches (Kraus, Piff, Mendoza-Denton, Rheinschmidt, & Keltner, 2012). According to this perspective, tangible and structural means individuals can access, such as wealth, educational attainment, occupation, lead them into adapting specific cognitions, behaviors, and experiences through subjective perceptions of social rank. These dynamics are also shaped by societal expectations, norms, and sociopolitical dynamics. Based on the perspective of Kraus et al. (2012), in this dissertation, SES is also conceptualized as a socio-cultural dimension rooted in the access to material and objective resources; and within time, affecting individuals' evaluations and perceptions of themselves and others, and how they relate these perceptions to themselves and their social world. In line with much psychological research, we use the term SES rather than the social class considering the conceptual differences between two terminologies.

### **1.3 Social Exclusion: Types and Its Impacts**

As the nature of social life suggests, the decisions of whom to include and exclude from peer groups, neighborhoods, communities, and even institutions, are prevalent (Wesselmann & William, 2013). Both children and adults experience being excluded as well as they exclude others or witness exclusion, interchangeably. Social exclusion might occur due to multiple reasons and in many contexts, but it has been generally examined under two main categories (Killen et al., 2013). The first category, *interpersonal exclusion* or *rejection*, refers to individual characteristics or personality traits that might make individuals susceptible to exclusion, such as being shy, aggressive, or fearful. The second type, *intergroup exclusion* is exclusion based on social group memberships such as gender, ethnicity, race, and nationality. It is important to note that regardless of its type, exclusion has significant impacts on both children's and adults' lives since

feelings of belongingness and maintaining social bonds have been accepted as one of the core human motivations (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Thus, also supported by evolutionary views (Leary & Cottrell, 2013), feelings of rejection and being excluded from personal relationships or groups have been shown to damage physical and psychological well-being of children and adults (Gerber & Wheeler, 2009; Gunther Moor et al., 2012; Williams, Forgas, Hippiel, & Zadro, 2005).

Unlike interpersonal rejection, *intergroup exclusion* is a form of prejudice (Cooley, Elenbaas, & Killen, 2016). When the decision of whom to include and exclude is made on the grounds of social group membership, it refers to intergroup attitudes and stereotyping along with perceptions of group status and norms (Rutland et al., 2010). In this sense, the consequences of intergroup exclusion have both personal and societal impacts. On a personal level, being exposed to stereotyping and discriminatory attitudes have negative influences on both children's (Douglass, Yip, & Shelton, 2014) and adults' psychological outcomes (Balsam et al., 2011; Richeson & Shelton, 2007). On a societal level, the origins of intergroup exclusion are rooted in the historical inequalities. In societies where social hierarchies and inequalities are evident, individuals become more occupied with social status, hold more stereotypes and prejudices, and social exclusion, especially towards disadvantaged groups, becomes more prevalent (Weinger, 2000c). This social dynamic also makes individuals more segregated; people choose to share environments with others who have similar resources, both tangible and psychological. All these patterns perpetuate the cycle of inequality (Moya & Fiske, 2017).

Attributions and judgments about different social groups, biases, and stereotypes have their origins in childhood years. These attitudes also tend to persist in adulthood years once they have been internalized (Abrams & Killen, 2014). Starting with preschool years, children use social group membership criteria while evaluating their peer interactions (Bigler & Liben, 2006). Indeed, children have been shown to grasp power and status dynamics early in life. They are also capable of detecting privileges and disadvantages accompanying certain group memberships, such as race (Olson et al., 2012). While children's understanding of group dynamics develops, they also learn and apply various moral concerns in their

peer relations, such as fairness, equality, equity, and rights (Killen & Smetana, 2015). Depending on the context, children are capable of weighing group dynamics and moral concerns, reject exclusion solely based on group membership (Hitti et al., 2014), and are motivated to provide equality and rectify inequalities (Elenbaas & Killen, 2016b). All these dynamics make childhood years an important period to understand the origins of prejudices and intergroup attitudes and to promote children's inclusive attitudes towards individuals coming from different backgrounds.

### **1.3.1 SES as an Intergroup Exclusion Criterion**

In this dissertation, we approached being from a particular socioeconomic background as a social group membership and examined the legitimacy of SES as an intergroup exclusion criterion. The study of SES as a group membership has been evaluated as “tricky” compared to other social group memberships. As mentioned by Thomas and Azmitia (2014), the so-called “invisibility and fluidity” of socioeconomic status (or social class in their terms) might underestimate its pervasive role in our lives. Socioeconomic background, except the cases of extreme poverty, is less visible in comparison to gender or race. Additionally, the ideal of upward mobility through educational aspirations and personal effort (i.e., meritocracy) brings further challenges, and it might lead to the perception of SES as fluid and “temporary” concept (Lareau & Weininger, 2008). Even though there are individuals who actually gain better living conditions through upward mobility, disadvantaged circumstances often enforce boundaries for individuals and restrain them from reaching desired life goals. The inequality cycle tends to persist over the generations (Ostrove & Cole, 2003a).

Socioeconomic background is accompanied by a social context which regulates individuals' physical and psychological experiences substantially. Individuals from a certain socioeconomic background tend to live in similar neighborhoods and engage with each other more frequently (Kraus et al., 2013; Moya & Fiske, 2017). SES also influences the ways individuals think of themselves and how they relate to others (Kraus et al., 2009). Access to economic resources



and related perceptions of social rank within the society also constitute certain knowledge, norms, and values shared by the members of a socioeconomic group (Kraus et al., 2012). Maybe more importantly, people have been shown to evaluate SES as an important factor defining who they are (Easterbrook et al., 2020) and as an integral part of their identity (Thomas & Azmitia, 2014). All these notions provide strong evidence that SES is more than a context surrounding the individual; instead, it is a group membership rooted in the degree of access to economic and social resources and accompanying subjective experiences.

Does SES impact children's lives as much as it does adults'? One might think that particularly more abstract components of SES, such as educational attainment and occupational status, might be harder for children to grasp or detect. However, when it comes to more concrete cues of wealth (e.g., material ownership, clothing, housing), studies have shown that children as young as 4-5 years old are able to classify people based on wealth (Ramsey, 1991), use wealth cues in their evaluations of unfamiliar people (Shutts et al., 2016), and show a preference for novel groups with more tangible resources (Horwitz et al., 2014). As children get older, their understanding of wealth, poverty, and the reasons behind socioeconomic inequalities get more sophisticated (Flanagan et al., 2014; Sigelman, 2012). With age, children also socialize in their socioeconomic groups and learn the accepted norms and attitudes within their groups (Enesco & Navarro, 2003). Considering the salience of socioeconomic factors in children's lives, similar to adults, examining the role of SES as an intergroup exclusion criterion is applicable.

Considering the importance of childhood years in the development of intergroup attitudes, in the studies constituting this dissertation, the main focus and theoretical perspectives revolve around the children's reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion. The primary caregivers of the children were also recruited to have a more comprehensive understanding of SES as an intergroup exclusion criterion. Since there is no previous research investigating adults' social exclusion reasoning concerning SES, it was aimed to reveal possible similarities and differences between children's and their parents' reasoning patterns. As an exploratory part, the congruence between children's and their parents' evaluation of socioeconomic exclusion is investigated. Focusing on a potential value

transmission between parents and their children in this respect is also a unique contribution of this dissertation to the literature. In the following sections, theoretical perspectives guiding this dissertation are explained.

## **1.4 Theoretical Framework: Social Reasoning Developmental Model**

In order to investigate children's and their parents' reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion, studies in this dissertation are grounded on the framework of the Social Reasoning Developmental (SRD) model. SRD model (Killen & Rutland, 2011; Rutland et al., 2010) is a social-cognitive developmental perspective accounting for children's evaluations and reasoning about social decisions in various social contexts. It draws from foundational social and developmental psychology theories. Particularly, the SRD model integrates identity and group membership perspective of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), developmental accounts of group dynamics (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Nesdale, 2004), and Social Domain Theory (Smetana, 2006; Turiel, 2006). The core argument of the SRD model is that while children decide and reason about social circumstances, including intergroup dynamics, they weigh multiple concerns of morality and in- and out-group dynamics by considering the requirements of the social contexts. Children's understanding and capacity to balance and prioritize different concerns also develop and transform as they get older. With all its aspects, SRD model offers an informative framework to examine whether children and their parents use SES as an intergroup exclusion criterion, and if so, on which grounds they evaluate and justify their perspectives of socioeconomic exclusion.

### **1.4.1 Social Identity Approaches**

One of the theoretical accounts which provided a basis for the SRD model is the seminal work of Tajfel and Turner's (1979) Social Identity Theory (SIT). SIT suggests that identification with social groups is an essential component of the self, and it affects the ways individuals see themselves and how they relate with their environment. Perceiving the groups we belong to –in-groups– as more favorable

and distinct, and other groups –out-groups– as negative have psychological functions due to their implications on our self-concept. Social identities become particularly salient in some social contexts and through social interactions since they provide individuals a certain social standing. These features of social identities might promote self-esteem and increase the sense of belongingness. However, SIT asserts that strong identification with social groups (e.g., nationality, ethnicity) coupled with emotional attachment also leads to intergroup biases, stereotyping, and discrimination towards out-group members, as well as conformity and loyalty to the in-group norms (Abrams & Rutland, 2008).

#### **1.4.1.1 Social Identity Development Theory**

While the accounts of the SIT provided important insights into adults' intergroup dynamics, it lacked the developmental perspectives regarding the role of social identities and group dynamics in children's lives. By expanding the premises of the SIT, Social Identity Development Theory (SIDT) was one of the first developmental perspectives focusing on how children learn about group identities, prejudice, and their developmental trajectories (Nesdale, 2004). While the main focus of the SIDT was on ethnic and racial prejudices, Nesdale (2004) proposed a stage-wise perspective to prejudice development and argued that children usually develop in-group bias before they develop attributions about the out-groups. Core factors of the SIDT revolved around the identification with the norms of the in-group, and the degree of the perceived threat from the out-groups. SIDT researchers argued that the strength of children's group identification affects how much they adopt in-groups' attitudes towards the out-groups (Nesdale, Durkin, Maas, & Griffiths, 2005). In addition, when children perceive a threat to their in-groups' status or success, they also tend to show more in-group bias. Supporting these two premises, Nesdale and colleagues (2005) showed that Anglo-Australian children, ranging between the ages of 6 to 10, reported more negative attitudes toward out-group members (Pacific Islanders) when they had stronger ethnic identification and felt threatened by the out-group. When children evaluate excluding out-group members as their in-groups' norm, they also tend to endorse stereotypical

attributions towards out-group members (Nesdale et al., 2005). Even though the SIDT did not fully account for the multifaceted interactions between children's age, group norms (e.g., intragroup vs. intergroup) and different social requirements, it formed a significant theoretical base for the developmental study of prejudice and group dynamics.

#### **1.4.2 Developmental Subjective Group Dynamics Model**

Another developmental perspective that extended the premises of the SIT is Developmental Subjective Group Dynamics model (DSGD; Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Abrams et al., 2007). As a model investigating the development of group dynamics, the DSGD accounted for the complex nature of group norms in children's lives and underlined the impacts of both intergroup and intragroup (members of the in-group) attributions. Intragroup dynamics pointed out the evaluations about the in-group members who don't follow or reject in-group norms (i.e., deviant members) (Abrams et al., 2007). Researchers adopting the DSGD model argue that children do not solely prefer their in-group members and judge them more favorably, but they also consider the actions of their in-group members regarding their harmony with the group or group loyalty. Also called as black sheep effect, on some occasions, children favor the out-group member compared to the deviant in-group member. Children's capacity to evaluate intragroup and intergroup dynamics simultaneously also by considering the requirements of the social context develops with age. Supported by the previous research, children primarily adopt basic in-group preferences and decide more based on group membership (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Abrams, Rutland, Cameron, & Marques, 2003). However, particularly in the transition between middle childhood to early adolescence with further development in cognitive (e.g., mental state understanding, Theory of Mind) and social abilities, children grasp that group identification takes more than just being the members of the same group. Instead, it requires group loyalty and sharing similar values.

While the DSGD model initially builds on the development of group dynamics in the novel (e.g., experimentally created groups) and minimal groups

(e.g., summer camps), it has important implications for intergroup exclusion, including present studies' focus on socioeconomic exclusion. As discussed in the previous sections, members of different socioeconomic groups experience different lives due to the access disparities, share certain values and norms (Kraus et al., 2012) and relate this knowledge to their identities (Thomas & Azmitia, 2014). Apart from this segregation, both at physical and psychological realms, Giddens (1998) also drew attention to the tendency of "the wealthy" to separate themselves from the working class, such as not using state hospitals, public education, public transportations, etc. If these patterns are detected by children and are believed as common practices, they might be seen as normative practices of individuals from high SES. For instance, if children think that individuals from different economic backgrounds don't –or shouldn't– use the same public services, educational institutions, or social spheres, these perceptions might explain their motivations for protecting status-quo. In this sense, even though we did not directly assess what children evaluate as normative to certain socioeconomic groups, we can still infer valuable knowledge that contributes to children's and their parents' reasoning of SES as a social exclusion criteria.

### **1.4.3 Social Domain Theory**

One of the major constituents of the SRD model is Social Domain Theory formulated by Turiel (2006), Smetana (2006), and Nucci (2001). Domain theory pertains to how children and adults make sense of, evaluate, and reason about a diverse range of situations which would occur in the social world. It approaches the social world as the coexistence of various motivations, goals, concerns, and proposes that the situations we encounter can be evaluated under three main domains of social knowledge as; *moral*, *social-conventional* and *psychological* domains (Smetana, 2006). While the *moral domain* covers the issues of fairness, equality, rights, and others' welfare, *social-conventional domain* includes regulations in the societies providing the functioning of the groups, such as norms, traditions, authority issues. The last domain, *psychological*, refers to individual choices and preferences. Domain theory suggests that all three domains develop

and are learned through social interactions and experiences (Turiel, 2006). Importantly, moral, social-conventional, and psychological domains of social knowledge co-exist from very early ages in life, though each has its developmental trajectories.

There are important notions which distinguish domain theory from the traditional cognitive-developmental theories of Piaget (1952) and Kohlberg (1984). Although Piaget also approached morality as a separate construct than group concerns and norms, he suggested that children begin to consider different concerns simultaneously and understand others' perspectives in school years. In addition, Kohlberg's classical model to moral development suggested a stage-wise development in which children move from a pre-moral stage to group-level, followed by a stage of moral understanding. Contrary to these assumptions, numerous studies grounded on Social Domain Theory showed that from very early ages, children are aware of the moral, social-conventional and psychological domains of knowledge, and refer to them while evaluating various social situations and contexts (Smetana, 1999; 2006; Turiel, 2006). Naturally, younger children refer to these domains in simpler terms, such as evaluating harming someone as wrong or recognizing the role of the authority figures over their decisions (e.g., parents, teachers) (Killen & Smetana, 2015). When children particularly reach middle childhood and adolescence, they also prioritize certain domains over others, and their reasoning behind such compromises advances.

Social Domain Theory provided an important theoretical base to the investigations of how children decide, evaluate, and reason about complex social situations. One of these complex situations in which moral values, group concerns, and norms often clash with each other is intergroup exclusion. Many studies using domain theory investigated how children evaluate and reason about intergroup exclusion in different contexts, such as activities (Malti, Killen, & Gasser, 2012; Park, Lee-Kim, Killen, Park, & Kim, 2005) and peer relations (Crystal, Killen, & Ruck, 2010; Killen, Stangor, Price, Horn, & Sechrist, 2004). As an overall pattern, these studies showed that children do not find it acceptable to exclude a peer solely on the basis of group membership and justify their perspectives by referring to the moral concerns (Killen & Stangor, 2001). However, when situations get

multifaceted, and group concerns are involved, especially older children use group membership as a legitimate criterion for exclusion and refer to group cohesiveness, norms, and functioning. Researchers using domain theory also accounted for the complex nature of social relationships and investigated many contextual and personal factors affecting children's reasoning of intergroup exclusion. Some examples were the effects of children's own group memberships (Brenick & Killen, 2014; Verkuyten & Steenhuis, 2005), the source of the exclusion decisions (e.g., parents, peers, teachers; Park et al., 2012), personal closeness and the context of the exclusion (Killen et al., 2004) as well as personal features, such as sympathy (Dys, Peplak, Colasante, & Malti, 2019). Overall, research conducted with domain theory provided important insights into the developmental study of morality and group identity, and about which grounds children evaluate intergroup exclusion.

By synthesizing identity perspectives with domain theory, Social Reasoning Developmental Model offers a comprehensive developmental framework to the study of prejudice development. For social interactions in which group identities and accompanying biases clash with universal values of morality, the SRD model guides our understanding of how -and why- children interpret, decide, and evaluate in respective situations. Even though the model emphasizes the changes occurring in the developmental process, its premises also apply to adults, with a lifespan perspective. In this dissertation, the SRD model guided the study of how children and their parents reason about socioeconomic exclusion. Due to the salience of socioeconomic background as an intergroup factor, it has a strong potential to bring social-conventional issues as justifications of possible exclusion, such as attributions and stereotypes associated with individuals from low and high socioeconomic backgrounds, and motivation to protect status-quo. On the other hand, exclusion based on SES also includes violation of moral concerns, such as fairness, equality, and equity. In this dissertation, particularly, it is aimed to examine to what extent children and their parents find socioeconomic exclusion as acceptable and their reasoning of the phenomena. While investigating these reasoning components, the SRD model provides a robust framework to interpret how children and adults coordinate and weigh group concerns and moral values.

## **1.5 Factors Influencing the Reasoning of Intergroup Exclusion**

Reasoning about intergroup exclusion is a multifaceted issue. Previous research has revealed that there are many personal and contextual factors shaping the content and reasoning patterns of both children and adults. In this dissertation, we focused on three factors that were shown to affect evaluations of intergroup exclusion predominantly; 1) children's chronological age, 2) individuals' socioeconomic background, and 3) the context of the exclusion. In the following sections, the significance of each factor is described and discussed in relation to intergroup dynamics.

### **1.5.1 The Role of Age: Developmental Mechanisms**

Similar to the evaluations of many societal issues, how children reason about intergroup exclusion is influenced by their developmental stages. One of the main aims of this dissertation is to examine the potential influences of age on children's interpretation of socioeconomic background and its relevance as an intergroup exclusion criterion. For this reason, these sections focus on the developmental trajectories of children's understanding of wealth, access opportunities as well as morality and group concerns. Inherently, the issue of socioeconomic exclusion, as in other intergroup contexts, requires children to incorporate multiple social, moral, and group concerns to their evaluations. Understanding and the ability to weigh these concerns simultaneously have been shown to advance with increased age (Killen & Rutland, 2011; Killen & Smetana, 2015).

In the current studies, we focused on the developmental changes occurring in the transition between middle childhood to middle adolescence and recruited families who had children between the ages of 8-10 and 14-16. This period has been evaluated as important to examine prejudice development in broad terms. Compared to children, adolescents show improvements in their abstract judgment abilities, such as hypothetical thinking and perspective-taking skills, due to further developments in the prefrontal cortex and cognitive maturation (Steinberg, Vandell,



& Bornstein, 2010). Socially, adolescents' experiences get more diverse, and their peer groups become more crowded and less segregated compared to younger children. As a result, they come into contact with peers who are from a diverse range of backgrounds in different contexts. In the meantime, they also continue to internalize the norms and conventions of their groups and communities. All these socio-cognitive developments and the diversity in social experiences lead adolescents to weigh concerns of morality, group cohesiveness, and personal values in more advanced ways (Richardson, Hitti, Mulvey, & Killen, 2014). However, which concerns are prioritized over others do not follow a single age trajectory. On the contrary, Raabe and Beelmann's (2011) meta-analysis revealed that particularly in intergroup judgments, contextual factors influence adolescents' reasoning more prevalently than they did for younger children.

#### **1.5.1.1 Children's Understanding of Wealth and Access Opportunities**

In almost anywhere in the world, there are social hierarchies based on different group memberships. Members of certain groups face restricted access to resources and accompanying psychosocial consequences, while others stand in more privileged positions. The underlying problem in social group memberships is that members who are in "disadvantaged" positions are exposed to status attributions, in addition to the difficulties in accessing essential resources. Children are also born into this inevitable societal dynamics and they face inequalities. They grow up experiencing these inequalities as well as by observing their families, friends, neighborhoods, and begin to grasp the link between access to resources and related status attributions early in life (Olson, Dweck, Spelke, & Banaji, 2011). Naturally, young children's conceptualization of status relies more on tangible cues (i.e., wealth), such as the type of toys they have, the houses they and others live in, extracurricular activities they can attend to, etc. As children reach adolescence years, they capture the link between material and symbolic means of status (e.g., occupational prestige, power) and their relations to access opportunities (Flanagan et al., 2014).

The developmental study of how children conceptualize economic inequalities dates back to Leahy's seminal work (1981; 1983), including interviews conducted with children between the ages of 6 to 17. In these classical studies, children as young as 6 were able to differentiate the "rich" from the "poor" mainly based on the amount of tangible resources individuals own. Yet, children found it hard to explain the reasons behind why some people are "poor," and others are "rich" (Enesco & Navarro, 2003; Ramsey, 1991). Even though younger children are not able to capture complex reasons behind the economic inequalities, wealth has been shown to influence their decisions and evaluations. Young children have been shown to favor wealthy-depicted individuals (via photographs) more frequently (Elenbaas, 2019b; Shutts et al., 2016), evaluate wealthier peers as "nicer" (Li, Spitzer, & Olson, 2014) and prefer more affluent peer groups (Horwitz et al., 2014). As children reach 9- or 10-years old, they begin to attribute the reasons why economic inequalities exist, such as lack of a job, education, or motivation (Sigelman, 2012; 2013). Children's prowealth attributions also influence their choices and decisions. One line of research revealed that they expect resource-rich individuals to benefit disadvantaged others more (Ahl & Dunham, 2019) and share their goods with them (Ahl, Duong, & Dunham, 2019).

The causes behind children's preferences of wealthy individuals are still an open discussion. Some accounts speculate that children might expect wealthy others to share more merely because they have more resources. Others claim that children affiliate status information with material wealth and endorse positive stereotypes towards individuals from privileged backgrounds. Regardless of the explanation, children have been shown to endorse more positive stereotypes to wealthy individuals than they do for the disadvantaged (Mistry, Brown, White, Chow, & Gillen-O'Neel, 2015; Woods, Kurtz-Costes, & Rowley, 2005). Similar to adults, children also attribute negative stereotypes to economically disadvantaged individuals, such as not being hardworking or intelligent enough. Recognizing these attitudes and stereotypes are essential since they lead to social barriers for children from financially disadvantaged backgrounds. Importantly, children do not always rely on their stereotypical assumptions. In middle and late childhood years, children start to capture the differences between their attitudes and commonly held

stereotypes (McKown & Strambler, 2009). This awareness helps them to notice others' discriminatory intentions, especially in intergroup contexts.

As children reach adolescence years, their capacity to interpret more abstract and structural reasons behind the inequalities; thus, their knowledge about societies develops (Smetana & Villalobos, 2009). Especially older adolescents have been shown to have a better understanding of finances and money matters (Bowen, 2002) and their families' socioeconomic positions compared to their peers and other families in their neighborhoods (Goodman et al., 2001). Older adolescents also realize that there are structural and institutional dynamics contributing to the poverty problem beyond individuals' personal motivations for work, education, or intelligence (Emler & Dickinson, 2005; Leahy, 1983). Similarly, adolescents recognize that access to resources is restricted by individuals' socioeconomic positions (Flanagan et al., 2014; Mistry et al., 2015). They also approach the unfair distribution of the resources within society as a complex problem and evaluate concerns of unequal access, discrimination, and institutional problems (Arsenio & Willems, 2017).

Altogether, the transition between middle childhood and adolescence is marked by important developmental changes in terms of children's capacity to understand economics, the complexity behind socioeconomic inequalities on personal, societal, and institutional levels. The awareness of such issues is critical; since for children to be motivated to challenge the status-quo and rectify past disadvantages, they need to recognize unequal access to resources, underlying causes of inequalities, and societal hierarchies. Building upon the previous research, on which grounds children evaluate and reason about socioeconomic exclusion are highly dependent on their conceptualization of socioeconomic inequalities.

### **1.5.1.2 Children's Approach to Moral Concerns**

Evaluations of societal issues often evoke various moral considerations, particularly in the context of access disparities. As one of the domains of social knowledge, moral concerns include issues of others' welfare, fairness, justice and

rights (Smetana, 2006). While the emergence of such concepts occurs early in life (Killen & Smetana, 2015), socio-cognitive processes and contextual factors significantly shape children's moral reasoning patterns.

Developmentally, children have been shown to approach fairness issues from the perspective of equality. As early as the second year of life, they prefer allocating resources equally and reject unequal distribution of resources (Baumard, Mascaro, & Chevallier, 2012; Damon, 1977; Schmidt & Sommerville, 2011). Young children's preference for equality doesn't solely mean that they are unable to detect other forms of moral claims, such as merit or need. There is evidence that preschool children can recognize merit while allocating resources (Baumard et al., 2012; Sigelman & Waitzman, 1991). Likewise, 4- and 5-year-olds were shown to allocate more resources to a disadvantaged child (Li et al., 2014) and evaluate both equal and unequal distribution of resources as fair (Rizzo & Killen, 2016). Yet, children show an overall tendency to evaluate violations of equality principle more negatively (Elenbaas, 2019).

As children get older, their approach to fairness issues also advances since they better capture the requirements of the circumstances. For instance, for individuals who were exposed to inequalities, supporting the equality principle is not the fair solution. Thus, implications for the recipient should be considered, such as promoting equity. Indeed, in their study, Rizzo and Killen (2016) found that compared to their younger peers, 8-year-olds perceived equal allocation of resources as unfair when the recipient was from a town with limited amount of resources. Around these ages, children also start to differentiate resources that are necessary for others' welfare from the luxuries. For instance, when asked to distribute cookies, children as old as 8-years-old chose to preserve status-quo by favoring ethnically privileged groups (Olson et al., 2011). On the contrary, when resources were essential, such as school materials or medical supplies, younger children were motivated to allocate more resources to the historically discriminated groups (i.e., African Americans, Elenbaas & Killen, 2016c) and evaluate differential treatment in education as unfair (Brown, 2006). In relation to this notion, children also view access to necessary resources as a type of right. For instance, children evaluate access to quality education as an important right both for

themselves and other individuals. Throughout middle childhood and adolescence, children advance their understanding of rights in the context of individuals' and groups' restricted access to resources (Helwig, Ruck, & Peterson-Badali, 2014). They also capture individual and societal implications of how unequal access to resources violates fundamental rights from a moral perspective.

Overall, children's approach to moral concerns follows a course from endorsing the equality principle to recognizing more complex solutions to preserve fairness. With age, children understand the societal and institutional dynamics behind the inequalities, and they adopt more sophisticated perspectives about what would be fair in different circumstances. The moral concerns discussed above - equality, equity, merit, rights- have important implications while examining how age influences children's reasoning of socioeconomic exclusion. If children would choose to evaluate excluding a peer solely based on SES as wrong, they need to understand access disparities in the society and their implications on individual and societal levels. Children's capacity to approach this dynamic from a moral viewpoint and as an issue of unfair treatment would be the first step to rectify past disadvantages.

### **1.5.1.3 Children's Coordination of Group and Moral Concerns**

In contexts where unequal distribution of resources is rooted in group memberships, issues of prejudice and stereotyping inherently arise. For children to view differential treatment based on group membership as unfair and as a form of discrimination (Cooley et al., 2016), they need to weigh multifaceted societal dynamics. On the one hand, as elaborated above, children in elementary years recognize that in order to compensate for the access disparities, situation-specific solutions are required. In these years, they integrate their knowledge about societal inequalities with moral values to promote fairness for disadvantaged individuals or groups (Elenbaas & Killen, 2016b, 2017). On the other hand, how children approach inequalities and intergroup dynamics is also influenced by social-conventional concerns, such as group status and functioning, societal norms, and stereotypes. Similar to moral understanding, how children approach social-

conventional issues also changes with age. In younger ages, children evaluate social-conventional issues in relation to authority rules and the protection of social order more frequently (Turiel, 1983). As children get older, their understanding of how group memberships are linked to status and power dynamics advances (Rutland et al., 2010). Consequently, they take into account their groups' expectations and social roles more thoroughly. Age-related changes in both moral and social-conventional domains of knowledge make the transition between childhood and adolescence an important period to explore socioeconomic exclusion.

Children in preschool and elementary years have been shown to favor their in-groups in the context of minimal (Dunham, Baron, & Carey, 2011), gender (Renno & Shutts, 2015; Shutts, Roben, & Spelke, 2013) and racial (Bigler & Liben, 2006; McGlothlin & Killen, 2006) groups. They also evaluate not helping in-groups members more negatively than they did for out-group members who refuse to help (Sierksma, Thijs, & Verkuyten, 2014). Children's tendency to prioritize in-groups often observed in the company of certain stereotypes and group-related attributions towards the members of out-groups. For instance, children refer to gender stereotypes when they evaluate who should be included in a gender stereotypic play (Theimer, Killen, & Stangor, 2001). On some occasions, children do not favor their in-groups solely. They sometimes demonstrate a preference for the out-group, when out-groups are perceived as higher in status, such as wealth (Horwitz et al., 2014) and cultural groups (Black-Gutman & Hickson, 1996; Kowalski & Lo, 2001). Children's preferences for their in-groups are also shaped by the needs of the out-groups, especially for older children. For instance, in their study, Elenbaas and Killen (2016) found that 5-6 year-olds chose to allocate more school supplies to their racial in-group when they were at a disadvantage. 10-11 year-olds, on the other hand, chose to allocate more supplies to the disadvantaged group regardless of the in- or out-group status. Similarly, 8- to 13-years-olds were found to be willing to help out-group members when they were in need (Sierksma, Thijs, & Verkuyten, 2015).

The critical difference between younger and older children is their capacity to weigh competing concerns of morality and social-conventional issues

simultaneously depending on the requirements of the context. Previous research adopting the SRD model also examined this developmental phenomenon and investigated children's reasoning about exclusion based on various social groups, such as gender, ethnicity, race, cultural and national memberships. Predominantly, across different ages and cultural contexts, children evaluate excluding a peer solely based on group membership as wrong and unfair. Examples include evaluations about non-Muslim children by Saudi-Arabian children (Alsamih & Tenenbaum, 2018), Jewish–Arabic children encounters (Brenick & Killen, 2014), Danish majority and minority children in Denmark (Møller & Tenenbaum, 2011), national exclusion by Swiss and non-Swiss adolescents (Malti et al., 2012), geographical exclusion in Turkey (Gonul & Sahin-Acar, 2018a), different racial groups residing in US (Killen, Henning, Clark Kelly, Crystal, & Ruck, 2007; Killen & Stangor, 2001), and gender exclusion in Korean (Park et al., 2012), Turkish (Gonul & Sahin-Acar, 2018b) and American (Killen, Pisacane, Lee-Kim, & Ardilla-Rey, 2001) samples.

Despite children's predominant tendency to reject exclusion based on social group memberships, when situations get more complex, and group concerns become salient, especially older children's approach to intergroup exclusion varies. For instance, when children perceive their groups' functioning and cohesiveness are at stake, they use group membership as a legitimate exclusion criterion more frequently. In their study, Killen and Stangor (2001) asked first, fourth and seventh graders to evaluate excluding peers from stereotypical activities (ballet, baseball, math, basketball) based on gender and race. Seventh graders were found to be more concerned with the group functioning and to include the peer who fits the stereotype of the group by referring to the social-conventional concerns. Parallel patterns were also shown in other studies (Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin, & Stangor, 2002; Møller & Tenenbaum, 2011) such that adolescents consider group cohesiveness and norms in more advanced ways, and approach intergroup exclusion as more acceptable depending on the context. To date, only one study (Burkholder et al., 2019) directly assessed 8- to 14-year-old children's evaluation of exclusion based wealth and race with an intersectionality perspective (i.e., being African American or European American). Findings indicated that increased age

was related to perceiving wealthy groups as exclusive and higher rates of stereotyping towards affluent peers. Children were shown to evaluate interwealth exclusion more acceptable than interracial exclusion, and they referred to different domains for their justifications, such as wrongfulness of exclusion and discrimination for low wealth peers and stereotypes for high wealth peers.

#### **1.5.1.4 Morality and Emotions in Intergroup Exclusion**

Cognitions and emotions are two important constituents of our behaviors. The ways we feel about morally-laden situations are suggested to affect the ways we reason about societal issues and our attitudes towards other individuals and groups (Malti & Ongley, 2014). For instance, while feeling guilty or sympathetic towards others is believed to promote prosocial behaviors and helping, feelings of pride might be related to discriminatory behaviors. In addition, studies showed when children evaluate situations including harm to a victim (e.g., bullying), the emotions they attributed to victims were accompanied by moral concerns, such as violation of others' welfare and empathy (Gasser & Keller, 2009). Compared to previous research examining children's emotions in moral transgressions, studies focusing on emotions in the context of exclusion are fewer. Existing examples indicated that while children attributed various emotions to the excluded and excluding peers, their content varied depending on children's age and context. For instance, 5<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> graders from Japan and the United States were asked to reason about their emotions in a situation if a disabled peer would like to join them in social activities (Crystal, Watanabe, & Chen, 1999). When children were asked to put themselves in the shoes of the disabled peer, they reported feeling embarrassed, jealous, and bad, whereas they reported feeling empathetic if they were to decide whether the disabled peer should join them or not. In other studies, children were asked their emotion attributions in intergroup contexts, such as excluding a national out-group member. Overall, being more prevalent among younger groups, children reported negatively valenced emotions of sadness, guilt, empathetic, and ashamed for the excluded out-group members (Malti et al., 2012; Peplak, Song, Colasante, & Malti, 2017) and justified these feelings with moral concerns. However, older



children (8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> graders in the related study) who are the members of the majority group, also attributed feelings of happiness and pride to the excluding child (Malti et al., 2012), and explained these attributions via social norms, stereotypes and authority influences. Only one study to date examined how children would feel by the exclusion of an economically disadvantaged peer (Dys et al., 2019). The findings of this study showed that compared to 4-year-olds, 8-year-olds reported negative emotions (e.g., sad, bad, guilty) more frequently, and children's attributions of negative emotions were predicted by their sympathy scores.

Overall, previous sections covered developmental changes observed in children's understanding of inequalities and social systems in relation to moral values and group dynamics. Numerous studies in respective fields showed that the period between middle childhood and middle adolescence is an important transition marked by a more sophisticated ability to coordinate and weigh different domains of social knowledge. Building on the extensive knowledge of moral and social development fields, one of the aims of this dissertation was to examine the role of age on children's reasoning of socioeconomic exclusion.

## **1.5.2 The Role of Socioeconomic Background**

How children and adults approach concerns of morality, group dynamics, and access disparities are profoundly affected by their positions in society. Through physical, psychological, and social mechanisms, individuals' access to resources and accompanying status dynamics impact their experiences and perspectives of societal problems. Therefore, in this dissertation, family SES constitutes another main study variable, and it is expected to influence both children's and their parents' reasoning of socioeconomic exclusion.

### **1.5.2.1 Perspectives for Adults**

Socioeconomic background (or social class as used in some resources) is a pervasive phenomenon shaping individuals' lives on many different levels. Differential access to economic and social resources segregates socioeconomic

groups physically and socially. These circumstances also apply to other group memberships, such as being a minority/majority in a country. Individuals tend to live in neighborhoods and engage in more intimate and stable relationships with others from similar socioeconomic backgrounds (Kraus et al., 2013; Ridgeway & Fisk, 2012). This segregation -mostly enforced by the access disparities if not voluntary choices- also leads individuals to live within their communities, share similar norms, values, and expectations (Bourdieu, 1985; Kraus, Piff, & Keltner, 2009; Markus & Kitayama, 2003). SES is also evaluated as a type of social identity and an important part of the self (Easterbrook et al., 2020; Thomas & Azmitia, 2014). Also rooted in status and hierarchy rankings within the societies, behaviors and cultural practices specific to socioeconomic groups are believed to be endorsed by both disadvantaged and affluent individuals (Jost & Burgess, 2000) and shown to be recognized even in minimal interactions (Kraus & Kelter, 2009).

Individuals from disadvantaged and affluent socioeconomic backgrounds have been shown as dissimilar in various psychological constructs. In their paper, Kraus and his colleagues brought various studies together, showing that higher socioeconomic background was linked to an increased sense of control, self-focus, and decreased empathy and prosociality. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence that lower socioeconomic background was associated with a lower sense of control, higher empathy, and prosociality rates, as well as the reference to more communal selves (for a review, see Kraus et al., 2012). This difference was also evident in adults' explanations of economic inequality. Individuals who reported higher subjective SES explained economic inequalities more in terms of dispositional factors, whereas individuals who reported lower subjective SES mentioned contextual and structural factors contributing to the inequality problem (Kraus et al., 2009). This particular finding is also parallel with other research showing that affluent adults were higher in entitlement, narcissism and they felt deserved in life (Piff, 2014). Overall, the stratification based on the access to economic and social resources greatly affects how individuals perceive their lives and psychological processes, above and beyond more concrete hardships caused by lower SES.

How individuals from low and high socioeconomic groups distance

themselves from each other is a dual process. The wealthy voluntarily withdraw themselves from certain social spaces and state-funded services where they can contact the disadvantaged (e.g., public hospitals and schools) (Giddens, 1998). Whereas, as in other social group memberships (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002), cross-group interactions may make members of low socioeconomic groups anxious, concerned of rejection and not fitting into the cultural capital of the social encounters (Roksa & Potter, 2011). All these psychological dynamics and status attributions to low and high socioeconomic groups are intertwined in regulating how individuals would reason about socioeconomic exclusion as a discriminatory act. Many classical social psychology perspectives might account for this statement. For instance, as proposed by the SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), identifying with groups is an integral part of the identity and an important source of self-esteem. Perceiving the groups we belong to requires a certain amount of stability in the social systems so that we can preserve our social groups' status and their maximum benefits. This, in return, leads to attitudes that favor the status-quo. As higher SES is also linked to the perceptions of deserving and self-achievement, one might expect that members of this group would see a certain degree of inequality in the society as "normal". This perspective is also salient in the System-Justification Theory, suggesting that some individuals support the status-quo to avoid the uncertainty of challenging stable systems (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). These group-based mechanisms are also maintained by certain stereotypes towards both groups, such as perceiving high-SES people as cold but competent, and low SES individuals incompetent but warm (Durante, Tablante, & Fiske, 2017). Particularly, for societies with high levels of inequality, this ambivalent stereotyping and perceiving the wealthy as competent despite being distant have been evaluated as a "camouflage" of the inequalities (Moya & Fiske, 2017).

In overall, the dynamics elaborated above have important implications on how parents might reason about socioeconomic exclusion, based on their socioeconomic position. From the perspective of low SES parents, socioeconomic exclusion might not be condoned as much as high SES parents do. Since individuals who are in disadvantaged conditions truly know and experience the

consequences of stratification, they might be more aware of what makes this phenomenon wrong (Turiel, 2002). Parents from more affluent conditions, differently, might approach socioeconomic exclusion still wrong on the surface but perceive it as “expected” up to a certain degree and refer to status-quo. It is also expected that these reasoning patterns might change depending on the exclusion context. This notion is further elaborated in the section of 1.5.3; however, since both low and high SES individuals choose to distance themselves from each other, there might be contexts where parents from two groups would feel okay not to be in contact with different motivations.

### **1.5.2.2 Perspectives for Children**

The psychological and social processes observed for adults have their roots in the early years of life. From the day they were born, children live within the boundaries of their families’ economic and social resources. Through experiencing, observing, and interacting with their environments, children’s understanding of the economic and social resources their families own develops into the comprehension of the values and social norms of their socioeconomic groups. For instance, as one of the former studies in the field, Mookherjee and Hogan (1981) showed that children, living in rural areas, as young as six were able to distinguish individuals’ social class based on the properties they owned, and predict educational attainment within social classes respectively. Rauscher and her colleagues (Rauscher, Friedline, & Banerjee, 2017) also followed 5-year-olds over three years in order to explore how children’s conceptualization of SES changes over time. Children’s interviews showed that even in the youngest period, they were able to refer to multiple domains to distinguish different groups, such as tangible materials, lifestyle, and values. As they reached 8-years-old, they focused more on abstract concepts, particularly while talking about the similarities and differences between their families and other families who owned less and more economic gains. Their responses included having different lifestyles and life concerns due to access disparities compared to other families and attributions toward the wealthy and poor. In a similar fashion, a series of studies conducted by Weinger unveiled children’s

complex understanding of SES and its impact on their lives. Children from poor and working-class families between the ages of 5 to 14 shared valuable insights regarding the potential barriers they might encounter in the future due to their families' economic conditions (Weinger, 2000c), and financial and social problems they face due to their SES (Weinger, 2000a). Similar to adults, children from disadvantaged backgrounds also experience the fear of rejection and not fitting into the contexts out of their socioeconomic spheres (Weinger, 2000b). High-wealth groups are also perceived as more exclusive than low-wealth groups are (Burkholder et al., 2019). Consequently, both children from low and high socioeconomic backgrounds report of choosing friends who have similar conditions with themselves (Malacarne, 2017).

Children's understanding of SES and related experiences also lead them to adopt and apply group understanding in their evaluations. For example, children between the ages of 8 to 12 reported that they –as families living in financial insecurity– would help out to each other, could rely on their communities when things get worse, and had means to find solutions in collaboration (Bessell, 2019). While the sense of togetherness is supportive in children's and their families' lives, the distancing between different socioeconomic groups also lead to in- and out-group dynamics and stereotyping. One phenomenon leading to the endorsement of certain stereotypes between socioeconomic groups is *perceived status*. While favoring in-groups is observed in earlier ages (Nesdale, 2004), this tendency is particularly salient among the members of high-status groups. Even in minimal group settings, children who were assigned to high-status groups show a strong preference for their in-groups compared to their peers who were assigned to low-status groups (Bigler, Brown, & Markell, 2001; Horwitz et al., 2014). A similar pattern was also found by Rowley, Kurtz-Costes, Mistry, and Feagans (2007) such that children from high-status groups (historically privileged groups; being European American and a boy) endorsed traditional stereotypes about the members of low-status groups (historically discriminated groups; being African American and a girl). Yet, children from low-status groups only endorsed positive stereotypes for their in-groups. The endorsement of stereotypes, either negative or positive, was more prevalent among 8<sup>th</sup> graders compared to 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> graders. With regard to

the stereotypes attributed to poverty and wealth, similar to adults, there is a tendency to downplay the competency of individuals from lower SES, while wealthy is prioritized (Weinger, 2000b). The ambivalent stereotyping such as perceiving the wealthy as “snobby” or “distant,” was also observed in children (Burkholder et al., 2019). These patterns are also interrelated with children’s reasoning of why access disparities exist. Especially children from middle to high socioeconomic backgrounds perceive inequalities more as a result of personal effort and attribute negative stereotypes to low SES groups more frequently (Emler & Dickinson, 2005). Adolescents from higher-status families also evaluate their society as less economically stratified (the United States in related study), whereas minority adolescents emphasized the wealth gap more frequently (Flanagan & Kornbluh, 2019).

How can these dynamics of socioeconomic background inform the study of social exclusion? Studies that adopted the SRD model also showed parallel patterns regarding the role of different social group memberships in children’s social exclusion judgments. Overall, being a member of a historically disadvantaged group (e.g., racial/ethnic/national minorities, gender) is more prevalently linked to perceiving intergroup exclusion more wrong and referring to moral concerns as justifications. For instance, across the grades of 4, 7 and 10, children who are the members of minority groups in the US, evaluated not inviting a peer to their home based on ethnicity as more wrong compared to majority children (Killen et al., 2007). Similarly, African American children were found to refer to the wrongfulness of discrimination and its implications on unfairness more frequently compared to European American children. In addition, they evaluated the authority influence over an intergroup exclusion decision more wrong than the majority youth (Killen et al., 2002). In their study, Malti and her colleagues showed that Serbian adolescents who were living in Switzerland evaluated excluding a peer from sports activities more wrong compared to Swiss nationals. Interestingly, Serbian adolescents also expected Swiss nationals to be proud when they excluded a non-Swiss peer (Malti et al., 2012). In the context of economic exclusion, only one study has been conducted to date. Results were in line with other social group memberships showing that children (8-14 years old) who perceived their families

higher in wealth evaluated interwealth exclusion less wrong than children who perceived their families lower in wealth (Burkholder et al., 2019).

Certainly, there are studies showing that parental education (Flanagan et al., 2014) and higher-income (Woods et al., 2005) were linked to favoring low-status peers in specific social contexts (e.g., sports, academics), and attributing poverty to structural problems. Factors, such as increased intergroup contact (Crystal, Killen, & Ruck, 2008; Degner & Dalege, 2013; Elenbaas, 2019b), and communication with significant others about societal issues (e.g., parents; Wray-Lake, Syvertsen, & Flanagan, 2016) contribute to children's and youth intergroup attitudes, perspectives on the wrongness of inequalities and structural reasons of societal problems. Even though some children from high SES also have egalitarian views about how societies should be, children who live in disadvantaged conditions are more sensitive towards the impacts, causes, and possible solutions of the economic and social barriers they face. They also have more complex reflections on how barriers to reaching basic rights, such as quality education, are a form of discrimination and issue of fairness (Roy, Raver, Masucci, & DeJoseph, 2019). Building on the previous research, examining the role of socioeconomic background on children's and their parents' reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion is a novel contribution to the literature. Findings are believed to provide important insights to similarities and differences between low and high socioeconomic groups with regard to their (dis)approval of socioeconomic exclusion, and reasons behind their evaluations.

### **1.5.3 The Influence of Exclusion Context**

The knowledge about the developmental processes and individuals' social group memberships provides us a comprehensive picture in understanding how children and adults reason in societal and sometimes conflictual situations. Despite certain trajectories and overlapping patterns, endorsements of prejudiced attitudes and moral concerns have been shown to be context-dependent. All of the reasoning processes discussed in the previous sections are embedded in a variety of contextual

factors. The contexts in which societal decisions and judgments are made, influence both children's and adults' reasoning patterns accordingly. Research in the social psychology field robustly showed that the extent to which adults refer to stereotypes and prejudiced attributions in their evaluations depends on the interaction between social categorizations and contexts (Oakes, 2001). Adults' perceptions of themselves, others, as well as their motivations and goals in intergroup contexts, are shaped by contextual necessities (Kite & Whitley, 2016). This sensitivity towards contextual requirements start to develop at earlier ages; however, children's prejudices become more context-dependent as they reach adolescence (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). Considering the potential impacts of the context for situations requiring simultaneous evaluation of moral, social-conventional, and personal concerns, the role of exclusion context is examined as the third main variable in this dissertation. Particularly, the factors elaborated in the previous sections, children's age and family SES, are expected to interact with the requirements of the context while children and their parents reason about socioeconomic exclusion.

Previous research, especially the ones conducted with the SRD model, argues that how individuals interpret contexts is an integral part of their evaluations of intergroup exclusion (Killen, Mulvey, & Hitti, 2013). That is, while in certain contexts excluding someone based on group membership is seen as a violation of moral values, other contexts might evoke more personal and group concerns. For instance, Killen and her colleagues (Killen et al., 2004) examined emerging adults' reasoning of interracial exclusion in intimate and nonintimate relationships. Participants deemed racial exclusion in voting and socializing contexts as wrong by referring to moral concerns, whereas the rejection of interracial dating was seen as more acceptable and evaluated as a personal choice. Parallel patterns were also observed in other studies conducted with children showing that intergroup exclusion was perceived as more okay in contexts with more intimate and physically close interactions (e.g., inviting a peer to a sleepover, lunch) than relatively less intimate interactions such as socializing and dancing (Killen et al., 2002; Killen et al., 2007). This evaluation pattern was especially more salient among older adolescents than younger children. Children's and adults' overall



tendency to perceive interpersonal interactions more as a matter of personal choice (Nucci, 2001) changes when it comes to exclusion in institutional contexts. Excluding someone in the school settings or differential treatment in education based on group membership is not condoned as much as rejection in peer interactions (Killen et al., 2002; Møller & Tenenbaum, 2011). Indeed, children recognize education as one of the basic rights (Ruck, Keating, Abramovitch, & Koegl, 1998) and barriers to accessing education or educational materials as wrong based on violations of fairness and equality (Elenbaas & Killen, 2016).

One of the aims of this dissertation is to unfold the salience of context in the evaluations of socioeconomic exclusion. After conducting the first study (please see chapter 2 for further details), contexts in which socioeconomic exclusion might occur both for children and adults were decided as peer interactions and discrimination in educational settings. Similar to the previous studies, children and adults might evaluate the exclusion of disadvantaged individuals in a particular context as more legitimate than the others. It is important to note that the influence of the exclusion context might also interact with participants' socioeconomic background. As discussed in section 1.5.2, access to economic and social resources segregates individuals' lives drastically (Kraus et al., 2013). In addition, the reasons and motivations for different socioeconomic groups to distance from each other differ. For high SES parents and children, not sharing similar values or cultural capital might come to the forefront as the reasons, whereas the concerns of being judged or not fitting in might be valid for low SES parents and children. This awareness is particularly expected among older children and parents. Examining the dynamic between developmental trajectories, socioeconomic status, and exclusion context are believed to provide a comprehensive picture to understand whether, and on what grounds, socioeconomic exclusion is tolerated or condoned.

#### **1.5.4 Congruence between Parents' and Their Children's Exclusion Evaluations**

Compared to parent-child interactions, peer relationships and contexts are less hierarchical in nature. This feature of peer relations helps children to acquire,

develop, and apply different types of social knowledge qualitatively different than the parent-child contexts. In this sense, peer relations are one of the important socialization contexts for children, particularly in the coordination of moral concerns, intergroup dynamics, and personal interests and choices. Undoubtedly, parent-child interactions also constitute an important context in the development of moral and social reasoning (Smetana, 1999), similar to many other developmental issues. Even though it is not included in the main aims of this dissertation, as an exploratory analysis, the congruence between parents' and their children's exclusion is tested.

There exist many accounts about how, and through which mechanisms, parents influence their children's moral development. Foundational theories inform us about the processes of a potential coherence between parents and their children about their approaches to societal and moral issues. Some examples are; Bronfenbrenner's (2005) ecological perspective and interactions between the individual and the microsystem (e.g., parents) and social learning approaches through modeling and parenting practices (Grusec, Chaparro, Johnston, & Sherman, 2014). More nuanced perspectives also acknowledge parental impacts on their children's intergroup attitudes as they are important sources in conveying the rules and norms of their societies to their children (Durkin, 2003; Verkuyten, 2002). Studies also showed that parents possibly communicate their perspectives about moral and societal issues such as fairness (Dunn, 2014; Walker & Taylor, 1991), inequalities, and poverty (Flanagan et al., 2014) through conversations.

Despite supporting evidence, examining the congruence between parents' and their children's social and moral understanding is a complex issue. Various intermediate factors affect the value transmission between parents and children (e.g., parenting practices, attachment styles, discipline strategies, contextual and personal factors, for a review see Killen & Smetana, 2015). Indeed, a recent meta-analysis found a small to medium effect size in the similarity of intergroup attitudes between parent-child dyads, especially for adolescents (Degner & Dalege, 2013). Yet, there were many personal, contextual, and methodological factors shaping this similarity. Since no previous studies have examined the coherence between parents and their children's exclusion evaluations, we approached this inquiry as

exploratory. In addition, the main study variables, children's age, family SES and exclusion context, might also account for the (dis)similarity between children's and their parents' evaluations of socioeconomic exclusion.

## **1.6 Aims and Hypotheses of the Current Dissertation**

Unequal access to resources is a pressing problem all over the world (Balestra & Tonkin, 2018). While a minority owns most of the resources, individuals at the lower end of the resource distribution face the consequences of inequalities in many realms. Similar to global trends, the gap in access to resources is growing in Turkey. A recent nation-wide research showed that almost half of the participating adults reported life expenses, unemployment, and economic problems as their primary concern (Kadir Has Üniversitesi, 2019). In such circumstances, the impact of socioeconomic resources is inevitable both in children's and adults' lives. As access disparities within the society distance socioeconomic groups drastically, members of lower and higher socioeconomic groups also hold stereotypic attributions, biases, and prejudices toward each other. Particularly, such social barriers experienced by individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds create another layer of psychological burden in their lives, above and beyond other hardships in life. On the other hand, individuals who endorse stereotypes and biases perpetuate the discrimination. Thus, to understand the salience of socioeconomic status as an intergroup exclusion criterion in children's and adults' lives has social and moral implications.

Considering the importance of childhood years in the internalization of both moral values and group concerns, in this dissertation, it was aimed to unveil children's and their parents' perspectives about the role of socioeconomic resources in their social encounters and reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion as a type of group membership. In addition, by focusing on a developmentally important period marked by changes in the understanding of morality, group concerns, and societal issues, possible developmental changes in the transition between middle childhood and middle adolescence were aimed to be captured. While following this inquiry, family SES was also taken into account in order to investigate to what extent access

to resources shapes children's and their parents' reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion. By adopting the SRD Model and building on the previous studies, this is the first comprehensive study examining the reasoning of both children and their parents in the context of socioeconomic status.

In this dissertation, an exploratory sequential mixed methods design was followed (Creswell, 2014). That is, as the first step, a qualitative study was conducted to explore children's and their parents' perspectives and experiences of access to economic and social resources as a criterion shaping their relationships and social encounters. Later, the content and insights elicited from this study were used to develop the measurement material of the quantitative study. By following this procedure, we were able to provide a comprehensive understanding of participants' reasoning of socioeconomic exclusion based on the insights shared by the participants in the first study. Specific aims, research questions, and hypotheses of the two studies are explained below.

### **1.6.1 Aims and Research Questions of the Study 1**

As the first step of exploratory sequential mixed methods design, in this qualitative study, we conducted interviews with children and their parents, separately. Interviews consisted of two parts. The first part of the interviews included neutral questions about friendships, social encounters, and school experiences without mentioning any SES-related notions. By doing so, we aimed to elicit the role of economic and social resources in children's and their parents' daily life without priming them to reflect on SES. In addition, if access to economic and social resources would emerge as important factors in children's and their parents' daily lives, the contexts and circumstances which confront low and high socioeconomic groups aimed to be revealed. Lastly, the role of family socioeconomic background is investigated in order to capture potential similarities and differences between the experiences of two groups.

In the second part of the interviews, children's and their parents' perspectives and attitudes towards different socioeconomic conditions were explored directly. Participants were shown two photographs reflecting

disadvantaged and privileged living conditions and asked related questions about the people living in such conditions and their willingness to contact individuals living there. In this section, we aimed to capture boundary conditions and reasons behind different socioeconomic groups' willingness to engage with each other.

### **1.6.2 Aims and Hypotheses of the Study 2**

As the second step of exploratory sequential mixed methods design, children and their parents were asked to reason about socioeconomic exclusion in the second quantitative study. The contexts and encounters depicted in the vignettes were based on the reflections shared by our participants in the first qualitative study. In this sense, the ecological validity of the vignettes is considered to be high. Since the prominent contexts emerged as peer exclusion, and exclusion in educational settings; we focused on these two contexts while investigating the reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion. By following the previous research adopting the SRD model, participants' reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion were investigated under six domains as; 1) Evaluations of the exclusion, 2) Justifications for the evaluations of exclusion, 3) Intention attributions to the excluder, 4) Emotion attributions to the excluded, 5) Justifications for the emotion attributions, and 6) Possible solutions to the exclusion. Specific hypotheses are as follows.

Hypotheses for children:

1) Children's age (being in the group of 8-10-year-old vs. 14-16 years-old) is expected to influence their reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion.

a) Compared to their younger peers, older children would evaluate socioeconomic exclusion as less acceptable, justify their evaluations by referring to moral implications of status discrimination, and perceive socioeconomic exclusion as a form of discrimination more frequently.

b) The older group would refer to social-conventional concerns more frequently in their reasoning.

2) Family SES is expected to shape children's reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion.

a) Children from low SES families would evaluate exclusion more wrong, refer to moral concerns in their justifications, and approach exclusion based on SES as a form of discrimination and prejudice more frequently compared to children from high SES families.

b) High SES children are expected to be motivated to protect status-quo more frequently.

3) The context of the exclusion is anticipated to impact children's reasoning similarly.

a) Socioeconomic exclusion in the peer context would be evaluated as more acceptable, evoke more empathy concerns, personal and conformity concerns more frequently compared to exclusion in educational settings.

b) Exclusion in educational settings is expected to be evaluated more in terms of differential treatment and discrimination than peer exclusion.

4) Children's age, family SES and the exclusion context are expected to be in interaction.

a) For older children, the interplay between family SES and exclusion context would be more prevalent.

The other effects were approached as exploratory.

Hypotheses for parents:

1) Family SES is expected to impact parents' reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion.

a) Parents from low SES would evaluate related phenomena as more wrong, refer to moral concerns and discrimination more frequently in their judgments.

b) Parents from high SES would refer to status-quo more frequently in their reasoning.

2) The exclusion context is also expected to be influential in parents' reasoning.

a) Parents would evaluate peer exclusion as more acceptable; approach it with empathetic concerns, and as a form of personal and authority decision more frequently.

b) Exclusion in the educational settings would evoke more moral concerns of unfair treatment and discrimination more frequently than peer exclusion.

3) Socioeconomic background and exclusion context are expected to interact. However, due to the novelty of this research question for adult samples, we addressed it as exploratory.

Lastly, even though it is not a core aim of this dissertation, we also explored the congruence between parents' and their children's exclusion evaluations. Considering the inconclusive patterns in predicting the value transmission between parents and their children with regard to intergroup attitudes and moral values, this part of the analyses was also exploratory.

## CHAPTER 2

### STUDY 1: QUALITATIVE STUDY

#### 2.1 Introduction

Previous studies examining children's and adults' conceptualization of SES –or social class, as referred to in some studies– and accompanying experiences revealed important insights about how access to resources shapes individuals' experiences and perceptions. These studies revealed many aversive experiences shared by individuals from low socioeconomic backgrounds, such as daily worries about security (Roy et al., 2019; Weinger, 2000a), uncertainties about the future (Weinger, 2000c), feelings of social rejection (Bessell, 2019; Weinger, 2000b). In addition to physical and social barriers segregating different socioeconomic groups, stereotypic attributions and biases endorsed by two parties might also account for why groups that consist of wealthy peers are perceived as more exclusive (Burkholder et al., 2019). A common point in the mentioned studies is that researchers explicitly asked children and adults to reflect on the role of economic resources in their lives. It might be expected that access to resources and related experiences are highly salient, particularly for individuals from lower SES when asked directly. What is unknown is whether access to economic and social resources would emerge as one of the factors shaping children's and their parents' lives without mentioning any SES-related notions. In order to answer this question, this study aimed to examine the salience of access to economic and social resources in children's and their parents' social encounters and daily lives, when not asked directly. In addition, the contexts which confront low and high socioeconomic groups and their willingness to contact are aimed to be revealed from children's and their parents' perspectives.



## **2.2 Method**

In this first study, children and their parents -who identified themselves as the primary caregiver of the child- attended semi-structured interviews individually. The overall aim of this interview study was to understand the role of economic and social resources as well as family socioeconomic status on children's and their parents' relationships and social encounters. In this study, our main focus was on children's experiences. Thus, while children's interview questions aimed to explore children's perspectives of their peer relationships and school experiences, parents' interview questions concentrated on parents' views of their children's peer relationships and school experiences.

In order to reach the information that was aimed to be elicited, the interview study was composed of two distinct yet complementary parts. In the first part of the interviews, participants were asked broad questions about social encounters regarding children's friendships, school relationships, and peer interactions in the school setting. In the second part of the interviews, children and their parents were shown four photographs and asked specific questions targeting the social dynamics presented to them via the photos.

In the following sections, after participant information and procedural details, the results of the interviews are explained in two parts.

### **2.2.1 SES Classification of the Families**

Among the many factors affecting individuals' living conditions, educational attainment is one of the most strong predictors of access to economic and social resources in Turkey (Duman, 2008). Families' access to educational opportunities has also been found as influential on the intergenerational transmission of inequalities (Hatakenaka, 2006). Thus, as a method developed and validated by Kalaycıoğlu and her colleagues, socioeconomic background of the families who participated in the interview study was determined by calculating the *average household education* (Kalaycıoğlu, Çelik, Çelen, & Türkyılmaz, 2010). The details of this criterion and its calculation are explained below.

Since the study sample was planned to be recruited from low and high socioeconomic backgrounds, specific inclusion criteria were identified before the participant recruitment. For low SES families, we aimed to reach out to parents with the highest formal educational level attained as a secondary school degree (both for mothers and fathers). For high SES families, we aimed to reach parents with the lowest formal educational level achieved as an associate degree diploma (both for mothers and fathers). Since participants in this study were recruited via personal contacts, we asked the educational background of both mothers and fathers before giving them appointments. Families who did not fit the defined education criteria were thanked for their willingness to participate. Their information was added to our research group's contact list for future studies with their permission.

Participating parents were asked to report both their own and non-participating parent's highest level of education achieved. Their responses were converted into years of education completed corresponding to each education level based on Turkish educational system (0 = being only literate, 5 years = primary school, 8 years = secondary school, 11 years = high school, 13 years = associate/vocational degrees, 15 years = Bachelor's, 17 years = Master's degree, 21 years = Doctoral degree). Each household's education was calculated by taking the average of maternal and paternal education in years (ranging from 0 to 21). Based on these values, while families with an average household education were less than or equal to eight years categorized as low SES, families with an average household education greater than or equal to thirteen years classified as high SES.

Based on this categorization, we had seventeen families in the low SES group and sixteen families in the high SES group. In each family, only one child and the primary caregiver attended the study. To verify the families' SES classification, we also referred to two other SES measures. Firstly, in the demographic form, parents were asked to report all the household income (e.g., salaries, welfare funds, gains from the investments), the number of people sharing this income, and any major debts the family was in. With these reports, we calculated income per capita by dividing the household income to the number of people sharing it after the debts were deducted. The mean monthly income of the families who were categorized as low SES was 534 TL per person living in the

house ( $SD = 267$  TL, range 100-1000). The mean monthly income of the families who were categorized as high SES after debts were deducted was 3.0461 TL per person living in the house ( $SD = 1076$  TL, range 2225-5000 TL). The income per capita of the two groups was significantly different from each other,  $t(31) = -9.327$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [-3061.58, -1962.93]. In addition to the objective SES criteria, as a frequently used subjective SES measure (Adler, Epel, Castellazzo, & Ickovics, 2000), participating parents were also asked to locate themselves on a ladder representing the society (1 = individuals with the least amount of resources, 10 = individuals with the highest amount of resources). Parents who were categorized as low SES reported significantly lower scores of perceived SES ( $M = 3.117$ ,  $SD = .992$ ), compared to parents who were categorized as high SES ( $M = 6.062$ ,  $SD = .928$ ,  $t(31) = -8.786$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [-3.63, -2.26]. The correlations between average household education and subjective SES ( $r = .805$ ,  $p < .001$ ), as well as income per capita ( $r = .820$ ,  $p < .001$ ) were very high.

Both objective and subjective SES measures revealed that household education criterion was able to capture the differential access to resources experienced by low and high SES families. The difference in their living conditions was also evident.

## **2.2.2 Participants**

### **2.2.2.1 Parents**

Thirty-one mothers and two fathers who were residing in Ankara attended the interview study. For the participants in the low SES group ( $M_{age} = 39.44$ ,  $SD = 5.55$ ), families were residing in the districts of Altındağ ( $N = 4$ ), Keçiören ( $N = 10$ ), Sincan ( $N = 3$ ). Parents were graduates of primary school ( $N = 8$ ) and secondary school ( $N = 9$ ). Parents in the high SES group ( $M_{age} = 44.63$ ,  $SD = 4.9$ ) were living in the districts of Bağlıca ( $N = 2$ ), Çankaya ( $N = 8$ ), Gölbaşı ( $N = 3$ ) and Yaşamkent ( $N = 3$ ). Parents were graduates of associate degree ( $N = 3$ ), bachelor ( $N = 10$ ) and graduate school ( $N = 3$ ). For additional family demographics, please see Table 1.

### 2.2.2.2 Children

Among the children participated from low SES, while eight children belonged to the 8-10 years-old group ( $Mage_{years} = 8.88$ ,  $SD_{months} = 8.22$ , 3 girls, 5 boys), nine of them belonged to the 14-16 years-old group ( $Mage_{years} = 15.33$ ,  $SD_{months} = 10.95$ , 6 girls, 3 boys). On the other hand, the rest sixteen families were from high SES. In this group, there were eight children in the period of middle childhood ( $Mage_{years} = 8.91$ ,  $SD_{months} = 13.34$ , 4 girls, 4 boys) and eight children in middle adolescence years ( $Mage_{years} = 15.30$ ,  $SD_{months} = 10.05$ , 5 girls, 3 boys).

Table 1. Family Demographics for Semi-Structured Interview Study

	Low SES families	High SES families
Participating parents		
Currently employed	Yes (4), No (13)	Yes (13), No (1), Retired (3)
Insurance	Yes (5), No (12)	Yes (16), No (1)
Non-participating parent		
Age	44.83(3.19)	47.13(6.56)
Education	Primary School (4) Secondary School (8)	Associate degree (6) Bachelor degree (3) Graduate degree (5)
Currently employed	Yes (12)	Yes (17)
Insurance Status	Yes (12), No (1)	Yes (16)
# of children at home	2.29(.90), Range 1-4	1.87(.34), Range 1-2
House ownership	Yes (11), No (6)	Yes (13), No (3)
Monthly debt (TL)	158.82(312.37)	162.02(368.68)

### 2.3. Procedure

Necessary ethical permission for the interview study was granted by the Human Subjects Ethics Committee of Middle East Technical University. Families were recruited through personal contacts and with the help of Yaşantı Youth Foundation, an organization providing mentorship to disadvantaged youth in Ankara. Parents who agreed to take part in the study were contacted further for

appointments. All of the families were visited in their houses, and interviews were conducted in a suitable room to keep privacy and reliability. Before starting the interviews, parental consents were collected. Children were also informed about the study procedure, and their verbal assents were collected. None of the participants refused to complete the interviews.

Children and their parents were interviewed by the primary researcher individually, and each session lasted approximately 35-45 minutes. During the sessions, first of all, both children and their parents were informed about the interview procedure. They have been informed that firstly they would be asked questions regarding friendships and school experiences, and afterward, they would be shown four photographs in the company of four questions. In addition, they were reminded that there were no right or wrong answers in the questions, and the researcher was only interested in their views or experiences. When the participants felt comfortable, the interview session and recording were started. Interview sessions always started with the first part, including questions about children's friendships, school relationships, and peer interactions in the school settings. In the second part of the interviews, children and their parents were presented with four photographs and asked four questions. Details of each interview part are elaborated in the following sections.

Interviews were semi-structured, and the researcher prompted the questions when necessary (e.g., Can you explain more? What did you mean by this? Can you give me examples about it?). Especially with the younger children, more straightforward wordings and additional explanations were used, when felt needed. After two times of asking or prompting, the next question was presented. After the interviews were completed, all participants were fully debriefed about the aims of the study. We provided a storybook for each child to thank for their participation.

#### **2.4 Part 1: Neutral Questions Regarding Friendships, Social Encounters and School Experiences**

As briefly explained before, interview sessions included two distinct yet complementary parts. Thus, the content of each part is analyzed and elaborated separately.

In the first part of the interviews, we aimed to explore whether economic and social resources are among the factors regulating children's and their parents' relationships and social encounters. This part of the interviews included neutral questions regarding friendships, social encounters, and school experiences, and none of the questions directly implied socioeconomic status or related dynamics. By doing so, we strived to reach out to the role of economic and social resources on children's and their parents' lives without priming them to think about the resources explicitly.

The main research question which directed this part of the interviews was; whether, and in what ways and contexts access to economic and social resources, are used as criteria shaping children's and their parents' relationships and social encounters?

#### **2.4.1 Preliminary Study: Focus Group**

In line with a developmental viewpoint, we were specifically interested in children's own experiences and parents' perceptions regarding their children's experiences. In order to form the interview questions and determine the most relevant contexts, which would help us to elicit possible use of SES and related attributions, a focus group meeting was organized. The primary researcher moderated the meeting, and seven professionals were invited to participate. Among these professionals, three were psychologists and researchers experienced in the field of social group memberships, and two were researchers working in the educational sociology field. There was also one child and adolescent therapist working with disadvantaged groups, and one teacher experienced with elementary and high school children. In the meeting, the main topic of the session was introduced, and participants were encouraged to interact with each other and share their perspectives regarding the social contexts in which children might possibly use their perceptions and attributions of social groups. The meeting lasted approximately 1.5 hours, and it was audio-recorded.

After the meeting, the audio recording was examined by the primary researcher, and the content of the meeting was analyzed. Based on the focus group

discussion, *friendships* and *experiences in the school settings* emerged as two main social contexts, in which children might reflect their perceptions and attributions of different social group memberships, including SES. The first category, *friendships*, included contexts as best friends and their characteristics, families of best friends and their home environment, and peers -and their families- whom children would choose not to be close with. For the second category, *experiences in the school settings*, focus group discussion revolved around popular/unpopular and successful/unsuccessful peers in the schools/classes and their families, and teachers' interactions with these kids. Afterward, we carefully examined the ideas shared and discussed during the focus group, and formed the first part of the interview questions which denoted as neutral questions regarding friendships, social encounters, and school experiences. Questions in this part started with more straightforward questions about children's best friends to give time to participants to open up. The following questions referred to more individual experiences and detailed descriptions. Please see Appendix A for interview questions.

#### **2.4.2 Data Analysis**

Our focus in this part of the interview study was to explore the saliency of economic and social resources in children's and their parents' relationships and social encounters. In order to reach our study aims, thematic analysis was decided as the suitable method (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The thematic analysis only included participants' explicit statements regarding the role of economic and social resources as well as SES attributions on their relationships, social encounters, and school life. Thus, prior to coding, the parts in which participants talked about their experiences in relation to economic and social resources were selected. The parts in which participants talked about their personal experiences and knowledge (e.g., personal names, descriptions, personal memories, and knowledge) were not included in the analyses. Themes were established based on these selected parts with a social constructivist tradition by using MAXQDA 2012 software.

The thematic analysis started with children's reflections by adopting an inductive coding procedure (Braun & Clarke, 2006). All the interview sessions

were audio-recorded, transcribed verbatim, and anonymized. To establish the coding manual, primary researcher -who conducted all interviews and was actively involved in transcribing the recorded data- randomly chose five child interviews, read the transcriptions multiple times, and noted down initial thoughts on emerging patterns within the data. Later, through several meetings, data was examined iteratively by the researchers, and emerging patterns were grouped. After this phase, another seven interviews were read and coded in light of the first thematic categorization. In cases of ambiguity in the thematic patterns, researchers held additional discussions. After the final theme and subtheme structure of the child data was established, the primary researcher coded the rest of the nineteen child interviews. A separate thematic analysis was conducted with parents' interviews by following the same steps described above. Even though we also adopted an inductive coding procedure for parents' reflections, the themes and subthemes emerged matched with the children's reflections to a great extent. In other words, we did not look for the thematic categorization appeared in children's interview, yet, they emerged naturally as a result of the thematic analysis.

The inter-rater reliability was assessed based on the agreement of each subtheme within each interview. The second rater was a trained psychologist. The exact agreement rate between the first and second-rater ranged between 90% to 100% with Cohen's Kappa values ranging between .74 to 1, which indicates a very good agreement. In cases where raters did not agree, codes and the contents of the subthemes were discussed, and coding was repeated.

### **2.4.3 Results**

Results of the thematic analyses conducted with children's and parents' reflections revealed two themes with several subthemes. The subthemes and themes were not mutually exclusive so that the content could be coded to different subthemes. The thematic structure of children's and parents' reflections was the same to a great extent. The only difference between children's and parents' reflections was the existence of an additional subtheme coded to each theme. Due to this overlap, the results of both thematic analyses are reported together in the



following section. Please see Table 2 for the list of themes, subthemes, and frequency of each subtheme coded depending on the participants' SES. All personal names and identifying information were anonymized while reporting the examples.

*Table 2.* Qualitative Study Part 1: Frequency Distribution of Subtheme Use

	Children		Parents	
	Low SES	High SES	Low SES	High SES
<b>Experiences associated with limited access to resources</b>				
Social isolation & exclusion in relational contexts	6	6	9	6
Neglect & exclusion in educational settings	4	6	8	6
Parental neglect	4	4	7	3
Stereotypic attributions to disadvantaged living conditions	10	8	5	3
<sup>++</sup> Lack of resources as an in-group criterion	NA	NA	5	0
<b>Experiences associated with prosperous resources &amp; privileges</b>				
Securing priority & differential treatment in life	11	7	7	7
Financial resources as regulators of social life	6	10	2	8
Gaining popularity & assertiveness as a means of material ownership	3	8	1	4
Stereotypic attributions to privileges	8	13	2	7
<sup>++</sup> Social capital as an in-group criterion	NA	NA	0	8

*Note.* <sup>++</sup> Subthemes unique to parents' reflections

### **Theme 1: Experiences Associated with Limited Access to Resources**

The first theme included participants' reflections on how limited access to economic and social resources affects their relationships, social encounters, and daily experiences. Children and parents referred to the effects of disadvantages in different domains, such as inequalities in income and education. Either by being experiencing disadvantages themselves or observing them, both children and parents frequently referred to limited access to economic and social resources and accompanying psychological, social, and institutional dynamics as a salient factor

shaping their lives, social encounters, and experiences. For children's reflections, subthemes were *social isolation and exclusion in relational contexts*, *neglect and exclusion in educational settings*, *parental neglect*, and *stereotypic attributions to disadvantaged living conditions*. Parents' reflections also included the same four subthemes and an additional subtheme that is *lack of resources as an in-group criterion* which was not observed in children's reflections.

**Social isolation and exclusion in relational contexts.** Content coded to this subtheme included participants' reflections on how limited access to economic and social resources lead to social isolation and exclusion in personal relationships. Children shared that living in disadvantaged conditions might influence individuals psychologically and socially, but the experiences they shared differed depending on their SES. Children from low SES mostly mentioned their own experiences. For example, a child reported that: "Well, some kids have really nice houses. Probably, they [my friends] don't come to our house that often since our home doesn't look that good." (A8, 8-year-old, low SES)

Children from high SES families, on the other hand, talked about their speculations of how disadvantages might influence friendships and social life. For instance, some children mentioned that peers who had been struggling with financial hardships in their families could be more withdrawn and reserved. Children were also aware that their friends might withdraw themselves from social relations to protect themselves and avoid negative judgments. A child's reasoning on this issue set a representative example by stating that:

Maybe they have financial problems in the house. Perhaps that's why he is such a quiet person, you know, due to his family conditions. He might fear that others will judge him by his living conditions. (D4, 14-year-old, high SES)

Similarly, parents also evaluated disadvantaged life conditions as significant factors leading to social isolation and exclusion. Parents reported a broad domain of discriminatory acts (from social isolation to the cases of explicit exclusion) in different social contexts (e.g., close friendships, school activities). A parent's comment on the role of economic hardships in her children's life presented a drastic example for this theme:

My pride was hurt (i.e., *gururum incindi*) at that time. Even some of the parents of my child's classmates did not let their kid talk with my child. And it was just because they knew we were just a poor family. They labeled my child as unwanted and assumed he was just naughty. (C2, mother, low-SES)

Experiences shared by parents also included observations if they were not the victims of social isolation and exclusion themselves. In addition, parents acknowledged that disadvantaged conditions might make individuals withdrawn in social relations and decrease their self-esteem, similar to children's reflections.

She [her kid] was just so shy, and I don't know if this happens because of us. I feel like children living in these areas [poor regions] have lower self-esteem. They just don't have many options in life, so they are not assertive (i.e., *yirtik olmak*). (D7, mother, high-SES)

**Neglect and exclusion in educational contexts.** Participants also reflected that individuals coming from disadvantaged backgrounds experience neglect and exclusion in educational settings. Different from the previous subtheme *social isolation and exclusion in relational contexts*, content coded to this subtheme referred to discriminatory practices occurring in institutional contexts.

By either experiencing discrimination themselves or witnessing their friends experience exclusion, children acknowledged the unfair treatment towards their peers from disadvantaged backgrounds in the educational system. We came across only two children who mentioned that their teachers put effort to support children from disadvantaged backgrounds. Instead, experiences mostly revolved around how children from low SES were left alone in the classrooms, neglected and even segregated from the other children in these classrooms. Some examples from children's interviews are as follows:

They [teachers] don't care about poor kids that much. Teachers see them [poor kids] as if they wouldn't be able to succeed anyways and treat them according to their background (i.e., *adamına göre muamele*). (D4, 14-year-old, high SES)

Some teachers prioritize children who can afford extra tutoring. They already have additional help. These teachers act like they only teach those kids who are sitting in the front, "the favorites". They [teachers] don't care if we -who can't afford any other tutoring- understand the lecture or not. They just assume we wouldn't understand. Those are the ones who need to be encouraged the most. (C5, 14-year-old, low SES)

Similarly, parents both from low and high SES highlighted that economic and social resources influenced how they -as a family- and their children were treated in the educational settings. These experiences included a wide array of treatments from subtle neglect behaviors in the classrooms/schools to explicit victimization mostly practiced by teachers and school principals. A father reported a drastic discrimination case his son experienced at school as such:

When my child was in fourth grade, we had a discussion with a teacher. The reason for that argument was that my child was humiliated.... The school was asking for money like maintenance charges. But I work as a janitor, and we don't have the means to give this money. So, I told our situation to the school principal and he was a very sympathetic person. But the teacher... Even one day, she called my son's name in front of his classmates and asked him about the money and the reason why he didn't bring it. It was so humiliating. (A3, father, low SES)

These discriminatory attitudes were also observed and acknowledged by high-SES families as expressed by a mother: "I think these kids who were treated differently in the classroom had a common characteristic; their families had lower status." (D6, mother, high-SES)

**Parental neglect.** Disadvantaged living conditions were also associated with experiences of parental neglect. Importantly, as salient in both children's and parents' reflections, participants also talked about the possible reasons for parental neglect. For instance, rather than labeling parents as uncaring, children reasoned about this problem based on the psychological resources of the disadvantaged families. They thought that maybe being worried about hardships in life might restrain parents from paying attention to their children sufficiently, as stated:

I don't think they [the family] do it on purpose. Those families have so much to worry about, so maybe they just can't care about their children that much. Perhaps, these kids maybe can't succeed in school or drift away since their parents are not that attentive, but I don't blame them [the family] either. (C3, 14-year-old, low SES)

Due to financial and social hardships, parents also mentioned that children living in disadvantaged conditions were also neglected by their parents and they might lag behind compared to their peers who had better living conditions. For parents, this subtheme had two domains as tangible and psychological help. Some parents mentioned that unequal access to resources might limit the capabilities of

providing material resources for children. For instance, a parent shared her personal experience as follows: “Well, I have to be honest, this is the best I can do. I can see that my child lags behind her peers, but I can’t provide her more than this. I feel like I am doing something terrible to her.” (C2, mother, low-SES)

Some parents also mentioned that being occupied with fundamental life concerns might constrain them from providing psychological resources as well.

If you are struggling to make a living, you may not spare extra or special time for your kids. Not because you don’t care. It is more about the effort you can provide. So sometimes maybe families who are in hard living conditions may not realize if their child had a fight at school or falling behind of her peers in a subject. (D4, mother, high SES)

**Stereotypic attributions to disadvantaged living conditions.** While talking about how limited access to economic and social resources affect social encounters and daily experiences, participants frequently made stereotypic attributions towards disadvantaged living conditions. In children’s reports, it was evident that they were aware that individuals and families had differential access to economic and social resources, including themselves. However, they referred to many stereotypes in their interviews while sharing their perceptions and ideas. The content of these stereotypes was negative. Children made many attributions to the peers and individuals who were living in disadvantaged conditions, such as being “rude”, “uneducated”, “unclean”, “aggressive”, “neglectful parents”. Some children used the stereotypes as justifications to distance themselves from peers who come from disadvantaged backgrounds as shared by a participant: “He just wants things to be his; he fights with others. He acts like a wannabe (i.e., *özenti*) because they are poor. I don’t get along with him” (B1, 8-year-old, high SES)

The same pattern was observed in parents’ reflections. All of the used stereotypes had negative content, and some parents stigmatized individuals living in disadvantaged conditions, such as “being lazy and uneducated”, “having bad manners”, “being violent and neglectful towards children”. It is important to note that the usage of stereotypes was salient among children and parents from both low and high SES.

## Subtheme Unique to Parents' Thematic Analysis

**Lack of resources as an in-group criterion.** Few parents from low SES mentioned that what defined their group membership and social position in life was the lack of resources they were experiencing. Thus, while they were talking about the people in their social circles as well as friends of their children, they mentioned disadvantages as a factor describing their in-group and the people they felt close to. For instance, two mothers talked about their social circles in relation to their access to financial resources and stated that:

Of course, our friends or the people around us share the same living conditions. We can only get along with people who can understand what it is like to live in this neighborhood with limited budgets. (A1, mother, low-SES)

I can only invite people to my house if I know that they live in similar conditions. I tell this to my children as well. I feel more connected with this type of family. (C4, mother, low SES)

## Theme 2: Experiences Associated with Prosperous Resources and Privileges

The second theme included participants' reflections on how prosperous resources and privileges influence their social encounters and daily experiences. Similar to the first theme, both children and parents approached the implications of prosperous access to resources by focusing on psychological, social, and institutional dynamics. For children's reflections, subthemes coded to this theme were *securing priority and differential treatment in life*, *financial resources as regulators of social life*, *gaining popularity as a means of material ownership*, and *stereotyped attributions to privileges*. Parents' reflections also included the same four subthemes and an additional subtheme titled as *social capital as an in-group criterion*, which was not observed in children's interviews.

**Providing priority and differential treatment in life.** Content coded to this subtheme included participants' reflections on how prosperous access to resources provides individuals priority and differential treatment in many different social contexts. In children's interviews, educational settings stood out as the most

salient context in which children witnessed or experienced differential treatment based on socioeconomic status. Children's statements showed that they were also aware of the fact that economic resources their families own influenced the opportunities they had access to. For instance, children who were from more affluent families were admitting that their financial resources brought them certain priorities, as stated by a participant:

I am aware that my family resources helped me a lot. I can get extra tutoring. I am a bit ashamed to tell this, but I feel like teachers treat students who are from wealthier families better. Like, they care about them more, answer their questions all the time. (C5, 14-year-old, low SES)

For some children, this differential treatment was almost normalized and seen as a consequence of the social structure as shared by a participant; "It is just the way it is. People who have more money will be prioritized, and they eventually end up being successful" (D1, 8-year-old, high SES).

Similar to children, parents also talked about how advantages, mostly tangible resources, would increase someone's opportunities in life. Especially parents from a more affluent background acknowledged that economic benefits also came along with social status. As a result, they -as a family- were also treated differently compared to other people who didn't have the same resources as stated by a mother:

How teachers and schools treat students differ a lot based on the family's status. But it has two sides. When a teacher asks the parent to bring something to the class, or maybe a personal favor, we can provide it. It is also about the way the teacher and families like us interact with each other. We have a common ground, and teachers get along better with parents who have prestigious jobs, and they present differential treatment in the classroom. (B5, mother, high SES)

**Financial resources as regulators of social life.** Some participants evaluated financial resources as significant factors regulating social life and relationships by determining what individuals could afford in their social lives. Children were well aware that most of their peers chose to form close friendships with others who had more or less the same economic resources. This similarity constitutes an essential factor in finding common ground in relationships.

It is very important to me that we are able to do the same things in a friendship. Like going to an event...Can you imagine that you want to go somewhere and then your friend can't afford it? Let's be realistic; it can't work. (D7, 14-year-old, high SES)

It was evident from children's reports that some families talked about the importance of financial resources on relationships. Thus, this practice might have been internalized within families.

My mom always tells me that if you own something and your friend doesn't, that person might be jealous of you. Not with bad intentions but still... So, it is a thing that you hang out with other people who are at the same level as you (i.e., *kendi ayarında*). (C7, 14-year-old, low SES)

Parents also evaluated having similar financial resources as important since it limits what an individual could afford in their social lives. Some parents from high SES reported that unequal access to resources might create a barrier for people to have close relationships. They also reflected that they would prefer to distance themselves from disadvantaged families in order not to make them feel lagging.

It might create some problems if a family can afford something, like going to movies or purchasing new things, and your child can't have those. I put myself into the shoes of these parents. I would feel awful, and I don't want to make any parent feel like this. So I don't find it logical that two families from different conditions can find common ground, it wouldn't be fair. (D7, mother, high SES)

### **Gaining popularity and assertiveness as a means of material ownership.**

Material ownership was evaluated as a way of gaining popularity and being assertive in social interactions. For children, popularity is a salient concept in their lives, particularly during the school years. Children's reflections showed that among other factors, access to economic resources brought some children a different status within peer groups. A statement shared by a child showed how she linked popularity with coming from an affluent family as follows: "There is a popular student at school because he is wealthy. Everybody knows him, and he has many friends." (D5, 8-year-old, high SES)

However, not all children evaluated the status gained through material ownership as positive or desirable. Many children reported that they found "popular" peers as spoiled and arrogant as shared by a participant:



These kids who are rich and popular always try to break the school rules or they do something different like they wear unusual clothes in the school. Some of them are so pretentious. (C3, 14-year-old, low SES)

Parents were also aware of this phenomenon and reflected that what defines popularity are the material resources children own. Some parents also stated that children competed with each other to “earn this status” and they sometimes tried to make other peers envious by owning inappropriately expensive goods for their age. A parent’s ideas set a good example of this notion:

Some children try to be popular and you can even observe this in middle schools. I think that children who are from very affluent families are very popular. Especially in these neighborhoods [where more affluent families reside] children are always in a materialistic competition. They think like “oh, I have this, now I can make others envious”. (D7, mother, high SES)

**Stereotypic attributions to privileges.** Similar to the attitudes towards disadvantaged living conditions, participants also made many stereotypic attributions to privileged living conditions and individuals from affluent backgrounds. Both children and parents used many stereotypes while describing how prosperous access to resources regulates social encounters and relationships. The content of these stereotypes was mostly negative, some examples including being “greedy”, “spoiled”, “liars”, “immodest and rude”, “careless”, and “lack of proper family manners”.

Some parents also used their stereotypic attributions to justify why *owning that much* was not necessarily a good thing all the time as exemplified below:

...In that family, I think that the mother has some communication problems with her child. It is more like attending a child’s physical needs but ignoring the emotional, immaterial needs. When you send your children to a private school and buy them all the things they want, it doesn’t mean that you cared for them. (C5, mother, low SES)

### **Subtheme Unique to Parents’ Thematic Analysis**

**Social capital as an in-group defining factor.** As a subtheme unique to parents’ reflections, parents from high SES evaluated social capital as an important criterion to define their group identification. In general, social capital can be

defined as factors helping social groups to function effectively, including social connections, a shared understanding, norms, and values (Bourdieu, 1985). In this sense, parents mentioned that sharing similar social values and ideologies and coming from similar educational and cultural backgrounds as essential factors while forming close relationships with others, as shared by a participant:

It is very important for us to have a common ground with our friends. And to have that, you need to have more or less the same level of education, share similar values. It is like talking the same language (i.e., *aynı dili konuşmak*). (D7, mother, high SES)

## **2.5 Part 2: Questions Presented with Selected Photographs**

After the first part of the interviews completed, children and their parents attended the second part of the interview study. In this part, we aimed to elicit participants' perceptions and evaluations of different socioeconomic conditions directly. Thus, we showed four photographs and asked specific questions targeting the social dynamics presented to them via the photos. Among these photos, there were two houses (one representing the disadvantaged neighborhood and one privileged neighborhood) and two schools (one representing the disadvantaged neighborhood and one privileged neighborhood). Accompanied by the photos, participants were asked questions about the people living in the houses and their characteristics, students in the school buildings, and whether they would be friends with the people living there.

The main research question which directed this part of the interviews was: How children and parents evaluate disadvantaged and advantaged living conditions, and individuals living in such neighborhoods when asked directly?

### **2.5.1 Preliminary Study: Photograph Selection**

Different from the first part of the interview study, children and their parents were also planned to be asked direct questions regarding their perceptions of different socioeconomic backgrounds. Considering the abstractness of the issue, especially for 8-10 year-olds, questions were presented along with photographs as

visual cues. As the contexts of the photographs, home, and school settings were chosen based on the content elicited from the focus group discussions (see section 2.4.1). In order to select the representative photos, first of all, 14 houses (half referring to the disadvantaged, and the other half referring to advantaged living conditions) and 14 school photographs (half referring to disadvantaged, and the other half referring to advantaged living conditions) were selected from the free sources on the internet. All chosen photos were taken in Turkey, to prime familiarity. Before photographs were rated, they were equalized in terms of their resolution, radiance, dimensions, and the proportion of homes and schools within each photograph, by a professional in the field of photography and visual arts.

Photograph selection study was conducted online, and in total 147 adults participated ( $M_{age} = 27.78$ ,  $SD = 7.07$ , 90 females, 57 males). Participants were asked to compare and rank order photographs starting from the most disadvantaged to most advantaged in their respective categories, separately (houses disadvantaged conditions, houses advantaged conditions, schools disadvantaged conditions, schools advantaged conditions). The order of categories and photographs were counterbalanced in the entire sample. According to the report of the participants, four representative photos were chosen. For disadvantaged living conditions, house ( $N = 56$ ) and school building ( $N = 96$ ) were rated as the most disadvantageous ones most frequently compared to the other six photos. For advantaged living conditions, the chosen house ( $N = 86$ ) and school building photos ( $N = 64$ ) were rated as the most advantageous ones. After the selection procedure, brief questions were formed in order to elicit children's and their parents' attitudes of different socioeconomic backgrounds in the contexts of the living environment and educational settings. For the interview questions and selected photographs, please see Appendix B.

### **2.5.2 Data Analysis**

Our main aim in this part of the interviews was to explore how children and parents evaluate disadvantaged and affluent living conditions, and individuals living in such neighborhoods when asked directly. As in the first part of the interviews, we analyzed participants' reflections with thematic analysis. Again, the

thematic analysis only included participants' explicit statements, including socioeconomic dynamics. Thus, neutral descriptions regarding what participants saw in the photos presented (e.g., physical descriptions such as "windows and a two-floored house", personal memories or knowledge irrelevant to the topic) were excluded before the thematic coding. Themes and subthemes were established based on these selected parts with a social constructivist tradition by using MAXQDA 2012 software.

We followed the same procedural and analytical steps while performing the thematic analyses, as described in detail in section 2.4.2. In this part of the interviews, we conducted four thematic analyses. Firstly, we analyzed the responses given to the photos representing disadvantaged living conditions (one house and one school building; please see Appendix B). This procedure was followed for children's and parents' reflections separately. Afterward, responses given to the photos representing affluent living conditions (one house and one school building, please see Appendix B) were analyzed together in another thematic analysis. This procedure again was followed for children and their parents, separately.

Even though we analyzed children's and parents' reflections separately, the themes and subthemes emerged pointed to the same thematic patterns to a great extent. In other words, we did not search for the themes and subthemes that occurred in children's reflections in parents' interviews, but similar themes emerged naturally in both parties' thoughts.

### **2.5.3 Results**

In the following sections, the results of participants' reflections concerning disadvantaged living conditions are followed by the results of affluent living conditions. Due to the substantial similarity between children's and parents' reflections, the results of the two parties are presented together.

#### **2.5.3.1. Evaluations of Disadvantaged Living Conditions**

Results of the thematic analyses conducted with children's and parents' reflections revealed three themes titled as *describing and characterization, attitudes*

towards disadvantaged living conditions, and prospective contact patterns in relational contexts. The thematic structure of children's and parents' reflections was substantially similar, apart from an additional subtheme coded to the theme attitudes towards disadvantaged living conditions. Please see Table 3 for the list of themes, subthemes, and frequency of each subtheme depending on the participants' SES.

Table 3. Qualitative Study Part 2: Disadvantaged Living Conditions

	Children		Parents	
	Low SES	High SES	Low SES	High SES
<b>Describing and characterization</b>				
Restricted access to resources & hardships	17	16	13	13
Reference to rural and remote areas	14	10	10	11
Employment in blue-collar & rural jobs	12	12	9	9
Living with limited financial resources	6	7	14	8
<b>Attitudes towards disadvantaged living conditions</b>				
Equality and inclusiveness	7	7	11	7
Interrelatedness and warmth	8	9	5	5
Being persevering and ambitious	6	7	9	8
Negative stereotyping	7	9	4	5
<sup>++</sup> Modesty and not being greedy	NA	NA	6	3
<b>Prospective contact patterns in relations</b>				
Focusing on personality	12	13	10	9
Distancing due to differential access	2	6	0	10
Willingness to contact based on similarities/in-group	10	0	9	0
Motivations to provide tangible & psychological support	4	5	0	5
Deprivation based self-suppressive acts/attitudes	2	3	2	4

Note. <sup>++</sup> Subthemes unique to parents' reflections

### Theme 1: Describing and Characterization

The first theme comprised of participants' straightforward descriptions and characterization of the disadvantaged living conditions. Since they were explicitly

asked to talk about disadvantages, coded content supported that interview questions and accompanying photos were able to capture the dynamics of SES in relation to disadvantages. There were four subthemes coded to this main theme titled as; *restricted access to resources and hardships, reference to rural and remote areas, employment in blue-collar and rural jobs and living with limited financial resources.*

**Restricted access to resources and hardships.** During the interviews, both children and their parents referred to limited access to resources and hardships frequently while they were evaluating the photos based on the questions asked. Examples included; “lack of money”, “hard living conditions” and “poverty”.

**Reference to rural and remote areas.** Coherent with the first subtheme, both children and their parents referred that the photos must have been from rural and remote areas, not from the city centers. When city life is considered, neighborhoods are drastically segregated, mostly based on income levels. Most of the time, individuals living in disadvantaged conditions live outside the city centers. Thus, descriptions of the participants were also in tune with this situation, as also stated by a participant: “This school looks like a place in a village or an area outside the city. I feel like children who are really poor get an education here. You can’t see rich people in a school like this.” (A1, 8-year-old, low SES)

**Employment in blue-collar and rural jobs.** While evaluating the individuals and living conditions presented, children and their parents also made references to blue-collar and sometimes rural jobs as the primary means of living.

People living here might work as a porter or they might work on the streets, like people collecting paper and cardboard. They should be in poverty; they wouldn’t job security or regular jobs. (C5, 14-year-old, low SES)

**Living with limited financial resources.** Both children and their parents emphasized that disadvantages were obligations, and no one would choose to live there if it was optional. This dynamic was acknowledged by a child stating that: “Rich people only live in big houses, like really big, not like ours. You can only live in a house like this if you are poor.” (A6, 8-year-old, low SES)

In addition, there was a common understanding that disadvantaged conditions were financial boundaries for families, and they would do better in life if they had enough resources.

Of course, education matters. But maybe more important than that, if you have enough financial resources, it kind of upgrades you. With limited economic means, this might be the best you can. But, anyone could do better when you provide them more means. (D7, mother, high SES)

## **Theme 2: Attitudes towards Disadvantaged Living Conditions**

The second main theme included participants' attitudes towards disadvantaged living conditions. Both children and parents made positive as well as negative attributions to individuals living in disadvantaged conditions. There were four subthemes in this theme as; *interrelatedness and warmth, being persevering and ambitious, equality and inclusiveness* and *negative stereotyping*. There was also an additional subtheme, *modesty and not being greedy*, which was only observed in parents' reflections.

**Equality and inclusiveness.** Reflections coded to this subtheme included participants' statements regarding the importance of equality and being inclusive. Both children and their parents shared that they didn't have discriminatory attitudes towards people living in disadvantaged conditions. The content of these expressions mostly involved discourses such as, "resources people own didn't matter", "properties didn't define who people were", and they didn't "differentiate people based on their income".

**Interrelatedness and warmth.** Children and their parents attributed certain features to the individuals living in disadvantaged conditions while talking in the company of photos. The first category depicted from the interviews was perceiving individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds as socially cohesive in, warm towards, and interrelated with their communities. These reflections also included a certain amount of romanticization, possibly due to lack of knowledge and experience about disadvantaged living conditions. Representative examples of this subtheme are as

follows: “I think the only thing they can do is to spend time together and socialize. They like being in the company of each other because they care about intimate relationships.” (D7, 14-year-old, high SES) and “I think people living in these neighborhoods are very innocent. I feel like they are down-to-earth and warm people.” (A7, mother, low-SES)

**Being persevering and ambitious.** Another subtheme was perceiving people living in disadvantaged conditions as persevering and ambitious. Importantly, many children and their parents made references to the hard life conditions disadvantaged families have to face. To overcome these hardships, some participants stated that people had to spend extra effort and work harder, and this was the only possible way. “Life is tough for these people, so they need to work extra and be ambitious.” (C1, 14-year-old, low SES)

Children and their parents also thought that living in disadvantages might make people appreciate the value of the opportunities and hard work, as shared by a mother:

Naturally, these people work harder and harder. If you give someone many opportunities, he/she may take them for granted and don't appreciate their chances in life. But they [individuals living in disadvantaged conditions] appreciate life, and they would know the value of hard work. (D8, mother, high- SES)

**Negative stereotyping.** Even though participants attributed many positive characteristics to disadvantaged conditions and the individuals living in these neighborhoods, some participants also used negative stereotypes. Some examples were; “being liars”, “dirty and unclean”, “unskilled”, “lazy” and “gossiper”.

### **Subtheme Unique to Parents' Thematic Analysis**

**Modesty and not being greedy.** As a subtheme, unique to parents' reflections, a group of participants mentioned that people living in disadvantage were modest and not greedy, which were seen as valuable virtues. For instance, a parent shared that even though children who live in poverty had many differences compared to their more affluent peers, they have valuable psychological merits by stating that:



Children who study in these schools are very different than our kids. But I think they have one thing different, which is very valuable. They live in poverty right, but they don't complain and underestimate others with their greed. (D4, mother, high SES)

### **Theme 3: Prospective Contact Patterns in Relational Contexts**

The third theme included participants' reflections on which grounds and contexts they would be willing to contact or communicate with individuals living in disadvantaged conditions. They also provided evaluations and justifications to explain why they might either be willing to or avoid being in contact with individuals living in disadvantages.

**Focusing on personality.** As the most frequently referred concept, when children and their parents considered whether they would be personally close with people or not, they focused on these people's personality traits and habits. Many participants explicitly stated that resources individuals own did not matter and define their willingness to contact individuals living in disadvantaged conditions as long as they were "good people" or "get along well". A child's reflection about this notion sets a good example as: "I would get along with them. It doesn't matter who they are as long as they are good people like they treat me right, don't make fun of me, and we have fun together." (B7, 8-year-old, high-SES)

**Distancing due to differential access to income and education.** As interviews proceeded, participants also shared the ways socioeconomic conditions affected their willingness to contact individuals living in disadvantaged conditions. One pattern was seeing limited access to resources and living in poorer neighborhoods as a barrier to forming meaningful relationships. Being specific to participants from high SES, both children and their parents stated that they had different lives compared to the people shown in the photos. This judgment included both tangible and social-psychological domains. In terms of tangible resources, participants expressed that their income would create a difference in their living conditions that might potentially lead to problems in terms of social relationships. Younger children were also aware of this dynamic, though it was more on concrete

terms, as exemplified: “I don’t think they have proper toys there, or they have very old ones. That’s why I can’t be friends with them.” (B6, 8-year-old, high-SES)

Older children and adults drew more attention to how income might also create differences in social resources and lifestyles. This possible difference evaluated as an important factor that might segregate individuals from different socioeconomic backgrounds and lead problems for close relationships, as stated by a child:

Maybe, in the beginning, we could get along. But as time passes, I think some problems would occur. We probably have different characteristics, tastes in life, or viewpoints. I think we are very different for being close. (D7, 14-year-old, high SES)

**Willingness to contact based on similarities and perceived in-group.** As an opposite discourse to the previous subtheme, only children and their parents from low SES stated that they found the social contexts presented via the photos similar to their lives. This similarity emerged as an important criterion in their willingness to contact. Both children and their parents explicitly stated that they viewed people living in these neighborhoods similar to themselves in terms of income and status; thus, they would choose to form close relationships.

I would feel equal (i.e., *ayni düzeyde*) with them so that we would get along pretty well. (A3, father, low SES)

I think this neighborhood [shown in the photos] is closer to our financial situation compared to the other ones. I would get along with kids living here, and my parents would feel comfortable too. (C3, 14-year-old, low SES)

**Motivations to provide tangible and psychological support.** Reflections coded to this subtheme included participants’ motivations to provide material and psychological support to the people living in disadvantaged conditions. There were almost an equal number of children from low and high SES who made such comments. Thus, children might approach the concept of help with more of an empathetic motive. On the other hand, parents who used this subtheme were only from high SES. Even though parents’ discourses didn’t involve explicit statements of looking down, they referred to help more as a way to “teach” certain knowledge or experience to individuals living in disadvantaged conditions. This pattern was salient in one parent’s reflections as;

...We might help them, and my son can help them too. Maybe we can give them different perspectives on life. Of course, this goes both ways; they can also teach new things to us. But, we can talk and share our life experiences, which might help them in life. (D3, mother, high-SES)

**Deprivation based self-suppressive acts and attitudes.** As a less frequently used subtheme, a few participants believed that disadvantaged life conditions might make individuals introverted, withdrawn, or isolated from social life. These behaviors were evaluated under two domains. Some participants thought that individuals might withdraw themselves to avoid judgments from society, as stated by a mother:

I think people living here might feel embarrassed or shy when someone they did not well comes to their home. They might feel like despised, you know... They would have concerns such as what if other people don't like my village or my life. So, they might act hesitant, making it hard for other people to approach them. (C9, mother, low SES)

Some participants also expressed that living in disadvantages restrain individuals from accessing social events and activities. Thus, people living in these hardships might not feel comfortable and choose not to be a part of different social circles.

I think children who live here [shown in the photos] are a bit shy. They might feel ashamed since they haven't experienced many things in life. Like, you don't know how to act in certain situations if you have never been to a fancy place. So, rather than feeling like "us-them", you just don't talk to them [with people from more affluent backgrounds] or go to those kinds of places in order not to feel different (C5, 14-year-old, low SES)

### **2.5.3.2. Evaluations of Affluent Living Conditions**

While participants were talking about affluent living conditions accompanied by the photos, we ended up with three main themes, as in the case of disadvantaged living conditions. While we used the same titles for the main themes as *describing and characterization*, *attitudes towards affluent living conditions* and *prospective contact patterns in relational contexts*, contents of the subthemes were different.

Please see Table 4 for the list of themes, subthemes, and frequency of each subtheme coded depending on the participant's SES.

Table 4. Qualitative Study Part 2: Affluent Living Conditions

	Children		Parents	
	Low SES	High SES	Low SES	High SES
<b>Describing and characterization</b>				
Reference to prosperity	15	13	14	13
Employment in white-collar jobs	9	15	8	10
<b>Attitudes towards affluent living conditions</b>				
Being greedy & arrogant	11	10	7	7
Undeserved and effortless gain	7	7	7	6
Being helpful & having manners	11	10	2	5
Beliefs of meritocracy	6	7	2	6
<b>Prospective contact patterns in relations</b>				
Focusing on personality	14	13	10	11
Distancing due to differential access	9	0	10	3
Willingness to contact based on similarities/in-group	0	10	0	13
**Avoiding patronizing individuals	0	6	NA	NA
++Not being in contact with or knowing prosperous conditions	NA	NA	6	0

Note. \*\* Subthemes unique to children’s reflections, ++ Subthemes unique to parents’ reflections

### Theme 1: Describing and Characterization

The first theme included participants’ descriptions and characterizations of the affluent living conditions. Similar to the content elicited from the disadvantaged living conditions, descriptions in this theme pointed out that interview materials were able to represent privileged living conditions and allowed us to establish a baseline to elicit participants’ further attributions and evaluations of privileges. There were two subthemes coded to this theme titled as; *reference to prosperity* and *employment in white-collar jobs*.

**Reference to prosperity.** During the interviews, both parents and children referred to prosperous conditions frequently while they were evaluating the photos, such as “rich people”, “private education” and “high income”.

**Employment in white-collar jobs.** Children and their parents described individuals living in prosperous conditions as mostly working in white-collar and managerial occupations, such as being “lawyers”, “doctors”, “politicians”.

## **Theme 2: Attitudes towards Affluent Living Conditions**

The second theme included participants’ various attributions towards access to prosperous conditions. Content coded to this theme referred to both positive and negative evaluations about the individuals living in advantaged conditions. There were four subthemes coded to this theme as; attributions to *being greedy and arrogant, underserved and effortless gain, being helpful and having manners.*

**Being greedy and arrogant.** Children and their parents attributed certain stereotypes to individuals from privileged backgrounds. Coherent with the premises of the Stereotype Content Model, some participants evaluated rich people as cold, greedy, and overly ambitious. According to the model, making upward comparisons lead individuals to reflect envious prejudices. Thus, when individuals compare themselves with others and feel relatively lower in status, these prejudices are reflected through the stereotypes, as observed in the current study. Some representative examples are as follows:

I think people living here are addicted to technology and they would do anything to get what they want. They can be cold people too. (B3, 8-year-olds, high SES)

According to my experience, people living in these conditions are really arrogant, and they despise other people who don’t have the same amount of resources as themselves. (C8, mother, low SES)

**Undeserved and effortless gain.** Another pattern observed in participants’ reflections was evaluating prosperous living conditions as a result of undeserved and effortless gain. Participants both from low and high socioeconomic backgrounds talked about different contexts in which individuals gain access to privileges without deserving them. For instance, for some participants, prosperity was almost impossible to acquire in acceptable or usual ways, as stated by a participant:

This sort of wealth cannot be earned; I don't believe that. You can either inherit this type of money from your family; I don't know. Or sometimes they do tricks in their business, like tax evasion. (C4, 14-year-old, low SES)

Reflections about undeserved gain also revolved around the educational system. Both parents and children pointed out the marketization of the public education system. Regardless of their own SES, they talked about how the right to attain public schooling evolved into a privatized system. As a result, participants acknowledged that to get a proper education, someone should have privileges, such as having high income and status. As an important notion, most of the participants evaluated the marketization of the educational system as negative, even the families who had access to these conditions. They believed that in this type of educational institutions, students and families were treated as if they were customers, rather than members of those schools.

It was also expressed that “buying the right for education” led to inflated grades and underserved and unfair success as stated by a child from high SES:

In these schools, you get what you pay (i.e., *parayı veren düdüğü çalar*). I don't mean the students who have scholarships, but other students who are in private schools usually get grades they don't deserve because they pay for it. This may be small, but I think this is very unfair. (D3, 14-year-old, high SES)

**Attributions to being helpful and elegant.** Contrary to the previous subthemes, some participants also endorsed positive attributions towards individuals living in advantageous conditions, such as being helpful, elegant, and having good manners. Some participants also mentioned their reasoning behind these attributions. They referred to a link between high income, high status, and richer psychological resources. They expressed that living in prosperous conditions could give individuals more time and resources to invest in their education and social life so that one can be more satisfied with life.

Well, if you have enough resources like money or education, you can also have time to invest in yourself. Having these resources may help you to be a good person and care for other people. (C7, 14-year-old, low SES)

**Beliefs of meritocracy.** As the last subtheme, some participants reflected that affluent living conditions might also be attained through personal efforts, hard

work, and intelligence, pointing out to a meritocratic system understanding. “You can live a life like this if you work enough and don’t waste your money.” (B5, 8-year-old, high SES)

### **Theme 3: Prospective Contact Patterns in Relational Contexts**

Similar to the evaluations of disadvantaged conditions, the last theme also included participants’ statements regarding their willingness to contact individuals living in affluent neighborhoods.

**Focusing on personality.** In a parallel fashion with the evaluations of disadvantaged living conditions, children and their parents again explicitly stated that what matters were the personality traits, habits, and values of individuals, and not socioeconomic resources. Even though this subtheme was the most frequently observed one, after these statements, many participants also gave several responses to how access to economic and social resources would affect their willingness to contact individuals living in advantaged conditions.

**Distancing due to differential access to income and education.** Both children and their parents elaborated that prosperous conditions might lead to problems for close relationships. Especially more participants from low SES explicitly stated that they would distance themselves from the individuals who lived in prosperous conditions. They elaborated on this notion based on tangible and social-psychological terms. Some participants thought that having unequal access to financial resources would create a significant gap in lifestyles, and they couldn’t afford the same goods to their children and themselves. Thus, participants reported that they would feel uncomfortable in these situations and instead would like to stay away as shared by a child:

We don’t have the same living conditions, so I am not sure if I would like to be here [in more affluent neighborhoods]. We might not be able to do the same things, and I wouldn’t want to feel bad about myself, so I would probably stay away. (A3, 8-year-old, low SES)

In addition, some participants also stated that their life concerns and resources were significantly different. This situation was evaluated as a problem for communication. More importantly, some participants also mentioned their fears of being looked down on. They believed that due to their disadvantaged positions, people living in advantaged conditions might judge and have discriminatory attitudes towards them. Thus, they would like to protect themselves from this treatment and not be in close contact with them.

I am sure these people [living in more affluent neighborhoods] would despise my children and me. I wouldn't let this happen, and instead, don't get in touch with them. I don't think we have anything in common. (A2, mother, low SES)

#### **Willingness to contact based on similarities and perceived in-group.**

Referring to an opposite dynamic to the previous subtheme, children and their parents only from high SES expressed the similarities between the social contexts presented via the photos and their lives. They approached this similarity as a favorable factor, which might influence their social contact with individuals from more affluent backgrounds. Both children and their parents explicitly stated that they viewed people living in these neighborhoods as equals in terms of income and social status. Thus, they would choose to form close relationships, as indicated by a participant:

I feel like families in these places have more or less similar lives to ours. I think we can do many things in common, like we can go on holiday together and such. So yeah, we could get along. (D6, 14-year-old, high SES)

Some participants focused more on social and cultural similarities accompanied by financial resources, and view them as important factors to form relationships as shared by a mother: "We probably have similar lives and have common perspectives about life. Especially education makes such a big difference, so I feel close to the families living in these areas." (D8, mother, high SES)

#### **Subtheme Unique to Children's Thematic Analysis**

**Avoiding patronizing individuals.** Only children from high SES mentioned that when they saw someone patronize or despise others due to their



income level and status, they wouldn't be friends with those who despise. Discourses in this subtheme especially included disapproval of insulting attitudes towards the peers who were living in disadvantaged conditions, as described by a child:

Sometimes individuals living in rich places act like snobs. I can never get along with this type of people and can't let this happen. So, if these people think of themselves as superior, I would rather stay away from them. (D4, 14-year-old, high SES)

### **Subtheme Unique to Parents' Thematic Analysis**

**Not being in contact with or knowing prosperous conditions.** Similarly, there was also one subtheme that was unique to parents from low SES. They reflected that they had no contact or proper knowledge about the prosperous conditions that they had been shown via the photos. Thus, they felt that they couldn't provide answers to some of the questions. These statements indicated that sometimes the segregation based on socio-economic resources can be really drastic, and this difference in lifestyles limited their views on the other group's lifestyles as shared by a mother:

I am thinking, but I really don't know. I have never been friends with people from more rich or educated backgrounds, so I don't want to make assumptions. I would probably find it very hard to understand them. (C9, mother, low SES)

## CHAPTER 3

### STUDY 2: QUANTITATIVE STUDY

#### 3.1 Introduction

Children's and their parents' experiences and reflections in the first study provided important insights on how access to economic and social resources regulates their social encounters and daily experiences. As the substantial thematic coherence between children and their parents suggests, children are aware of the impact of economic and social resources in their lives, depending on their socioeconomic background, as much as adults do. Even when not asked directly, resources, accompanying experiences, and attitudes emerged as important factors in shaping whom they would want to contact, where, and why. In this respect, examining how children and their parents reason about socioeconomic exclusion is an applicable inquiry.

Among the themes that emerged in the participants' interviews, the ones which were appropriate to be transformed into vignettes were selected. The main contexts were determined as peer exclusion and exclusion in educational settings. These themes, which were selected for the construction of measurement materials, were a) social isolation and exclusion in relational contexts, b) gaining popularity and assertiveness as a means of material ownership, and c) distancing due to unequal access to financial and social resources for peer exclusion context. For the exclusion in educational settings, a) securing priority and differential treatment in life, b) marketization of education/undeserved and effortless gain, c) neglect and exclusion in educational contexts themes were selected.

This selection process was carried out by the researchers. Later, six vignettes were developed in the selected themes by considering their applicability,

especially for children's lives. After vignettes were developed, their contents were revised multiple times to ensure clarity. Later, they were presented to the two additional researchers (who have been the committee members of this dissertation), who are one clinical psychologist working with the disadvantaged groups and a sociologist specialized in social class dynamics. Vignettes were also presented to five children between the ages of 8 to 16, to refine their content, wording, and clarity further.

### **3.2 Method**

The implementation of this study was composed of two parts. Since we aimed to include parents and their children, either between the ages of 8 to 10 or 14 to 16, we recruited all children through schools. To be able to collect data through schools, we applied for the official permissions from the Provincial Directorate for the National Education of Ankara. In this permission process, we were advised to narrow down our data collection to certain districts with the potential to reach families from low and high socioeconomic backgrounds. Thus, we gave a list of 104 schools to the Ministry in the districts of Çankaya-Ankara (as a district in which more affluent families reside), and Altındağ, Keçiören, and Mamak (as districts of Ankara in which more disadvantaged families reside). Later, for data collection, we only visited the primary, secondary, and high schools, which were on our list. Therefore, we had a pre-selection of districts before the participant recruitment.

#### **3.2.1 Recruitment and SES Classification of the Families**

While the study was announced through schools, we did not apply any recruitment criteria as we did in the first study. Considering the possibility of a low return rate to our study call, we had decided to screen the data for SES as the data collection progressed. Since we also targeted districts of Ankara with a high potential to reach families from low and high SES, we avoided making any additional announcements in order not to offend any child or parent. The data was

collected in the Fall semester of 2018, from two primary (Altındağ), three secondary (one in Altındağ and two in Çankaya), and eight high schools (five in Çankaya, two in Altındağ, and one in Keçiören) in Ankara.

Similar to the first study, families were classified as either low or high socioeconomic status based on average household education criteria (Kalaycıoğlu et al., 2010). Participating parents were asked to report both their own and non-participating parent's highest level of education achieved. For cases in which education knowledge of the primary caregiver was not shared, we collected the relevant information from the school counselors. Based on the responses, participating and non-participating parents' total education years were calculated (0 = being only literate, 1 year = drop-out of primary school, 5 years = primary school, 6 years = drop-out of secondary school, 8 years = secondary school, 9 years = drop-out of high school, 11 years = high school, 11 years = drop-out of associate degree, 13 years = associate/vocational degrees, 12 years = drop-out of Bachelor's degree, 15 years = Bachelor's degree, 17 years = Graduate degrees). Each household's education was calculated by taking the average of maternal and paternal education in years (ranging from 1 to 21). Twenty-six mothers either declined to share paternal education or reported to have no contact with the father. For these families, we only took maternal education into consideration. While families with an average household education were less than or equal to nine years categorized as low SES, families with an average household education greater than or equal to thirteen years classified as high SES. We collected data from 318 child-parent dyads; 48 of them were discarded due to the family socioeconomic status criteria as described above. The final sample consisted of 270 child-parent dyads. Based on average household education criterion, there were 144 child-parent dyads (53.3%) classified as low SES and 126 (46 %) as high SES. When income per capita was analyzed (please see section 3.2.1 regarding the calculation details of income per capita), the two groups had a significant income gap,  $t(227) = -12.586$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [-2.192,53, -1.599,02]. The mean income per capita of the families who were classified as low SES was 598.87 TL ( $SD = 356.21$  TL, range -60 to 1.750 TL). The mean income per capita of the families who were classified as high SES was 2.494,65 TL ( $SD = 1.648,5$  TL, range 1.516-13.330 TL).

In order to verify SES categorization, we also assessed subjective status (please see sections 3.3.3.2 for the measurement). Parents who were categorized as low SES ( $M = 3.83$ ,  $SD = 1.55$ ) evaluated themselves significantly lower in status compared to parents who were categorized as high SES ( $M = 5.52$ ,  $SD = 1.23$ ),  $t(246) = -9.412$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [-2.029, -1.32]. The correlation between average household education and parents' subjective SES was .464 ( $p < .001$ ). A similar pattern was also evident in children's reports. Children from low SES families ( $M = 5.70$ ,  $SD = 1.91$ ) perceived themselves lower in status than children from high SES families ( $M = 6.79$ ,  $SD = 1.39$ ),  $t(242) = -5.015$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [-1.512, -.659]. Similarly, average household education ( $r = .391$ ) and income per capita ( $r = .250$ ) was correlated with children's subjective SES ratings,  $p < .001$ . When the correlation between average household education and children's subjective SES ratings were analyzed separately for two age groups, a similar pattern was detected. Bivariate correlations between the average household education and children's subjective SES ratings were significant for younger ( $r = .294$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and older children ( $r = .308$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Correlation between income per capita and children's subjective SES ratings were also significant for younger ( $r = .253$ ,  $p = .008$ ) and older children ( $r = .275$ ,  $p = .003$ ). Both objective (income per capita) and subjective SES criteria further supported that classification based on average household education was able to detect unequal living conditions between the two groups.

## **3.2.2 Participants**

### **3.2.2.1. Parents**

Eleven fathers and 259 mothers attended to this study. Majority of the parents in the low SES group ( $N = 144$ ,  $Age = 38.33$ ,  $SD = 7.01$ ) were living in Altındağ ( $N = 42$ ), Keçiören ( $N = 22$ ), Çankaya ( $N = 22$ ), and Etimesgut ( $N = 12$ ). Parents were graduates of primary school ( $N = 51$ ), secondary school ( $N = 48$ ) and drop-out from secondary school ( $N = 27$ ). Parents in the high SES group ( $N = 126$ ,  $Age = 43.18$ ,  $SD = 5.22$ ) were living in the districts of Çankaya ( $N = 68$ ), Batıkent ( $N = 19$ ) and Eryaman ( $N = 10$ ). Parents were graduates of Bachelor's ( $N = 81$ ) and

associate ( $N = 21$ ) degrees, and graduate school ( $N = 12$ ). For additional family demographics, please see Table 5.

Table 5. Additional Family Demographics of the Study 2

	<b>Low SES families</b>	<b>High SES families</b>
<b>Participating parents</b>		
Currently employed	Yes (33), No (42)	Yes (80), No (11)
Insurance	Yes (38), No (67)	Yes (91), No (16)
<b>Non-participating parents</b>		
Mean Age	42.4(6.66)	46.81(5.65)
Education	Primary School (29) Secondary School (33) Drop-out/secondary (17)	Associate degree (17) Bachelor degree (67) Graduate degree (28)
Currently employed	Yes (98), No (29)	Yes (95), No (11)
Insurance	Yes (109), No (19)	Yes (100), No (7)
# of children at home	2.51(.71), Range 1-5	1.9(.64), Range 1-4
House ownership	Yes (73), Other (55)	Yes (85), Other (40)
Debt/monthly (TL)	266.89(421.65)	393.25(629.15)

### 3.2.2.2 Children

Similarly, in total, 270 children attended this study. While 144 of them were from low SES, the rest 126 from high socioeconomic background. For detailed demographics of children, please see Table 6 below.

Table 6. Child Demographics of the Study 2

	<b>Middle childhood (8-10 years)</b>	<b>Middle adolescence (14-16 years)</b>
<b>Low SES</b>		
Total #	79 44 girls, 35 boys	65 42 girls, 23 boys
Age	$M = 9.80$ years ( $SD_{months} = 9.33$ )	$M = 15.51$ ( $SD_{months} = 11.23$ )
<b>High SES</b>		
Total #	63 32 girls, 31 boys	63 37 girls, 26 boys
Age	$M = 10.52$ years ( $SD_{months} = 8.53$ )	$M = 15.4$ years ( $SD_{months} = 11.05$ )

### 3.2.3 Measures

#### 3.2.3.1 Parent Measures

**Demographics.** In order to detect families' socioeconomic status, parents responded to detailed demographic questions about themselves, non-participating parent, and their families (please see Appendix C for the demographic sheet of parents). Items included educational background, current occupation and job status, insurance status, marital status, income, debts, number of people sharing family income, and details about their children (e.g., number of children at home and their ages).

**Subjective social status.** Subjective social status was assessed via the MacArthur Scale of Subjective Social Status (Adler et al., 2000). This single item measure includes a picture of a 10-numbered rug and asks participants to imagine the rug as a representation of Turkey (1 = individuals who have access to least amount of economic and social resources, 10 = individuals who have access to the highest amount of economic and social resources). Later, parents were asked to locate themselves in the rug as a number where they thought to stand relative to the other individuals.

**Social exclusion vignettes.** As described in section 3.1, parents were presented with six vignettes, three in each context as 1) peer exclusion (school activity pair-up, socializing, inviting to lunch), and 2) exclusion in the educational context (swimming course, summer camp, teacher help).

An example of the peer exclusion vignette was:

Arda and Kerem are two children who met in their school. Arda and his family live in this house [indicating the affluent house]. Kerem and his family live in this house [indicating the disadvantaged house]. Arda was a popular child at school, and he had many friends. Kerem was a newcomer to their school, so he did not have many friends. One time Arda and Kerem were attending the end-semester show organized in their school. This year children needed to make some performances in pairs. The class teacher asked Arda if he would like to be a pair with

Kerem. Arda thought he might accept it. Bu later, Arda's friends told him not to pair-up with Kerem because they [Arda's friends] knew where Kerem was living.

An example of the exclusion in the educational context vignette was:

Nehir and Ela are two students. Nehir and her family live in this house [indicating the affluent house]. Ela and her family live in this house [indicating the disadvantaged house]. Nehir's family was providing her extra tutoring when she had struggles with their courses and sending her abroad so that she could learn foreign languages. Ela was studying her courses and learning foreign languages on her own. One day, their school decided to choose a child to send her away for a summer camp abroad. Nehir and Ela were the most successful children at the school. They both had the same grades and were able to speak a foreign language equally well. In the end, the school administration decided to send Nehir to this summer camp.

On the page depicting the vignettes, we presented two photos indicating the socioeconomic background of each main character of the relevant vignette (one character from a disadvantaged background, another character from an affluent background). These photos were the ones used in the second part of the qualitative study (please see section 2.5.1 for the selection procedure of the photos). Each vignette followed by six questions as;

1) Evaluations of exclusion (e.g., *"Is it all right or not alright for the school administration not to send Ela to the summer camp abroad? 1-5 Likert)*

2) Justifications for the evaluations of exclusion (e.g., *"Why did you rate this way? –corresponds to the value given to the previous question)*

3) Intention attributions to the excluder (e.g., *"Why do you think the school administration did not send Ela to the summer camp?)*

4) Emotion attributions of the excluded (e.g., *"How do you think Ela would feel when she learns she was not chosen for the summer camp?)*

5) Justifications for the emotion attributions (e.g., *"Why do you think Ela would feel this way?)*

6) Possible solutions to exclusion (e.g., *"What would you do if you were the school administration?)*

Apart from the first question, the other questions were open-ended. Characters' sexes in the vignettes were matched with the sex of the parent's child. Presentation of the contexts (peer exclusion and exclusion in the educational



context), as well as the order of photos presented with the vignettes (disadvantaged home first and affluent one second, and vice versa), were counterbalanced. In total, there were eight different orders of the social exclusion vignette task. The vignette order in each context held constant following the past research, by starting with the vignette that is a less severe form of exclusion to avoid negative response patterns across vignettes (Killen et al., 2002; Malti et al., 2012). Please see Appendix E for the complete set of vignettes and questions.

### **3.2.3.2 Child Measures**

**Demographics.** Children were asked to provide their birth dates and sex as demographic information (please see Appendix D for the demographic sheet of children).

**Subjective SES.** Children also reported their subjective SES with the MacArthur Scale of Subjective Social Status. In order to ease the understandability of the item, the wording was simplified (e.g., using the term “individuals who have the least amount of money” instead of “individuals who have access to least amount of economic and social resources”).

**Social exclusion vignettes.** Children also presented and were asked to respond to the same set of vignettes and questions as parents. Characters’ sexes in the vignettes were matched with the children’s sex.

### **3.2.4 General Procedure**

Ethical permission of the study was granted by the Human Subjects Ethics Committee at Middle East Technical University. To conduct the research in schools, official approval was elicited from the Provincial Directorate for the National Education of Ankara. Schools were contacted, and principals were informed about the overall aims and implementation of the study. In schools that agreed to take part in the research (only one high school we contacted declined to

help), the study application was planned with the help of the school counselors. As the first step, children were visited in their classrooms and informed about the study application. Parental consents and measurements were delivered to homes in a closed envelope via children. Children whose parents approved their participation and signed the forms were eligible to participate. Parents and children were given specific codes so that dyads could be identified and matched for further analyses.

Children attended the study in their schools in a pre-scheduled room to keep privacy and reliability. The whole data collection was completed by the primary researcher and five undergraduate assistants who were trained and experienced in working with children. Once children settled in the rooms, they were informed about the study procedure, and their verbal consents were collected. Later, paper-and-pen formatted vignettes were handed in to the students. The primary researcher read the instructions aloud and answered their questions about the task if any. For the group of children aged between 8 to 10, a maximum of ten children participated in a single session so that they would get more guidance when needed. Fourteen to 16- year- old group attended the study with larger groups (maximum 20 children in a single session). It took around 50-60 minutes for younger children, and 25-30 minutes for older children to complete the study. None of the children whose parents approved their participation refused to take part in or complete the study. Once the data collection ended, we organized a lottery in schools and provided three children in each school voucher for a bookstore worth 25 TL. In three high schools, we also gave a seminar to students in which we talked about the transition to university and details of psychology majors.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS OF THE QUANTITATIVE STUDY

#### 4.1 Pre-Analysis Procedures: Construction of Coding Themes

Before the analyses, specific procedures were followed to be able to use the written responses of the participants. Firstly, all of the responses were digitalized and transferred to Microsoft Word as preparation for coding. As explained in section 3.3.3.1, both children and their parents were presented with six social exclusion vignettes and answered six follow-up questions for each vignette (please see Appendix E for the vignettes and questions). Apart from the first question in each vignette (evaluations of the exclusion with a 5-point Likert scale), the rest five questions were open-ended items, in which participants wrote down their responses freely. In order to analyze these responses, answers elicited from each question type -which was *justifications for the evaluations of exclusion, intention attributions to the excluder, emotion attributions of the excluded, justifications for the emotion attributions, and possible solutions to exclusion*- underwent a coding process.

Since the coding structure is thought to vary depending on the question types listed above, a separate coding scheme was constructed by repeating the procedure explained below for each question. For instance, while establishing coding categories for *justifications for the emotion attributions*, children's and their parents' responses only to this question were evaluated. In order to form the coding categories, first of all, a random 30 dyads were selected from the sample. Responses of this sample were screened for emerging reasoning patterns. Later, possible coding categories were constructed based on the SRD model (Killen & Rutland, 2011) and related past research (Burkholder et al., 2019; Elenbaas & Killen, 2016b; Malti, Ongley, Dys, & Colasante, 2012). Even though we treated the

data provided by children and their parents as separate while forming the coding categories, emerging categories were mutual both for children and their parents. There was not a single category that was observed in children's responses but not in their parents' responses or vice versa. Later, all of the researchers held multiple meetings to discuss each coding category concerning its meaning and conceptual appropriateness. Once the baseline coding categories were formed, the primary researcher coded the responses of an additional 30 dyads. An additional meeting was held by the researchers to refine the coding categories.

Twenty percent of the whole dataset (60-dyads) was also coded by a second-coder who was a trained senior psychology student. She was also blind to the hypotheses of the study. For children's responses, a mean value of Cohen's kappa coefficient .908 (ranging between .793 to 1) and for parents' responses a mean value of Cohen's kappa coefficient .915 (ranging between .794 to 1) was achieved indicating good inter-rater reliability.

## **4.2 Overall Data Analytic Strategy**

After the coding structure was established, participants' responses were coded for each question separately. The coding categories that were included in the final analyses are described separately in the following sections. As a standard practice in the past research (Burkholder et al., 2019), we only included the coding categories which were used by the minimum 10% of the participants in the final analyses. We aimed to capture the richness of the reasoning content provided by the participants also by considering the most prevalently used reasoning categories. We have six reasoning inquiries based on the questions answered by the participants as; 1) Evaluations of exclusion, 2) Justifications for the evaluations of exclusion, 3) Intention attributions to the excluder, 4) Emotion attributions of the excluded, 5) Justifications for the emotion attributions and 6) Possible solutions to exclusion. Specific coding structures, analyses, and the results of each reasoning type are described in detail in the following sections. As an overall analytic strategy, several mixed ANOVAs were conducted to test the hypotheses by using SPSS Version 25 (please see section 1.6.2 for hypotheses). For the interaction effects, follow-up

analyses included pairwise comparisons with Bonferroni adjustments and t-tests for within-subjects effects. In analyses where sphericity assumption was violated, either Greenhouse-Geisser or Huynh-Feldt corrected values were presented while reporting the results depending on the  $\epsilon$  value.

## **4.3 Results**

### **4.3.1 Evaluations of the Exclusion**

This section of the analyses included participants' responses to the question of "*Is it all right or not alright for X not to invite Y to their home for lunch?*" in a 5-point Likert question. Responses elicited from this question constituted participants' *evaluations regarding the acceptability of exclusion* presented in the vignette. Both children and their parents rated the acceptability of the six vignettes, three of them representing peer exclusion (school activity pair-up, socializing, inviting to lunch), and three as exclusion in the educational settings (swimming course, summer camp, teacher help). Before the main analyses, three evaluations under each context were averaged to form mean acceptability ratings. That is, each participant had a mean acceptability rating for peer exclusion and a mean acceptability rating for exclusion in education. For these scores to be calculated, a participant had to report a minimum of two ratings out of three vignettes in each context. For cases in which participants only rated the acceptability of a single vignette, scores were not included in the final analyses.

### **Children**

In order to test whether children's evaluations of exclusion varied by children's age and SES, and context, a 2 (age group: 8-10 vs. 14-16) x 2 (SES: low vs. high) x 2 (context: peer exclusion, exclusion in education) x exclusion evaluations ANOVA with a repeated measure on the last two factors was performed. The dependent variable was the children's exclusion evaluations. Children's sex was also added to the analysis, but did not have any main or

interaction effects; thus, it was dropped from the final analysis. Overall, children's responses to the evaluations of the exclusion showed that the average acceptability ratings were lower ( $M = 1.782$ ,  $SD = .721$ ).

**Evaluations by age.** In line with the hypotheses, children's age had a significant impact on their evaluations,  $F(1, 250) = 9.127$ ,  $p = .003$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .035$ . Overall, older children evaluated exclusion based on SES as less acceptable ( $M_{14-16\text{-yr-olds}} = 1.636$ ,  $SD = .493$ ) compared to younger children ( $M_{8-10\text{-yr-olds}} = 1.919$ ,  $SD = .862$ ).

**Evaluations by SES.** The effect of children's socioeconomic background on exclusion evaluations was not significant ( $F(1, 250) = .775$ ,  $p = .379$ ).

**Evaluations by context.** Results showed that the exclusion context was also influential on exclusion evaluations as expected,  $F(1, 250) = 5.769$ ,  $p = .017$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .023$ . Children evaluated peer exclusion as more acceptable ( $M = 1.867$ ,  $SD = .884$ ) compared to exclusion in educational context ( $M = 1.724$ ,  $SD = .835$ ).

**Evaluations by age, SES and context.** Results showed a three-way interaction between children's age group, children's SES and exclusion context,  $F(1, 250) = 4.611$ ,  $p = .033$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .02$ . Post-hoc comparisons revealed that the interaction between children's age and context varied across children from low vs. high socioeconomic backgrounds (please see Figure 1). Compared to younger children from low SES families ( $M_{8-10\text{-yr-olds}} = 2.042$ ,  $SD = 1.006$ ), older children from low SES families viewed peer exclusion as less acceptable ( $M_{14-16\text{-yr-olds}} = 1.677$ ,  $SD = .636$ ),  $t(136) = 2.49$ ,  $p = .014$ , 95% CI for difference [.075, .654]. The same pattern was also valid for exclusion in education showing that older children from low SES were less tolerant to exclusion ( $M_{14-16\text{-yr-olds}} = 1.513$ ,  $SD = .608$ ) compared to their younger counterparts ( $M_{8-10\text{-yr-olds}} = 2.077$ ,  $SD = 1.002$ ),  $t(135) = 3.879$ ,  $p < .014$ , 95% CI for difference [.276, .852].

For children from high SES families, there were no differences between the two age groups in terms of their evaluations ( $p = .118$  and  $p = .686$ ). The mean

exclusion evaluation rates were 1.988 (8-10-year-olds) and 1.733 (14-16-year-olds) for peer exclusion. The mean exclusion evaluation rates were 1.586 (8-10-year-olds) and 1.642 (14-16-year-olds) exclusion in educational settings.

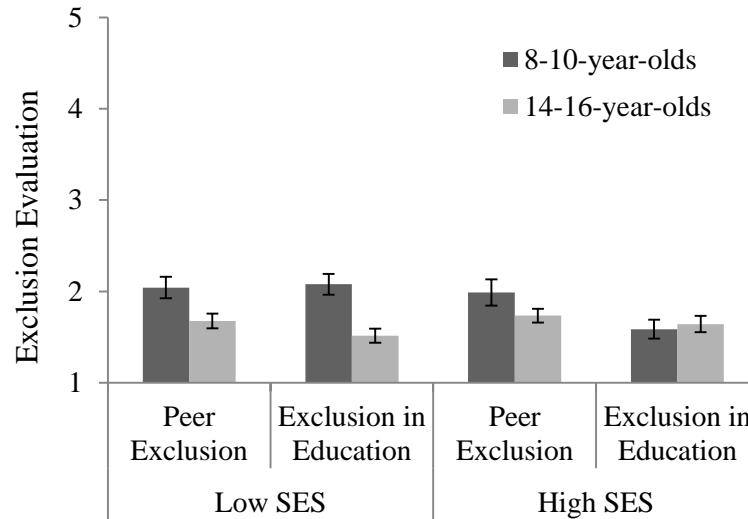


Figure 1. Children's Exclusion Evaluations by Age, SES, and Context

Note. 1 = not okay at all, 5 = totally okay. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean.

## Parents

Parents' evaluations were tested with a 2 (SES: low vs. high) x 2 (context: peer exclusion, exclusion in education) x exclusion evaluations ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors. The dependent variable was similarly parents' exclusion evaluations.

**Evaluations by context.** The effect of the context on exclusion evaluations was significant as hypothesized,  $F(1, 240) = 4.4298, p = .036, \eta_p^2 = .02$ . Similar to their children, parents evaluated peer exclusion ( $M = 1.872, SD = 1.107$ ) as more acceptable compared to exclusion in educational context ( $M = 1.639, SD = .768$ ), 95% CI for difference [.010, .308]. On the contrary, neither SES of the parents ( $F(1, 240) = .83, p = .572$ ) nor the interaction between SES and context ( $F(1, 240) = 4.429, p = .274$ ) revealed significant results. Overall, the mean exclusion evaluation rates for parents from low SES was 1.755 ( $SD = .719$ ) and for parents from high SES was 1.704 ( $SD = .669$ ).

### 4.3.2 Justifications for the Evaluations of Exclusion

Analyses in this section included participants' responses to the question of "Why did you rate this way?" referring to their acceptability ratings. Participants responded to this question for each vignette in an open-ended fashion, and their reflections pertained to the *justifications for the evaluations of exclusion*. As described before, participants presented with three vignettes in two contexts (peer exclusion and exclusion in education). After determining coding categories following the procedure described in section 4.1, we ended up with ten categories, both for children's and their parents' reflections. Among these categories, codes that appeared at least at the rate of 10% of the responses *at least in one vignette* were included in the main analyses (please see Table 7 for the complete list of coding categories).

Table 7. Mean Proportions of the Justifications for the Exclusion Evaluation

	Peer exclusion	Exclusion in Education
<b>Children</b>		
Wrongfulness of unfair treatment based on SES	.35	.39
Wrongfulness of social exclusion	.26	.13
Importance of equity based on lack of resources or privilege	.001	.16
Conformity to rules & authority decision	.11	.04
Maintaining status quo	.03	.03
<b>Parents</b>		
Wrongfulness of unfair treatment based on SES	.45	.44
Wrongfulness of social exclusion	.14	.02
Importance of equity based on lack of resources or privilege	0	.22
Conformity to rules & authority decision	.1	.07
Maintaining status quo	.04	.02
<i>Benevolent classism</i>		
<i>Prioritizing in-group solidarity</i>		
<i>Reference to situational factors</i>		
<i>Personal choice</i>		
<i>Undifferentiated &amp; missing</i>		

Note. Proportions of coding categories that were not included in the analyses were not provided.



As a result, we ended up with five main coding categories titled as; 1) Wrongfulness of unfair treatment based on SES, 2) Wrongfulness of social exclusion, 3) Importance of equity based on lack of resources or privilege, 4) Conformity to rules and authority decision, and 5) Maintaining status quo.

The first coding category, *wrongfulness of unfair treatment based on SES*, included participants' justifications concerning the wrongfulness of excluding, or treating someone unfairly based on their economic or social disadvantage (e.g., "It doesn't matter where you live or what you own, it is not fair"). The second category, *wrongfulness of social exclusion*, appealed to the wrongfulness of social exclusion without referring differential access to economic resources (e.g., It is wrong not to include a friend). The third category, *importance of equity based on lack of resources or privilege*, consists of justifications emphasizing the importance of equity to rectify economic disadvantages (e.g., "Poor kid cannot afford going to a camp, so it is wrong not to give him/her that chance). The fourth and fifth categories included justifications preserving social norms and conventions. On the one hand, *conformity to rules and authority decision* category included participants' justifications prioritizing the rules and authority decisions (e.g., parents, teachers, principals). On the other hand, the last coding category *maintaining status quo* included justifications of maintaining the social order as letting individuals who have limited access to economic resources, and who are economically privileged as living different lives and having differential treatment (e.g., "It is normal that people have different lives, so it is normal that she/he was not invited).

Responses were transformed into within-participant variables by using a weighted system. Participants' justifications could be coded to a maximum of two categories. When a participant used only one justification out of five categories, this response was coded as 1 indicating full use of that category. In the case of using two justification categories, each of these responses was coded as .50, indicating partial use. Not using a particular category was denoted as 0. By using this transformation, each participant had a score for each of the five coding categories. Later, these scores were averaged for each justification category by collapsing three vignettes in each context (peer exclusion and exclusion in education) pertaining to the mean proportion of each justification category.

## Children

Children's justifications for the evaluations of exclusion were examined with a 2 (age group: 8-10 vs. 14-16) x 2 (SES: low vs. high) x 2 (context: peer exclusion, exclusion in education) x 5 (justification: unfair treatment, wrongfulness of social exclusion, importance of equity, conformity, maintaining status quo) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors. Children's justifications were the dependent variable. Children's sex was also added to the analysis but later dropped due to its overall non-significant results. According to the results, overall, children most commonly used *wrongfulness of unfair treatment based on SES* and *wrongfulness of social exclusion* justification types. There were two-way interactions explaining the usage proportion of different justifications of exclusion evaluation.

**Justifications by age.** Results showed that children's age was a significant factor affecting the usage proportion of justifications as expected,  $F(3.391, 64.829) = 16.131, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .057$  (please see Figure 2).

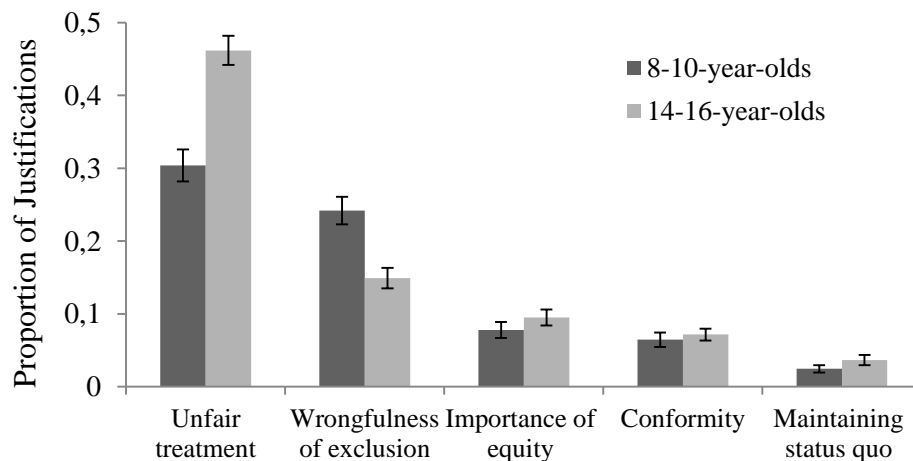


Figure 2. Children's Justifications of Exclusion Evaluations by Age

Note. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean.

Post-hoc comparisons showed that older children used justifications of *wrongfulness of unfair treatment based on SES* ( $M = .461, SD = .234$ ) more

frequently compared to younger children ( $M = .30$ ,  $SD = .266$ ),  $p < .001$ . On the other hand, referring to *wrongfulness of social exclusion* was more prevalent among younger children ( $M = .241$ ,  $SD = .229$ ) than their older peers ( $M = .149$ ,  $SD = .166$ ),  $p < .001$ .

**Justifications by SES.** Justifications for the evaluations of exclusion were also varied by children's SES ( $F(2.54, 663.39) = 3.003$ ,  $p = .038$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .012$ ) but the effect size was small. Children in low SES group were found to use *wrongfulness of unfair treatment based on SES justifications* more frequently ( $M = .417$ ,  $SD = .235$ ) compared to children in high SES group ( $M = .344$ ,  $SD = .281$ ),  $p = .042$ . Justifications of *maintaining status quo* were utilized by children from high SES ( $M = .041$ ,  $SD = .086$ ) than their peers from low SES ( $M = .02$ ,  $SD = .059$ ),  $p = .032$ .

**Justifications by context.** Results showed that the usage proportion of justifications also varied by context as expected,  $F(2.28, 750.45) = 39.95$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .13$  (please see Figure 3). Children used *wrongfulness of unfair treatment based on SES* ( $M = .401$ ,  $SD = .34$ ,  $p = .046$ ) and *importance of equity* ( $M = .171$ ,  $SD = .251$ ,  $p < .001$ ) justifications in exclusion in education context more frequently compared to peer exclusion context ( $M_{unfair\ treatment} = .355$ ,  $SD = .313$ ,  $M_{equity} = .001$ ,  $SD = .02$ ). The justification *wrongfulness of social exclusion*, on the other hand, was more prevalent in peer exclusion context ( $M = .269$ ,  $SD = .30$ ) compared to exclusion in educational settings ( $M = .126$ ,  $SD = .20$ ),  $p < .001$ .

## Parents

Parents' justifications for the evaluations of exclusion were tested with a 2 (SES: low vs. high) x 2 (context: peer exclusion, exclusion in education) x 5 (justification: unfair treatment, wrongfulness of social exclusion, importance of equity, conformity, maintaining status quo) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors. The dependent variable was parents' justifications for the evaluations of exclusion. Similar to their children, overall, parents most commonly used wrongfulness of unfair treatment based on SES justification type.

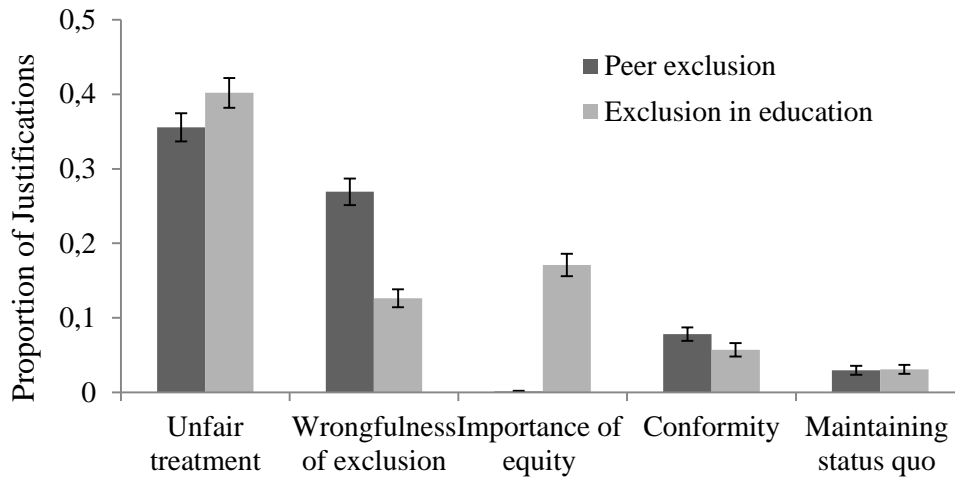


Figure 3. Children's Justifications of Exclusion Evaluations by Context

Note. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean.

**Justifications by context.** For parents' justifications, only context had a significant effect,  $(F(3.06, 806.76) = 53.575, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .167)$ . Overall, parents used *wrongfulness of social exclusion justification* more frequently in peer exclusion ( $M = .143, SD = .237$ ) context than they did in exclusion in educational settings ( $M = .024, SD = .104$ ),  $p < .001$  (please see Figure 4).

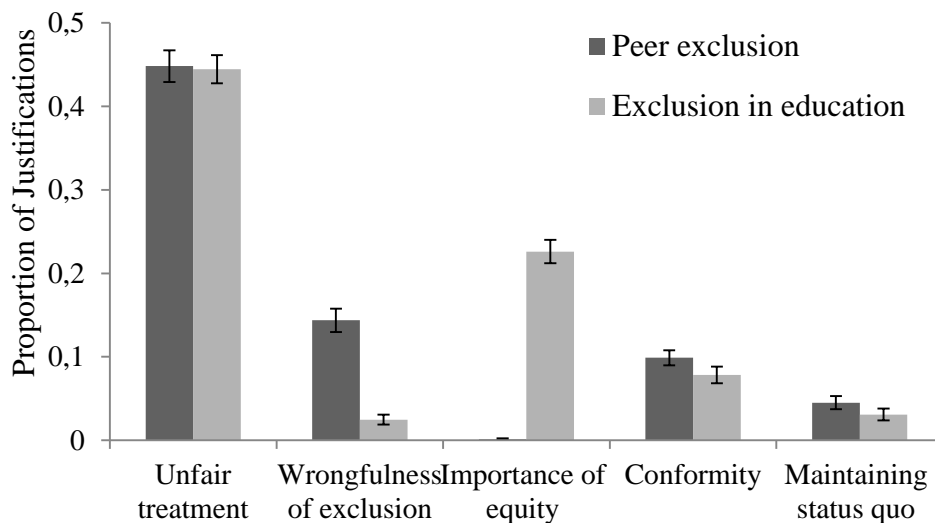


Figure 4. Parents' Justifications of Exclusion Evaluations by Context

Note. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean.

In addition, referring to *importance of equity justification* was more prevalent in exclusion in the education context ( $M = .225$ ,  $SD = .243$ ) compared to peer exclusion context ( $M = .001$ ,  $SD = .02$ ),  $p < .001$ .

SES of the parents did not have an effect on their evaluation justifications,  $F(2.774, 743.54) = 1.001$ ,  $p = .388$ . The interaction between context, SES and evaluation justifications was also not significant,  $F(3.063, 820.76) = 1.44$ ,  $p = .229$ .

### 4.3.3. Intention Attributions to the Excluder

Analyses in this section include participants' responses to the question of why you think the exclusion in the vignette took place (e.g., Why do you think Elif did not invite Ayşe to their home for lunch?).

Table 8. Mean Proportions of the Intention Attributions to the Excluder

	Peer exclusion	Exclusion in Education
<b>Children</b>		
Pragmatics	.06	.09
Discrimination & unfair treatment based on SES	.59	.44
Motivation to maintain status quo	.10	.06
Conformity to rules & authority decision	.04	.10
<b>Parents</b>		
Pragmatics	.03	.07
Discrimination & unfair treatment based on SES	.58	.42
Motivation to maintain status quo	.08	.07
Conformity to rules & authority decision	.08	.06
<i>Reference to personal and situational factors</i>		

Note. Proportions of coding categories that were not included in the analyses were not provided.

Participants' responses referred to the *intention attributions to the excluder* (protagonist). As following the coding process described in the previous sections, we ended up with five coding categories, and four of them included in the analyses, which were; 1) Pragmatics, 2) Discrimination and unfair treatment based on SES, 3) Motivation to maintain status quo, and 4) Conformity to rules and authority decision (please see Table 8 for the complete list of coding categories and proportions).

The first coding category, *pragmatics*, included practical reasons as the intention attributions to the excluder, such as the excluded character in the vignette living in a distant neighborhood, the possibility of not knowing the excluded child due to physical proximity. For instance, the response of "I think they did not invite him just because he lives far away" is a representative example of this code. The second coding category, *discrimination and unfair treatment based on SES*, comprised of responses perceiving the intention of the excluder in the vignettes as a discriminatory act towards individuals living in disadvantaged conditions (e.g., "She was not accepted to the swimming course because rich people are often prioritized). The following two categories reflected conventional reasons that participants provided. The code of *motivation to maintain status-quo* included participants' reasoning when they perceived the exclusion in the vignettes as normal as a consequence of the current social structures (e.g., "Doesn't this happen usually? Unfortunately, people have different lives, and it is what it is."). The final category, *conformity to rules and authority decision* included reflections seeing the excluder's intention to exclude as an outcome of complying with the decisions and wishes of authority figures, such as parents, teachers or school principles (e.g., "The child was not sent to the summer camp because it was teachers' decision in the end"). Similarly, participants' responses were transformed into a within-participant variable by using a weighted system, as described in section 4.3.2.

## **Children**

Children's intention attributions to the excluder were investigated with a 2 (age group: 8-10 vs. 14-16) x 2 (SES: low vs. high) x 2 (context: peer exclusion, exclusion in education) x 4 (intention attributions: pragmatics, discrimination,

maintaining status quo, conformity) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors. Children's intention attributions were the dependent variable. Children's sex was also added to the analysis but later dropped due to its overall insignificance.

Based on the results, the overall majority of the children referred to *discrimination and unfair treatment based on SES* as the excluder's intention presented in the vignettes. There were two-way and three-way interactions explaining the usage proportion intention attributions to the excluder.

**Reasoning by age.** In line with the hypotheses, children's age was influential on their intention attributions regardless of the context,  $F(1.731, 460.374) = 9, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .033$ . Overall, older children used *discrimination and unfair treatment based on SES* ( $M_{14-16\text{-yr-olds}} = .565, SD = .278; M_{8-10\text{-yr-olds}} = .471, SD = .311$ ) and *maintaining status quo* ( $M_{14-16\text{-yr-olds}} = .127, SD = .202; M_{8-10\text{-yr-olds}} = .039, SD = .117$ ) as the excluder's intention more frequently than younger children did ( $p = .012$  and  $p < .001$  respectively). *Conformity to authority decisions and rules* was used by younger children more frequently ( $M = .095, SD = .146$ ) compared to older children ( $M = .039, SD = .072$ ),  $p < .001$ .

**Reasoning by SES.** Children's intention attributions were also affected by children's socioeconomic background,  $F(1.731, 460.374) = 5.32, p = .008, \eta_p^2 = .020$ . Children in the low SES ( $M = .092, SD = .145$ ) group referred to *conformity to authority decisions and rules* more frequently than their counterparts from high SES did ( $M = .041, SD = .074$ ),  $p < .001$ . Using *maintaining status quo* while talking about the intentions of the excluder was more prevalent among children in the high SES group ( $M = .120, SD = .205$ ) than children from low SES did ( $M = .046, SD = .118$ ),  $p = .001$ .

**Reasoning by context.** Results showed that context was also a significant factor affecting the usage proportion of intention attributions,  $F(2.164, 575.58) = 27.778, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .095$ . Post-hoc analyses showed that all four reasoning types differed based on context. Children referred to *pragmatics*

( $M_{\text{exclusion\_in\_education}} = .083$ ,  $SD = .143$ ;  $M_{\text{peer\_exclusion}} = .059$ ,  $SD = .133$ ) and *conformity to authority decisions and rules* ( $M_{\text{exclusion\_in\_education}} = .096$ ,  $SD = .20$ ;  $M_{\text{peer\_exclusion}} = .040$ ,  $SD = .111$ ) more frequently in exclusion in education context than they did in peer exclusion context ( $p = .013$  and  $p < .001$  respectively). On the other, children used *discrimination and unfair treatment based on SES* ( $M_{\text{peer\_exclusion}} = .588$ ,  $SD = .341$ ;  $M_{\text{exclusion\_in\_education}} = .444$ ,  $SD = .363$ ) and *maintaining status quo* ( $M_{\text{peer\_exclusion}} = .095$ ,  $SD = .216$ ;  $M_{\text{exclusion\_in\_education}} = .066$ ,  $SD = .176$ ) reasoning more frequently in peer exclusion context than they did in exclusion in education context.

**Reasoning by age and context.** Children's intention attributions were qualified by an age and context interaction,  $F(2.164, 575.58) = 5.609$ ,  $p = .003$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .021$ . Further comparisons were conducted with independent samples t-tests (please see Figure 5).

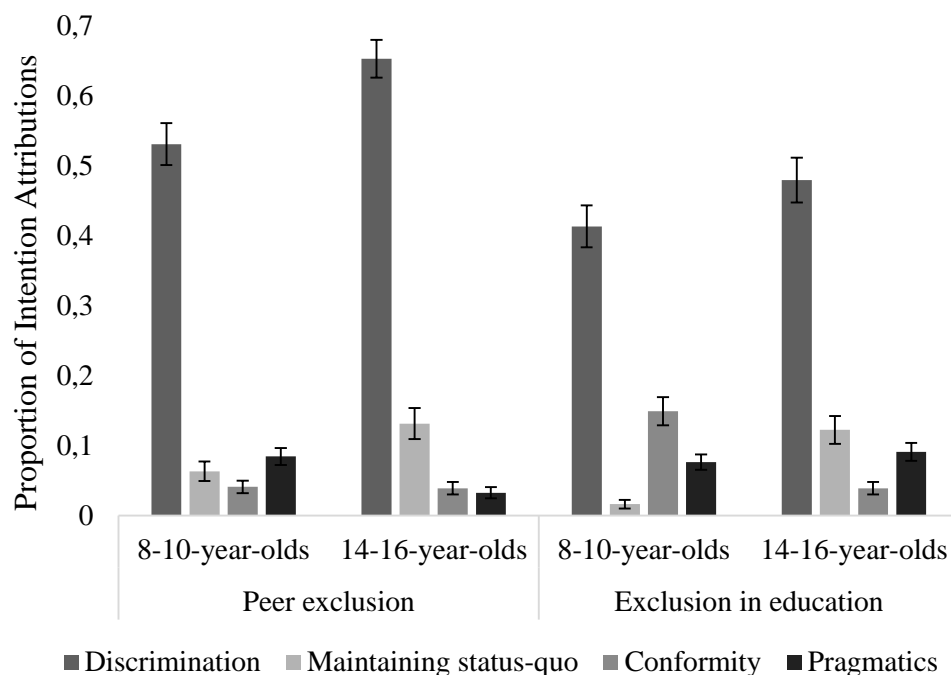


Figure 5. Children's Intention Attributions to the Excluder by Age and Context  
 Note. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean.



In peer exclusion context, 8-year-old group ( $M = .084$ ,  $SD = .154$ ) was found to use *pragmatics* reasoning type more frequently compared to 14-year-olds ( $M = .032$ ,  $SD = .098$ ),  $t(268) = 3.254$ ,  $p = .001$ , 95% CI of the difference = [.020, .083]. For peer exclusion context, referring to *discrimination and unfair treatment based on SES* was more prevalent among older children ( $M = .652$ ,  $SD = .305$ ) compared to the younger group ( $M = .530$ ,  $SD = .362$ ),  $t(268) = -2.967$ ,  $p = .003$ , 95% CI of the difference = [-.202, -.04]. Similarly, older children ( $M = .131$ ,  $SD = .248$ ) used *maintaining status quo* reasoning more frequently than younger children did ( $M = .063$ ,  $SD = .177$ ),  $t(268) = -2.609$ ,  $p = .011$ , 95% CI of the difference = [-.120, -.015].

In exclusion in the education context, age differences were observed in two intention attribution types. Older children ( $M = .122$ ,  $SD = .228$ ) referred to *maintaining status quo* more frequently when they talked about the excluder's intentions compared to the younger group ( $M = .016$ ,  $SD = .082$ ),  $t(268) = -5.163$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI of the difference = [-.146, -.065]. Younger children ( $M = .149$ ,  $SD = .246$ ), on the other hand, referred to *conformity to authority decisions and rules* more frequently than their older counterparts ( $M = .039$ ,  $SD = .105$ ),  $t(268) = 4.683$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI of the difference = [.063, .156]

**Reasoning by age and SES.** There was also a three-way interaction between children's reasoning, age and SES,  $F(1.731, 460.374) = 5.523$ ,  $p = .006$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .020$ . Post-hoc analyses revealed that using *conformity to authority decisions and rules* was more prevalent among younger children ( $M = .131$ ,  $SD = .174$ ) from low SES compared to their peers from high SES ( $M = .048$ ,  $SD = .081$ ),  $t(140) = 3.474$ ,  $p = .001$ , 95% CI of the difference = [.035, .130]. With regard to the reasoning of older children, children from low SES ( $M = .626$ ,  $SD = .260$ ) used *discrimination and unfair treatment based on SES* more frequently compared to their peers from high SES ( $M = .502$ ,  $SD = .284$ ),  $t(126) = 2.579$ ,  $p = .011$ , 95% CI of the difference = [.028, .219]. On the other hand, older children from high SES ( $M = .182$ ,  $SD = .235$ ), referred to *maintaining status quo* reasoning more frequently than their peers from low SES did ( $M = .073$ ,  $SD = .146$ ),  $t(126) = -3.164$ ,  $p = .002$ , 95% CI of the difference = [-.177, -.041] (please see Figure 6).

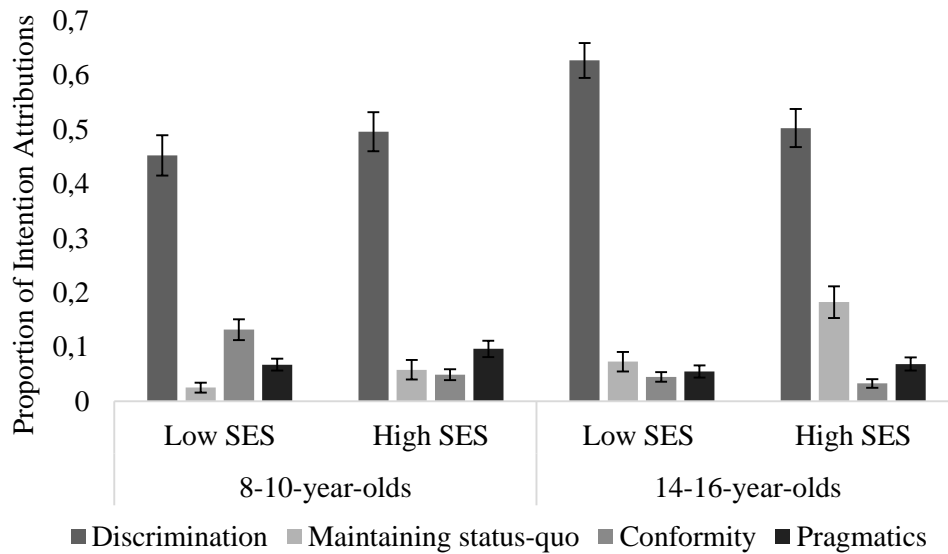


Figure 6. Children's Intention Attributions to the Excluder by Age and SES  
 Note. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean.

## Parents

Parents' intention attributions to the excluder were examined with a 2 (SES: low vs. high) x 2 (context: peer exclusion, exclusion in education) x 4 (intention attributions: pragmatics, discrimination, maintaining status quo, conformity) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors. Parents' intention attributions were the dependent variable.

**Reasoning by context.** Overall, majority of the parents used *discrimination and unfair treatment based on SES* as the excluder's intention in the vignettes. Only factor influencing parents' attributions was context,  $F(1.968, 527.517) = 20.292, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .070$ . Compared to peer exclusion context ( $M = .034, SD = .101$ ), parents referred to *pragmatics* more frequently in exclusion in education context ( $M = .069, SD = .135$ ),  $p < .001$ . In addition, parents used *discrimination and unfair treatment based on SES* in peer exclusion ( $M = .577, SD = .382$ ), context more frequently than they did in exclusion in education ( $M = .4333, SD = .344$ ),  $p < .001$  (please see Figure 7).

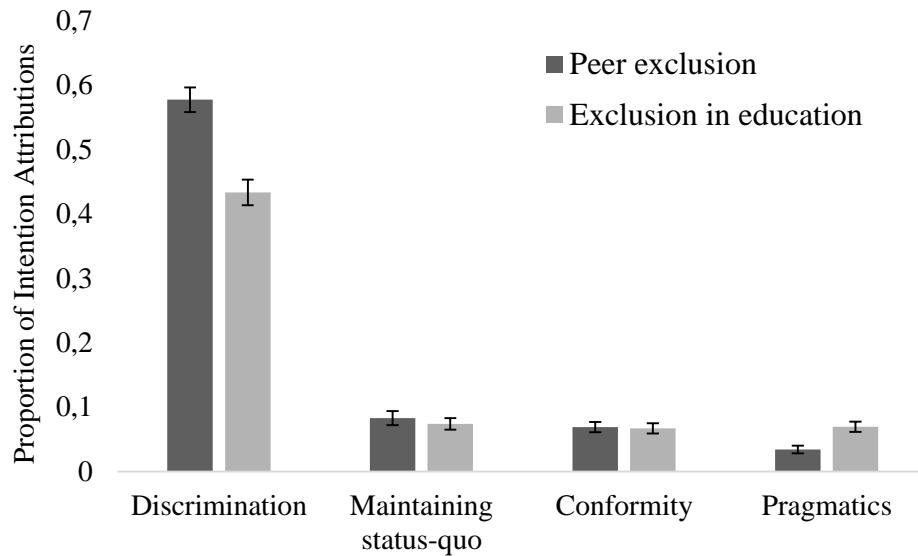


Figure 7. Parents' Intention Attributions to the Excluder by Context

Note. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean.

SES of the parents did not have an effect on their reasoning,  $F(1.704, 456.75) = 1.99, p = .113$ . The interaction between context, SES and reasoning was also not significant,  $F(1.968, 527.517) = .210, p = .808$ .

#### 4.3.4 Emotion Attributions of the Excluded

This section consisted of participants' responses to the question of "How do you think X would feel when she/he learns she/he was not invited". Their reflections constituted *emotion attributions of the excluded*. By employing the coding procedure described in section 4.1, we had five emotion categories, and three of them were above the usage proportion cut-off of .10, which were; 1) Feeling sad and lonely, 2) Feeling neglected and treated unfairly, and 3) Feeling degraded (please see Table 9 for the complete list of coding categories and proportions). The first coding category, *feeling sad and lonely*, included participants' attributions to a range of emotions as feeling lonely, bad, sad, heartbroken, and disappointed. The following two emotion categories had more cognitive reference rather than first-order emotions. The second emotion category, *feeling neglected and treated unfairly*, included participants' responses, which

emphasized the excluded character might have felt neglected, excluded, or treated unfairly compared to the included character in the vignette. The third emotion category, *degraded*, comprised of attributions when participants mentioned excluded child in the vignette might have felt despised, underestimated, unimportant or degraded (e.g., “She might feel like unimportant when she was not invited”, “He might feel like incapable of having friends”). Participants’ emotion attributions were transformed into a within-participant variable by using a weighted system, as described in section 4.3.2.

Table 9. Mean Proportions of the Emotion Attributions to the Excluded

	Peer exclusion	Exclusion in Education
<b>Children</b>		
Sad & Lonely	.73	.75
Neglected & Treated unfairly	.10	.06
Degraded	.06	.04
<b>Parents</b>		
Sad & Lonely	.64	.70
Neglected & Treated unfairly	.11	.07
Degraded	.08	.05
<i>Angry</i>		
<i>Positive &amp; Neutral affect</i>		

Note. Proportions of coding categories that were not included in the analyses were not provided.

## Children

Children’s emotion attributions to the excluded were investigated with a 2 (age group: 8-10 vs. 14-16) x 2 (SES: low vs. high) x 2 (context: peer exclusion, exclusion in education) x 3 (emotion: feeling sad, feeling neglected and as treated unfairly, feeling degraded) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors. Children’s emotion attributions were the dependent variable. Children’s sex was also added to the analysis but later dropped due to its overall insignificance.

Based on the results, overall, the majority of the children mentioned *feeling sad and lonely* while they were referring to the excluded child in the vignette. There were also interactions explaining the usage proportion of emotion attributions.

**Emotion attributions by age.** Children’s age was influential on the emotions they attributed to the excluded character in the vignette,  $F(1.283, 341.162) = 24.104, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .083$  (please see Figure 8). Regardless of the context, older children mentioned *feeling neglected and treated unfairly* ( $M_{14-y-olds} = .112, SD = .143; M_{8-10-y-olds} = .031, SD = .079$ ) and *feeling degraded* ( $M_{14-16-y-olds} = .074, SD = .14; M_{8-10-y-olds} = .010, SD = .044$ ) and categories more frequently compared to younger children,  $p < .001$ . Attributions of *feeling sad and lonely* was more common among younger children compared to older children ( $M_{8-10-y-olds} = .777, SD = .261; M_{14-16-y-olds} = .641, SD = .274$ ),  $p < .001$ .

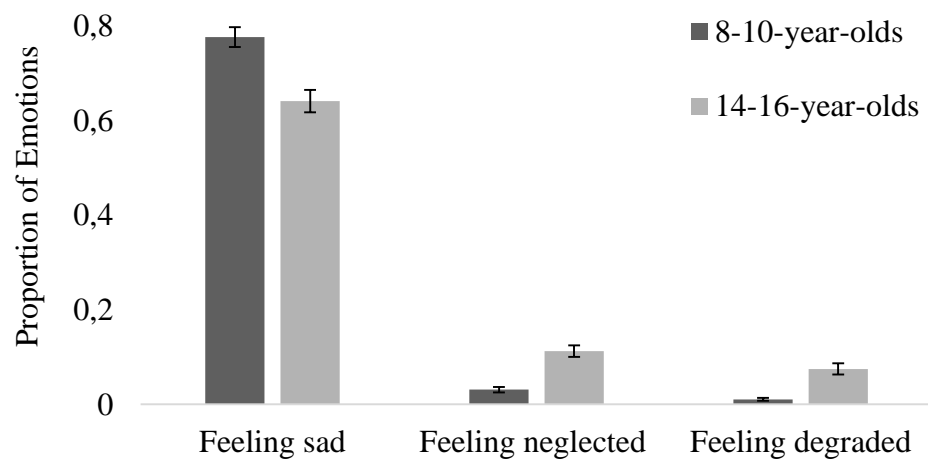


Figure 8. Children’s Emotion Attributions by Age

Note. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean.

**Emotion attributions by SES.** The emotions children attributed was also affected by children’s socioeconomic background,  $F(1.283, 341.162) = 5.71, p = .011, \eta_p^2 = .021$ . Post-hoc analyses showed that children from low SES ( $M = .750, SD = .268$ ) referred to *feeling sad and lonely* more frequently compared to children from high SES ( $M = .669, SD = .279$ ),  $p = .023$ . Children from high socioeconomic background ( $M = .090, SD = .130$ ), on the other hand, referred to *feeling neglected and treated unfairly* more frequently than their peers from low socioeconomic background did ( $M = .051, SD = .109$ ),  $p = .012$  (please see Figure 9).

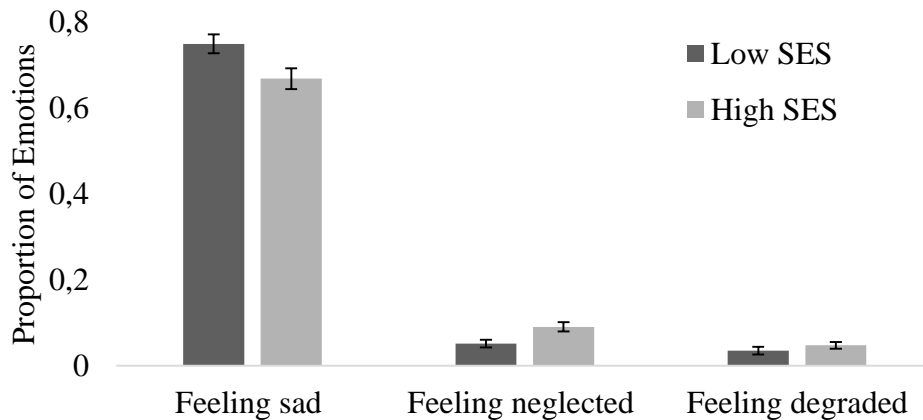


Figure 9. Children's Emotion Attributions by SES

Note. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean.

**Emotion attributions by context.** Context (peer exclusion vs. exclusion in education) did not influence the emotions children attributed to the excluded character in the vignette,  $F(1.631, 433.912) = 2.956, p = .064$ .

## Parents

Parents' emotion attributions to the excluded character in the vignettes were analyzed with a 2 (SES: low vs. high) x 2 (context: peer exclusion, exclusion in education) x 3 (emotion: feeling sad, feeling neglected and as treated unfairly, feeling degraded) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors. Parents' emotion attributions were the dependent variable.

Similar to children's responses, overall, the majority of the parents attributed *feeling sad and lonely* to the excluded character's emotions in the vignette.

**Emotion attributions by context.** The only factor affecting parents' emotion attributions was the context of the exclusion,  $F(1.521, 407.614) = 8.194, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .030$ . In exclusion in education context ( $M = .680, SD = .319$ ), parents referred to *feeling sad and lonely* more frequently than they did in peer exclusion ( $M = .614, SD = .334$ ),  $p = .004$ . Additionally, parents attributed feeling degraded to the excluded character in the vignette more frequently in peer exclusion context ( $M$

= .061,  $SD = .144$ ) compared to exclusion in education ( $M = .038$ ,  $SD = .109$ ),  $p = .033$  (please see Figure 10).

SES of the parents did not have an effect on their reasoning,  $F(1.35, 361.725) = .132$ ,  $p = .791$ . The interaction between context, SES and reasoning was also not significant,  $F(1.521, 407.614) = 1.30$ ,  $p = .26$ .

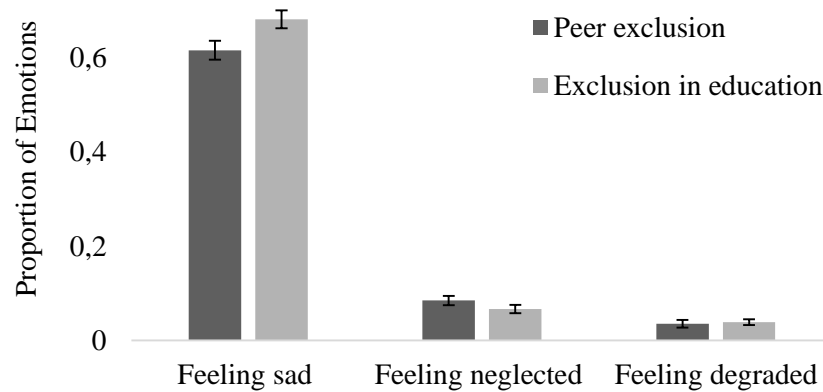


Figure 10. Parents' Emotion Attributions by Context

Note. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean.

#### 4.3.5 Justifications for the Emotion Attributions

Analyses in this section included participants' responses to the question of "Why do you think X would feel this way" referring to their emotion attributions. Their responses pertained to *justifications for the emotion attributions*. By following the coding procedure described in section 4.1, we had five justification categories, and four of them exceeded the usage proportion cut-off of .10. They were; 1) Empathy, 2) Being excluded and neglected, 3) Being exposed to stereotyping and unfair treatment based on SES, and 4) Missing out an opportunity due to lack of resources (please see Table 10 for the complete list of coding categories and proportions).

Table 10. Mean Proportions of the Justifications for the Emotion Attributions

	Peer exclusion	Exclusion in Education
<b>Children</b>		
Empathy	.16	.13
Exclusion & neglect	.41	.37
Being exposed to stereotyping & unfairness based on SES	.23	.20
Missing out an opportunity due to lack of resources	.003	.11
<b>Parents</b>		
Empathy	.06	.05
Exclusion & neglect	.29	.26
Being exposed to stereotyping & unfairness based on SES	.34	.21
Missing out an opportunity due to lack of resources	.004	.16
<i>Conforming to rules &amp; authority</i>		

Note. Proportions of coding categories that were not included in the analyses were not provided.

The first justification category, *empathy*, included responses focusing on empathic understanding and putting oneself into someone's shoes as the justifications for the emotion attributions (e.g., “I would feel the same if I was that kid”, “When I think of the excluded kid, I felt this way”).

The second category, *being excluded and neglected*, consisted of responses when participants only talked about being left out or excluded as their justifications for the emotion attributions (e.g., “Because not being invited to your friend’s house would make you sad and lonely”).

The third category, *being exposed to stereotyping and unfair treatment based on SES*, composed of responses when participants acknowledged the role of stereotyping and differential treatment rooted in socioeconomic disadvantages as their justifications for the emotion attributions. Some examples are as follows: “She would feel underestimated because the teachers believed she couldn’t be successful enough due to her background”, “He would feel sad because his friends made fun of him just because he is poor”.

The last category, *missing out an opportunity due to lack of resources*, referred to responses emphasizing the role of missing out a chance or opportunity due to coming from a disadvantaged background as the justification for emotion



attributions (e.g., She would feel sad because her family cannot afford to send her to a summer camp if she loses this opportunity). Participants' justifications for the emotion attributions were transformed into a within-participant variable by using a weighted system, as described in section 4.3.2.

## Children

Children's justifications for the emotion attributions were investigated with a 2 (age group: 8-10 vs. 14-16) x 2 (SES: low vs. high) x 2 (context: peer exclusion, exclusion in education) x 4 (justifications for the emotion attributions: empathy, exclusion and neglect, being exposed to stereotyping and unfairness based on SES, missing out an opportunity) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors. Children's justifications for the emotion attributions were the dependent variable. Children's sex was also added to the analysis but later dropped due to its overall insignificance. Based on the results, overall, the majority of the children referred to *exclusion and neglect* and *being exposed to stereotyping and unfairness based on SES* categories while justifying their emotion attributions. There were also two-way interactions explaining the usage proportion of justifications for the emotion attributions.

**Emotion justifications by age.** Children's justifications for the emotion attributions were influenced by age,  $F(2.294, 120.682) = 15.279, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .054$ . Younger children were found to refer to *exclusion and neglect* as their justifications for emotion attributions more frequently compared to older children ( $M_{8-10\text{-yr-olds}} = .475, SD = .335; M_{14-16\text{-yr-olds}} = .309, SD = .271$ ),  $p < .001$ . Older children, on the other hand, used *being exposed to stereotyping and unfairness based on SES* justification more prevalently than their younger peers did ( $M_{14-16\text{-yr-olds}} = .30, SD = .270; M_{8-10\text{-yr-olds}} = .143, SD = .206$ ),  $p < .001$  (please see Figure 11).

**Emotion justifications by SES.** Children's SES did not have an influence on their justifications,  $F(2.294, 610.282) = 2.162, p = .108$ .

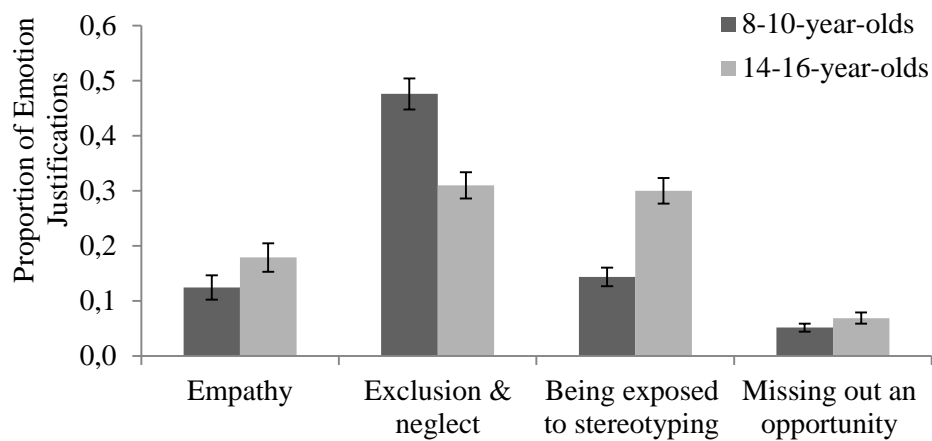


Figure 11. Children's Justifications for the Emotion Attributions by Age

Note. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean.

**Emotion justifications by context.** Results showed that context was also a significant factor affecting the usage proportion of justifications for the emotion attributions,  $F(2.263, 40.897) = 14.049, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .050$  (please see Figure 12).

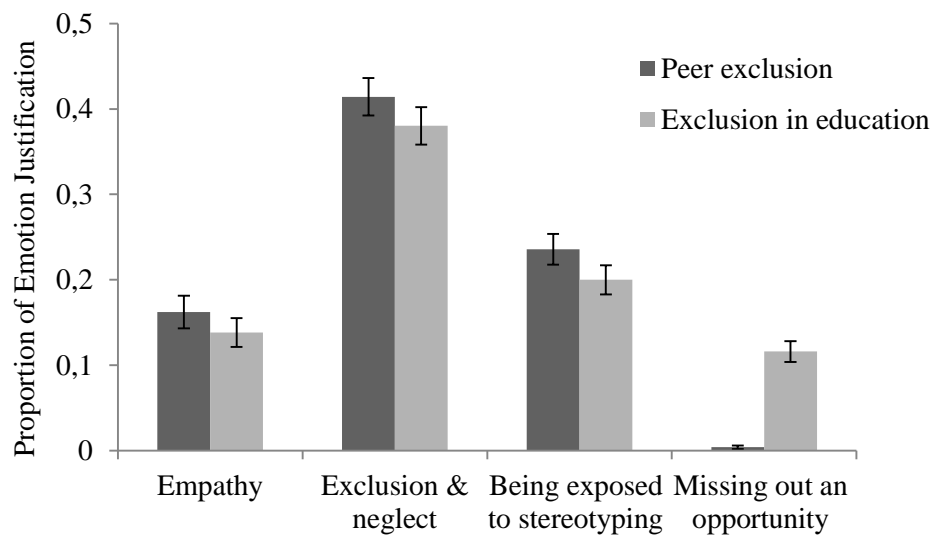


Figure 12. Children's Justifications for the Emotion Attributions by Context

Note. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean.

Post-hoc analyses indicated that children referred to *empathy* justification in peer exclusion context than they did in exclusion in education context ( $M_{peer\_exclusion}$

= .163,  $SD = .313$ ;  $M_{exclusion\_in\_education} = .138$ ,  $SD = .287$ ),  $p = .040$ . Additionally, children used *missing out an opportunity due to lack of resources* justification more frequently in exclusion in education context compared to peer exclusion ( $M_{exclusion\_in\_education} = .116$ ,  $SD = .210$ ;  $M_{peer\_exclusion} = .003$ ,  $SD = .035$ ),  $p < .001$ .

## Parents

Parents' justifications for the emotion attributions were analyzed with a 2 (SES: low vs. high) x 2 (context: peer exclusion, exclusion in education) x 4 (justifications for the emotion attributions: empathy, exclusion and neglect, being exposed to stereotyping and unfairness based on SES, missing out an opportunity) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors. Parents' justifications were the dependent variable. Similar to children's responses, overall, the majority of the parents referred to *exclusion and neglect*, and *being exposed to stereotyping and unfairness based on SES* categories while justifying their emotion attributions.

**Emotion justifications by context.** The only factor affecting parents' justifications for the emotion attributions was the context,  $F(3.657, 41.13) = 23.827$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .082$ . Parents referred to *missing out an opportunity due to lack of resources* in exclusion in education context ( $M = .169$ ,  $SD = .231$ ) than they did in peer exclusion context ( $M = .004$ ,  $SD = .040$ ),  $p < .001$  (please see Figure 13).

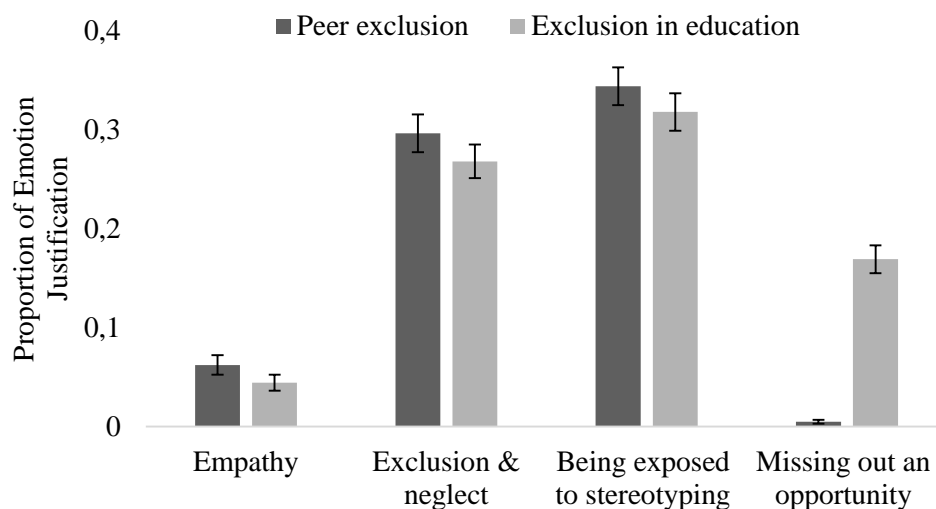


Figure 13. Parents' Justifications for the Emotion Attributions by Context  
 Note. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean.

SES of the parents did not have an effect on their emotion justifications,  $F(2.131, 571.19) = 1.46, p = .226$ . The interaction between context, SES and emotion justifications not significant,  $F(2.223, 595.76) = 2.34, p = .091$ .

#### 4.3.6 Possible Solutions to the Exclusion

Analyses in this final section are related to the participants' responses to the question of "What would you do if you were X" pertaining to *possible solutions to exclusion*. Implementing the coding process described in section 4.1, we ended up with five categories, and all of them exceeded the usage proportion cut-off of .10 at least in one vignette. These categories were; 1) Restoring equity, 2) Choosing to be equal to both parties, 3) Inclusion, 4) Seeking for authority approval, and 5) Exclusion (please see Table 11 for the complete list of coding categories and proportions).

The first coding category, *restoring equity*, included participants' solutions about providing equity and rectifying past disadvantages as their solutions to the exclusion (e.g., "I would actually prioritize the poor kid and choose her/him since she/he probably couldn't attend such a swimming course before"). The second coding category, *choosing to be equal to both parties*, comprised solutions with regard to acting equal to both parties no matter what. This reflection included both types of actions as either choosing or including the two characters in the vignettes or not choosing or including any of them to be fair. The third category, *inclusion*, included participants' responses when they only mentioned that they would include or invite the character in the vignettes (e.g., "I would invite her/him to our home for lunch too"). Some participants also mentioned that they would make their own decision, ignore their in-group, and invite or include the disadvantaged character in the vignettes. This type of reflection was also coded to the category of *inclusion* (e.g., "I don't care what my friends would think; I would invite her/him too). The fourth category, *seeking for authority approval*, included solutions of relying on what authority figures, such as parents, teachers, principals, would allow or offer (e.g., "I would ask my parents if I could go out with her/him). The final category, *exclusion*, consisted of participants' responses emphasizing they would exclude or

not choose the disadvantaged character in the vignettes (e.g., “I would probably not send her/him to abroad as well, I don’t think she/he could have been successful there). As in the previous sections, participants’ responses to these five categories were transformed into a within-participant variable by using a weighted coding system, as described in section 4.3.2.

## Children

Children’s possible solutions to the exclusion were analyzed with a 2 (age group: 8-10 vs. 14-16) x 2 (SES: low vs. high) x 2 (context: peer exclusion, exclusion in education) x 5 (solutions: restoring equity, equality, inclusion, authority approval, exclusion) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors. Children’s solutions were the dependent variable. Children’s sex was also added to the analysis but later dropped due to its overall insignificance.

Based on the results, overall, the majority of the children offered the solutions of *inclusion* and *being equal to both parties*. There were also two-way interactions explaining the usage proportion of possible solutions.

Table 11. Mean Proportions of the Possible Solutions to the Exclusion

	Peer exclusion	Exclusion in Education
<b>Children</b>		
Restoring equity	.006	.34
Choosing to be equal to both parties	.009	.48
Inclusion	.68	.01
Seeking for authority approval	.08	.002
Exclusion	.07	.02
<b>Parents</b>		
Restoring equity	.001	.35
Choosing to be equal to both parties	.01	.49
Inclusion	.62	.003
Seeking for authority approval	.08	0
Exclusion	.07	.03

**Solutions by age.** Children’s age did not influence the solutions they proposed to the exclusion in the vignettes,  $F(4, 1064) = .389, p = .817$ .

**Solutions by SES.** Children’s socioeconomic background was influential on their solutions to the exclusion,  $F(2.632, 1064) = 3.13, p = .031, \eta_p^2 = .013$ , though it had a small effect size. Pairwise comparisons revealed that regardless of the context, children from low SES ( $M = .202, SD = .177$ ) offered *restoring equity* as the possible solution to the exclusion more frequently than their peers from high SES did ( $M = .150, SD = .162$ ),  $p = .011$ . In addition, referring to *exclusion* was more prevalent among children from high SES ( $M = .056, SD = .133$ ) compared to their peers from low SES ( $M = .026, SD = .070, p = .022$ ).

**Solutions by context.** The solutions children proposed was also significantly affected by the context,  $F(2.56, 681.75) = 574.70, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .684$ . Post-hoc results showed that the usage proportion of all five solutions differed based on the context (please see Figure 14). Overall, children offered *restoring equity* ( $M_{exclusion\_education} = .348, SD = .336; M_{peer\_exclusion} = .007, SD = .057$ ) and *being equal to both parties* ( $M_{exclusion\_education} = .493, SD = .354; M_{peer\_exclusion} = .010, SD = .076$ ) solutions more frequently about exclusion in education context compared to peer exclusion context,  $p < .001$ .

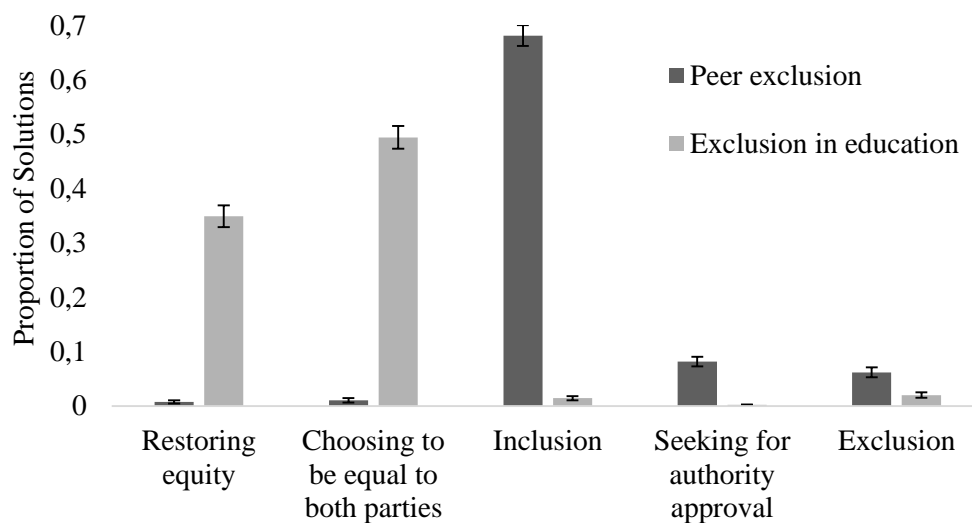


Figure 14. Children’s Solutions to Exclusion by Context

Note. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean.

In peer exclusion context, referring to *inclusion* ( $M_{peer\_exclusion} = .680, SD = .321, M_{exclusion\_education} = .014, SD = .072$ ), *exclusion* ( $M_{peer\_exclusion} = .061, SD = .158, M_{exclusion\_education} = .019, SD = .097$ ), and *seeking for authority approval* ( $M_{peer\_exclusion} = .081, SD = .149, M_{exclusion\_education} = .001, SD = .022$ ) was more common compared to exclusion in education context,  $p < .001$ .

**Solutions by SES and context.** The relationship between solutions and SES was also modified by the context with a small effect size,  $F(2.56, 681.75) = 3.74, p = .016, \eta_p^2 = .015$ . Post-hoc analysis was conducted with independent samples t-tests. It was found that in peer exclusion context, children from low SES ( $M = .019, SD = .103$ ) referred to *being equal to both parties* more frequently compared to their peers from high SES ( $M = 0, SD = .0$ ),  $t(268) = 2.13, p = .034$ , 95% CI of the difference = [.002, .037]. Using *exclusion* as the solution was more prevalent among children from high SES ( $M = .082, SD = .191$ ) compared to children from low SES ( $M = .044, SD = .119$ ),  $t(268) = -1.979, p = .049$ , 95% CI of the difference = [-.075, -.002] (please see Figure 15).

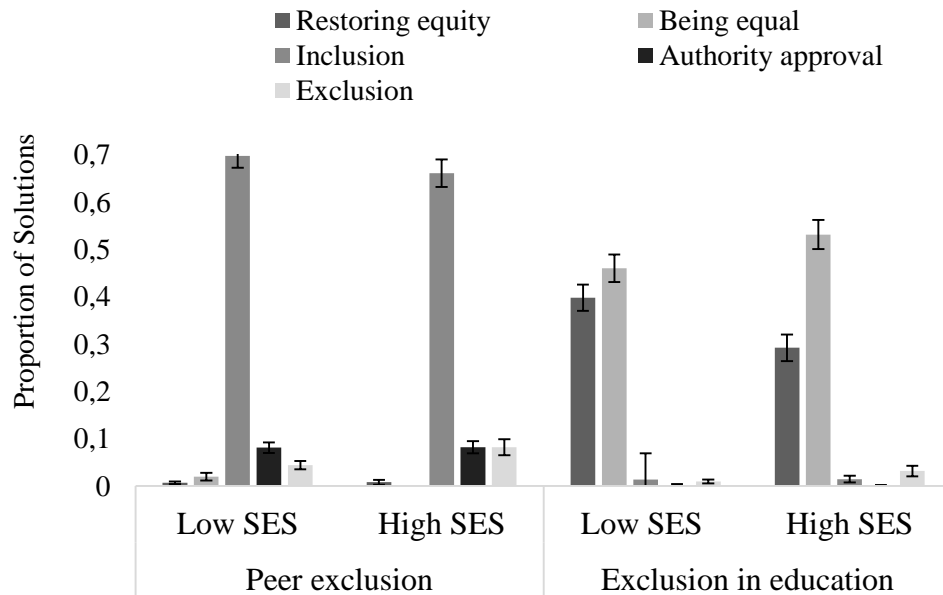


Figure 15. Children’s Solutions to Exclusion by SES and Context

Note. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean

In exclusion in education context, referring to *restoring equity* was more common among children from low SES ( $M = .031$ ,  $SD = .129$ ) compared to children from high SES ( $M = .398$ ,  $SD = .344$ ),  $t(268) = 2.603$ ,  $p = .01$ , 95% CI of the difference = [.025, .185]. Lastly, as a marginal effect, children from high SES ( $M = .031$ ,  $SD = .129$ ) referred to exclusion more frequently than their peers from low SES did ( $M = .009$ ,  $SD = .054$ ),  $t(268) = -1.89$ ,  $p = .05$ , 95% CI of the difference = [-.045, -.008].

## Parents

Parents' possible solutions to the exclusion were analyzed with a 2 (SES: low vs. high) x 2 (context: peer exclusion, exclusion in education) x 5 (solutions: restoring equity, equality, inclusion, authority approval, exclusion) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last two factors. Parents' solutions were the dependent variable. Similar to their children, overall, the most commonly offered solution was *inclusion* and *being equal to both parties*.

**Solutions by context.** Only factor affecting parents' solutions to exclusion was context,  $F(2.92, 782.80) = 608.26$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .694$ . Parents offered the solutions of *restoring equity* ( $M_{exclusion\_education} = .348$ ,  $SD = .336$ ;  $M_{peer\_exclusion} = .007$ ,  $SD = .057$ ) and *being equal to both parties* ( $M_{exclusion\_education} = .484$ ,  $SD = .299$ ;  $M_{peer\_exclusion} = .013$ ,  $SD = .082$ ) more frequently in exclusion in education context compared to peer exclusion context,  $p < .001$  (please see Figure 16).

In peer exclusion context, referring to *inclusion* ( $M_{peer\_exclusion} = .627$ ,  $SD = .346$ ,  $M_{exclusion\_education} = .003$ ,  $SD = .035$ ), *exclusion* ( $M_{peer\_exclusion} = .079$ ,  $SD = .191$ ,  $M_{exclusion\_education} = .033$ ,  $SD = .125$ ), and *seeking for authority approval* *exclusion* ( $M_{peer\_exclusion} = .080$ ,  $SD = .142$ ,  $M_{exclusion\_education} = 0$ ,  $SD = 0$ ) was more common compared to peer exclusion context,  $p < .001$ .



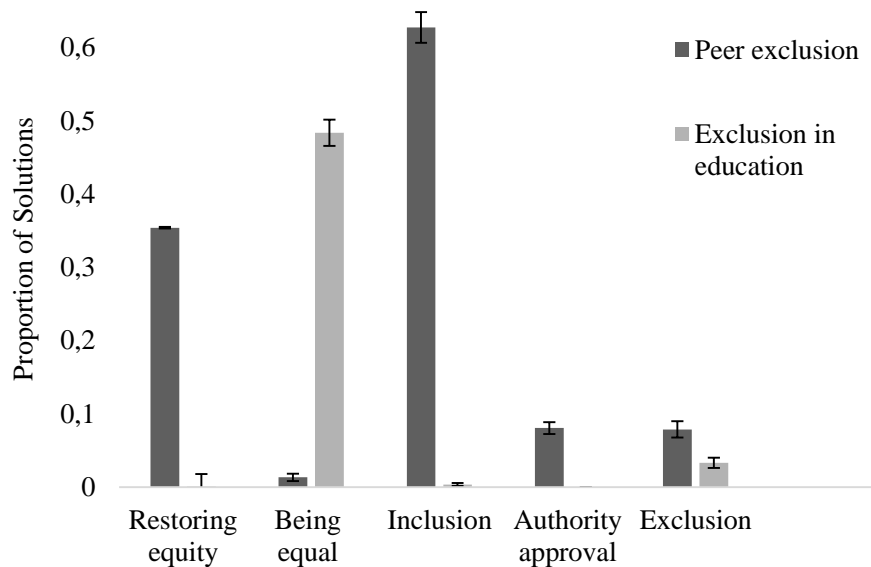


Figure 16. Parents' Solutions to Exclusion by Context

Note. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean

#### 4.3.7 Congruence between Parents' and Children's Exclusion Evaluations

As an exploratory addition to the main analyses, we tested whether parents' evaluations of exclusion predicted their children's exclusion evaluations by using the mean acceptability ratings (please see section 4.3.1 for details). Further, we also examined whether the relationship between parents and their children's exclusion evaluations would differ depending on children's age and family socioeconomic status, and on the context of the exclusion (peer exclusion vs. exclusion in education).

In order to detect a potential congruence between parents' and their children's exclusion evaluations, bivariate correlations were examined in the whole sample. In order to have a more detailed picture of whether mentioned relations differ based on family SES and children's age, correlations were calculated within each group (parent-child dyads for; 8-10-years-old from low SES, 8-10-years-old from high SES; 14-16-years-old from low SES, 14-16-years-old from high SES). Results showed that in the relationship between parents' and their children's exclusion evaluation, the diagnostic factor was children's age. Thus, SES was dropped from further correlations to ease the interpretability.

As can be seen in Table 12, in the overall sample, parents' exclusion evaluations were positively correlated with their children's evaluations of peer exclusion and exclusion in educational settings, respectively. Interestingly, the correlation between parents' evaluation of peer exclusion and their children's evaluations of exclusion in educational settings was also significant. In other words, there was a cross-context effect indicating that to what extent parents found peer exclusion as acceptable was positively correlated with their children's tolerance of exclusion in educational settings. When these findings were examined in younger and older children separately, a complementary pattern was detected. For 8-10-year-olds, the more their parents' evaluated peer exclusion as acceptable, the more children also evaluated peer exclusion as acceptable. The cross-context was also prevalent for younger children. That is, parents' evaluation of excluding a peer based on SES in the vignettes was correlated with their children's evaluation of exclusion in educational settings. For 14-16-year old children, the only correlation was between parents' and their children's evaluation of exclusion in educational settings.

*Table 12 . Bivariate Correlations among Parents' and Their Children's Evaluations of Exclusion*

	<b>Parents' Exclusion Evaluations</b>	
	<b>Peer Exclusion</b>	<b>Exclusion in Education</b>
<b>Children's Exclusion Evaluations</b>		
<i>Overall Sample</i>		
Peer Exclusion	<b>.165 (<i>p</i> = .009)</b>	
Exclusion in Education	<b>.184 (<i>p</i> =.004)</b>	<b>.215 (<i>p</i> =.001)</b>
<i>Children: 8-10-year-olds</i>		
Peer Exclusion	<b>.221 (<i>p</i> =.013)</b>	
Exclusion in Education	<b>.324 (<i>p</i> =.001)</b>	.133 ( <i>p</i> =.138)
<i>Children: 14-16-year-olds</i>		
Peer Exclusion	.035 ( <i>p</i> =.733)	
Exclusion in Education	-.071 ( <i>p</i> = .446)	<b>.330 (<i>p</i> &lt; .001)</b>

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **DISCUSSION**

The main goal of this dissertation was to understand in what ways and contexts socioeconomic status and related psychosocial dynamics are used as a criterion for intergroup exclusion by children and their parents. In order to reach this aim, an exploratory sequential mixed methods design was adopted. As the first step, a qualitative interview study was conducted to hear children's and their parents' reflections on limited and prosperous access to resources, and how resources –and lack thereof– shape individuals' lives, social encounters, and experiences. Insights gained by these interviews showed that access to resources indeed emerged as a substantial factor in regulating the components of the participants' lives. Based on the first study, the second quantitative study was designed to investigate children's and their parents' reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion. Results revealed many important patterns regarding the developmental differences, the role of participants' socioeconomic background, and the context of exclusion in line with the premises of the SRD model.

In the following sections, the findings of the two studies are discussed. At the end of the chapter, limitations, future directions, and implications are presented.

#### **5.1 Findings of the Qualitative Study**

As the first step, a qualitative approach is considered to be appropriate to hear our participants' experiences and stories in more detail. It is important to note that thirty-three children-parent dyads (seventeen from low SES) with whom we interviewed were representative of their socioeconomic groups, as shown by their educational attainment, income, and perceived SES measures. The distinction

between two groups in terms of their living standards was also evident in their job and insurance status (see Table 1) as they greatly influence families' access to many public and societal services in Turkey. Reaching out to families who live in disadvantaged (except extreme poverty) and affluent conditions were very important to capture experiences associated with both conditions and attributions of two groups towards each other.

The first study consisted of two parts, and each had specific aims. In the first part of this study, children and their parents were asked general questions about peer relationships, and the school environment. Since children have shown to recognize access disparities and accompanying experiences in educational and peer contexts (Rauscher et al., 2017; Weinger, 2000c), the set of questions (see Appendix A) we presented is considered to be effective. These questions lead participants to answer whether, and in what ways and contexts access to economic and social resources, are used as criteria shaping children's and their parents' relationships and social encounters. The unique feature of this part of the interviews was that in the questions, we did not make any references to socioeconomic dynamics. Previous studies which examined children's (Barreiro et al., 2019; Bessell, 2019; Brown, Spears, Mistry, & Bigler, 2007; Enesco & Navarro, 2003; Flanagan et al., 2014; Flanagan & Kornbluh, 2019; Hazelbaker, Griffin, Nenadal, & Mistry, 2018; Horwitz et al., 2014; Leahy, 1983, 1981; Lessard & Juvonen, 2019; Mistry et al., 2015; Rauscher et al., 2017; Sigelman, 2013; Weinger, 2000b, 2000a, 2000c) and adults' (Calarco, 2014; Radmacher & Azmitia, 2013; Thomas & Azmitia, 2014) understanding and perspectives about inequalities, status dynamics, and social class uniformly included explicit questions about the related phenomena. Given the strong emphasis on the access to resources when asked directly, both children and adults shared many insights regarding how disadvantages and privileges influence their ways of living, relationships and social lives, and their reasoning behind inequalities. However, we aimed to explore the salience of economic and social resources and related experiences, among other factors that were meaningful for the participants. Thus, we did not prime them to think about the role of the resources in their lives, but instead, we expected them to elicit these reflections freely.

Another unique feature of the current study was that both children and their parents attended the interviews separately. Previous research referred to above, recruited children, parents, or adults in examining inequalities and perspectives on access disparities. By recruiting both children and their parents, potential similarities and differences between these groups in terms of the content of their reflections were aimed to be explored. In addition, interviews with both children and their parents helped us to understand the extent to which children recognize the regulating role of economic and social resources in their daily lives as much as adults do. Results showed that even though we did not look for the same thematic patterns between children's and their parents' reflections, except for a few themes, there was a substantial thematic similarity between children and adults. This pattern shows that children, as young as eight as in our sample, were able to link limited resources and privileges with specific experiences in relational settings and educational contexts. Additionally, the complexity of children's reflections in the current study was in line with previous research showing that children also perceive wealth and poverty as socially meaningful, shaping their and other people's experiences and daily lives (del Río & Strasser, 2011).

Naturally, both children and their parents mentioned many personal choices, interests, and experiences during the interviews. Due to the research goals, only the parts that were relevant to access to economic and social resources were coded in the thematic analysis. It is important to note that other types of social group memberships were mentioned by only a few participants. For instance, five children stated that their best friends were girls or boys depending on the participant's sex, and three children mentioned girls were more successful at school, and two thought boys were more problematic in the school context. Apart from gender, which is quite expected due to children's developmental stage, other types of social group memberships (e.g., ethnicity) were not mentioned by the participants. This notion indicates that for children and parents from low and high socioeconomic backgrounds, experiences associated with limited resources and privileges were very salient in regulating their social lives and relationships.

While children and their parents were responding to the interview questions, they linked certain experiences with restricted access to resources. Except for one

subtheme, the other four themes were prevalent for children and their parents, both from low and high socioeconomic backgrounds. Participants reflected that disadvantaged living conditions were linked to *social isolation and exclusion in relational contexts* and *neglect and exclusion in educational settings*. Acknowledgment of these experiences by both socioeconomic groups indicated that individuals from affluent backgrounds were also aware of exclusion and educational discrimination occurring in their social spheres. Social isolation and differential treatment in relational and educational contexts have been shown to be the worries of children and adults from disadvantaged backgrounds (Rauscher et al., 2017; Ridge, 2002; Weinger, 2000a).

An interesting reflection, which existed both in children's and their parents' interviews, was that living in financial hardships might lead families to feel more withdrawn and reserved due to struggles in their homes. This perspective is particularly a complex one for children since it requires the comprehension of how life conditions would influence peers' social lives and the ways they relate to others. This content was also in line with previous work using field observations such that due to changes in daily living structures, children actively make sense of social and cultural practices they experience depending on their family socioeconomic background (Lareau, 2003). Another subtheme, *parental neglect*, was also in line with this premise. Children -and their parents- stated that parents might neglect their children in disadvantaged families, not as a personal fault, but as a consequence of dealing with hardships and other priorities in life. Some children even mentioned that psychological resources might be limited in such families so that parents from less-educated families might not know the ideal ways to guide or defend their children in educational settings. These reflections were also evident in Calarco's study (2014), showing that parents from different socioeconomic backgrounds adopted class-based strategies to solve the problems in schools. In the current study, children's recognition of parental attitudes further supports that the understanding and socialization of SES are transmitted via certain practices in earlier years of life.

When children and their parents were talking about affluent families and prosperity, they mentioned *securing priority and differential treatment in life*,

*financial resources as regulators of social life*, and *gaining popularity and assertiveness as a means of material ownership*. Both children and their parents from low and high socioeconomic backgrounds linked access to resources with privileges in social life and educational settings. While these reflections were complementary to the insights shared for the limited access to resources, the subtheme of *financial resources as regulators of social life* requires additional attention. Particularly a higher number of children and parents from high socioeconomic background stated that financial resources were important factors regulating who was in their social circles since it determined what individuals could afford. While these reflections were in line with past research showing that individuals tend to engage with others more who were from similar socioeconomic backgrounds (Kraus et al., 2013; Ridgeway & Fisk, 2012), higher prevalence of this subtheme among high SES participants might also be explained by their emphasis on material ownership. Since individuals tend to attribute more importance to the economic and social resources they own as indicators of their status, such as education (Kuppens, Easterbrook, Spears, & Manstead, 2015), our participants' endorsement of financial resources might also partially stem from their perceptions of status rooted in their access to economic resources.

As the subthemes specific to parents' reflections, parents shared two features determining who they and their children were more in contact in relational and educational contexts, as an in-group criterion. While parents from low SES mentioned that they would feel close to other families who had more or less similar amounts of economic resources, and in turn, similar concerns with themselves. Thus, it was the *lack of resources* which would define their in-group for some parents from low socioeconomic background. Parents from high socioeconomic background mentioned *social capital* as their in-group criterion. They reported feeling close to other individuals who had similar worldviews, lifestyles, and educational attainment. This perceived distinction between the two groups is significant since it possibly reflects one of the ways how social inequalities are reproduced. As individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds avoid others who are from affluent backgrounds due to the feelings of not fitting in, and individuals from affluent backgrounds assume others to be "different" or maybe "inadequate"

concerning the cultivation of social capital, the segregation between different socioeconomic groups is expected.

In the second part of the interviews, children and their parents were presented direct questions asking them to evaluate disadvantaged and affluent living conditions in the company of photographs (see Appendix B for the interview questions). By doing so, boundary conditions and the justifications behind different socioeconomic groups' willingness to engage with each other were aimed to be captured. As expected, children and parents from low and high socioeconomic groups referred to various *descriptions and characterization* during the interviews, such as mentioning *rural/remote areas*, *blue-collar jobs*, *financial hardships*, *prosperity*, and *white-collar jobs*. In addition, children and their parents attributed many stereotypes both for individuals from the same and different socioeconomic groups. Overall, participants both from low and high SES attributed positive stereotypes to the individuals living in disadvantaged conditions, such as being *warm*, *hardworking*, *ambitious*, and *not being greedy*. There were also participants using negative stereotypes, such as being lazy and unclean. While talking about individuals living in prosperity, again, participants from different socioeconomic backgrounds endorsed more negative stereotypes, such as *being greedy and arrogant* and *gaining privileges without deserving* them. This pattern was interesting since a number of previous research revealed that wealthy individuals were attributed to more positive stereotypes compared to disadvantaged individuals (Mistry et al., 2015; Woods et al., 2005). However, some recent findings showed evidence that children endorsed more negative stereotypes for affluent individuals in the context of social interactions, especially when access disparities were salient (Burkholder et al., 2019; Elenbaas & Killen, 2019).

In the current study, we would expect participants from high SES to report less negative stereotyping for the wealth considering the self-enhancing role of protecting a positive in-group image (Tajfel, & Turner, 1979) mainly for high-status groups (Bigler et al., 2001; Rowley et al., 2007). It might be the case that participants classified as high SES based on average household education did not perceive the conditions and individuals they evaluated via photographs as their in-group. There are many components constituting a socioeconomic group and



pertinent class identity (Kalaycıoğlu et al., 2010). Even though education is one of the important criteria of SES, it doesn't reflect the broader dynamics of SES, such as social capital, neighborhood culture and community resources. For this reason, the group of participants who attended our study might not identify with high socioeconomic conditions, and perceive themselves at a different place. Thus, they might be endorsing negative stereotypes towards individuals living in privileges. In addition, if the environment, such as the interview, did not evoke group identities or status perceptions, we might not see such a pattern. Another possibility was that participants from high SES might respond in politically correct ways by distancing themselves from the "wealthy" whom they saw responsible for discrimination towards individuals from low SES. Of course, there were also children and parents, who attributed positive qualifications to individuals living in prosperous conditions, such as *being helpful and having manners* and *beliefs of meritocracy*. Still, their prevalence was very low among parents from low SES ( $N = 2$ , respectively). Overall, the co-existence of positive and negative attributions for individuals living in particularly disadvantaged conditions were also parallel with ambivalent stereotyping (Durante et al., 2017). It suggests that underestimating the competency of individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds is masked through attributing them qualities such as warm, interrelated, and modest (Judd, James-Hawkins, Yzerbyt, & Kashima, 2005; Moya & Fiske, 2017). It is counted as one of the ways perpetuating the social reproduction of inequalities.

When children and their parents were talking about whether they would get along or be friends with individuals living in disadvantaged and affluent conditions shown in the photographs, their willingness to contact each other was drastically affected by their socioeconomic background. Ten children and nine parents from low SES (vs. zero children and zero parents from high SES) reported that they would prefer to be in contact with others living in disadvantaged conditions based on *perceived similarities* in terms of living standards and the values they cared for. On the other hand, six children and ten parents from high SES (vs. two children and zero parents from low SES) reflected that they would choose to *distance* themselves from the individuals living in disadvantages by thinking that they had very different lives and wouldn't match in terms of interests. They were also worried that if they

would form social connections, individuals living in disadvantages “might feel bad and inadequate” as shared by a parent. A similar pattern was also evident while the participants were elaborating on affluent living conditions. This time, while children ( $N = 10$ ) and their parents ( $N = 13$ ) from high SES shared their *willingness to communicate* with others living in such conditions due to perceptions of similarity, children ( $N = 9$ ) and their parents ( $N = 10$ ) from low SES reported they would be *distancing*. Particularly, participants from low SES reflected their concerns about being rejected and not fitting in. Parents also shared that they would be worried about their children if they would have “richer” friends due to the possibility of being looked down on or despised. Participants’ attitudes towards possible contacts with others from different socioeconomic backgrounds supported the previous accounts stating the bi-directionality of the problem. While the wealthy chose to distance themselves from individuals living in disadvantages in relational and educational contexts (Giddens, 1998; Young, 1999), participants from the disadvantaged backgrounds worry about discrimination and not being treated as equals (Calarco, 2014; Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002; Roksa & Potter, 2011). In addition to the prejudice and discrimination they face, concerns of being exposed to stereotypes have shown to influence the psychological well-being of stigmatized groups, including social class (Spencer & Castano, 2007; Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999). Such a pattern was also shared by some participants stating that they would rather stay away from specific social contexts to avoid negative judgments. It is important to note that the experiences reviewed above shared both by children and their parents, indicating children’s awareness of their socioeconomic position and how it regulates their relationships with others and educational life. As some parents also reported that they recommended their children to avoid hanging out with peers from different socioeconomic groups, so their parents’ messages might also be influential in children’s perspectives on prospective contact patterns in relational contexts.

Overall, the findings of the first study showed that access to economic and social resources emerged as important criteria regulating children’s and their parents’ lives without priming them to reflect on the related phenomena. Children were especially able to link disadvantages and privileges with experiences of

discrimination and differential treatment in relational and educational contexts. Both children and their parents endorsed many stereotypes and attitudes towards individuals living in disadvantaged and privileged conditions. Importantly, children and adults reasoned about different socioeconomic groups' willingness to engage with each other and the potential reasons behind their reflections based on perceived similarities and differences. All the insights and experiences shared by our participants provided strong evidence that examining how children and their parents would reason about socioeconomic exclusion was a valid concern and pressing problem.

## **5.2 Findings of the Quantitative Study**

The second study aimed to examine children's and their parents' reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion, by considering the roles of children's age, family SES and exclusion context. Building on the theoretical perspective of the SRD model (Killen & Rutland, 2011; Rutland et al., 2010), findings of this study provided significant evidence that both children and their parents approached SES as an intergroup exclusion criterion, and as a form of discrimination. They referred to various moral concerns in their justifications and evaluations, yet social-conventional concerns were also endorsed by some of the participants. Detailed discussions of the results are presented in the following sections.

### **5.2.1 Children's Reasoning Patterns**

**Exclusion Evaluations and Justifications.** Overall, children viewed the exclusion of a peer based on SES as unacceptable. Similarly, the majority of the children referred to the wrongfulness of unfair treatment based on SES and wrongfulness of social exclusion while they were reporting their justifications for the evaluations of exclusion. For instance, in response to why they rated exclusion as okay or not okay, many participants stated that socioeconomic exclusion was wrong and approached it as an issue of unfair treatment. Yet, children's age, family SES and exclusion context greatly influenced children's evaluations of the exclusion as well as the justifications for their exclusion evaluations.

**Age-related findings.** The findings revealed a number of significant and converging age-related patterns. Regardless of the exclusion context and family SES, older children evaluated exclusion based on SES as less acceptable compared to younger children in line with the hypotheses. They also justified their exclusion evaluations by referring to the wrongfulness of unfair treatment based on SES more frequently than younger children did. In contrast, younger children used the wrongfulness of social exclusion justification more frequently compared to their older counterparts. It seemed that older children were less tolerant of excluding a peer, based on socioeconomic status since they were better at recognizing the discriminatory nature of this act. Younger children approached the exclusion presented in the vignettes more as an act of social exclusion without linking it with the underlying socioeconomic reasons. While these developmental patterns were novel to the study of socioeconomic exclusion, they were in line with previous research showing that adolescents have a more sophisticated understanding of how inequalities restrict individuals' lives in relational and educational domains (Flanagan et al., 2014; Mistry et al., 2015; Ruck et al., 2019). Also, compared to younger children, adolescents are better at conceptualizing access disparities as a form of discrimination (Arsenio & Willems, 2017). Such developmental differences might also explain a more prevalent pattern of observing the wrongfulness of social exclusion theme among younger children. Even though they evaluated excluding a peer as wrong from a moral standpoint (e.g., "Excluding someone like this is just rude and unacceptable"), their recognition of this exclusion as a form of unfair treatment based on SES was lower. It is important to note that in our sample, many younger children also referred to more complex forms of justifications, such as emphasizing the importance of equity or wrongfulness of unfair treatment based on SES, similar to the previous research (Killen et al., 2001; Killen & Stangor, 2001; Møller & Tenenbaum, 2011). However, older children were better at integrating their knowledge of disadvantages with moral concerns, as also supported by previous studies (Elenbaas & Killen, 2016b, 2017).

**Exclusion context.** The exclusion context also shaped children's exclusion evaluations and their justifications. Confirming the hypotheses, children evaluated excluding a peer based on SES as more acceptable compared to exclusion in

educational settings. In addition, while children referred to the wrongfulness of social exclusion in the peer exclusion context more frequently, they referred to the wrongfulness of unfair treatment based on SES and the importance of promoting equity justifications more frequently in exclusion in educational settings. This difference was in line with previous studies examining children's interpretation of exclusion in different contexts based on the SRD model. Children have been shown to evaluate exclusion in contexts with more physical and social interactions as more acceptable compared to group interactions, such as having lunch or sleepover (Killen et al., 2007; Park et al., 2012). However, when it comes to differential treatment in educational and institutional settings, children do not find it okay to exclude a peer (Møller & Tenenbaum, 2011) by approaching education as a fundamental right (Brown, 2006; Ruck et al., 1998). Indeed, in the current study, children approached exclusion in educational settings as a violation of moral concerns and a type of discrimination, as reported by an 8-year-old: "This kid [from disadvantaged background] wouldn't have many chances in life, so it would be very wrong if the teacher wouldn't pick her". A unique pattern and a difference between current results and previous research were in terms of the justifications for exclusion evaluations in the peer exclusion context. Even though children were found to approach intergroup exclusion more as a personal choice in peer contexts (Killen et al., 2002; Nucci, 2001), the usage proportion of personal choice was very low in our sample; thus, it was not included in the analyses. The vignettes we presented to children in the peer exclusion context included three stories about school activity pair-up, socializing, and inviting to lunch. Though these activities also involved situations requiring physical and social intimacy up to a certain degree, children did not evaluate them as a matter of personal choice in the context of socioeconomic exclusion. Instead, they justified their exclusion evaluations in peer contexts by referring to the wrongfulness of social exclusion. In this sense, it might be the case that even though peer exclusion was also perceived as a moral violation, exclusion in educational settings evoked status dynamics and access disparities more dominantly.

***Role of family SES.*** Studies recruiting participants from disadvantaged backgrounds are fewer. In this sense, including participants from low and high socioeconomic backgrounds was an important contribution in understanding the attitudes towards socioeconomic exclusion. Supporting the hypotheses, the main effect of family SES had an impact on children's justifications of their exclusion evaluations with a small effect size. While referring to the wrongfulness of unfair treatment based on SES was more prevalent among children from low SES, maintaining the status quo was endorsed by children from high SES more frequently. It is important to state that children's subjective SES ratings were significantly correlated with average household education and income per capita measures. While this link has been found for older children and adolescents (Mistry et al., 2015; Rivenbark et al., 2019), results were inconclusive for younger children between the ages of 4 to 7 (Elenbaas, 2019; Mandalaywala, Tai, & Rhodes, 2019). When we analyzed the correlations between subjective and objective family SES criteria separately for the younger and older participants, we found the same significant patterns for both groups. Considering our younger participants between the ages of 8-10, it was quite a striking and unique finding showing that they were aware of their families' SES and internalized their relative social standing. In light of this pattern, current results concerning the role of family SES on children's justifications for the exclusion evaluations are considered to be valuable and are in line with previous research. Particularly children from disadvantaged backgrounds were shown to grasp their families' SES, access disparities, and their consequences for their lives at earlier ages (Rauscher et al., 2017; Weinger, 2000a, 2000c).

Similarly, minority children (ethnic or national minorities in respective studies) were found to be focusing on the wrongfulness of intergroup exclusion and its moral implications more compared to their majority peers were doing (Killen et al., 2002, 2007; Malti et al., 2012). Children from more privileged backgrounds and high-status groups, on the contrary, were found as less attentive to the stratification in the society (Flanagan & Kornbluh, 2019), and to be more protective of their current circumstances (Bigler et al., 2001; Horwitz et al., 2014). In this sense, observing higher rates of maintaining status quo justifications among high SES children can be seen as a way of protecting an established system, which ultimately

benefits the privileged the most. Still, children who used this type of justification is quite low among the whole sample, so many children approached socioeconomic exclusion with a moral lens.

*Age, exclusion context, and family SES.* Contrary to our expectations, the main effect of family SES was not influential on children's exclusion evaluations. Yet, it interacted with children's age and exclusion context in explaining children's exclusion evaluations. Older children from low SES were less tolerant towards both peer exclusion and exclusion in educational settings compared to younger children from low SES. For children from high SES, no significant effect was observed. This finding was in line with the SRD model, stating that older age is linked to a better understanding of group memberships, status dynamics, and their moral implications (Rutland et al., 2010). In addition to adolescents' capacity to attend contextual factors in intergroup judgments (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011), observing this effect only for adolescents from low SES further supported their advanced understanding of inequalities and increased sensitivity towards injustices compared to their affluent peers. Interestingly, in their study, Burkholder and her colleagues (2019) found that children -between the ages of 8 to 14- who perceived themselves lower in SES evaluated interwealth exclusion as less acceptable. While this finding reflects a complementary pattern with the current findings, in our sample, children from high SES seemed as not attentive to these issues as much as their more disadvantaged peers since they are not usually the targets of socioeconomic exclusion. Overall, these novel results indicated that children's access to resources and developmental stages simultaneously influenced children's tolerance towards socioeconomic exclusion.

**Intention Attributions to the Excluder.** An important component of children's reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion was their intention attributions to the excluder. This reasoning domain leads us to understand on what grounds children evaluated protagonists' actions and motivations (e.g., Why do you think X did not invite Y to their home for lunch?). Results showed that the majority of the children stated discrimination and unfair treatment based on SES as the excluder

character's intention indicating that many children were able to detect discriminatory behavior presented in the vignettes. All of the study variables, children's age, family SES and exclusion context, also influenced children's intention attributions to the excluder.

*Age-related findings.* In line with our expectations, it was found that, overall, older children attributed discrimination and unfair treatment based on SES and motivation to maintain status-quo intentions more than their younger peers did. It seemed that older children were better at recognizing the social dynamics presented in the vignettes supporting the previous studies (Killen et al., 2002; Rutland et al., 2010). While some of them evaluated it as a form of discrimination, some others perceived it as a typical reflection of the ongoing social structures as stated by a child; "I know it is not fair, but this happens all time. I mean... You can't change the rules in life." Additionally, younger children attributed conformity to the rules and authority decisions (e.g., parents, teachers, principals) as the protagonists' intention more frequently. These developmental patterns were in line with the domain theory and related research such that younger children tend to view social-conventional issues more as a consequence of authority decisions and rules (Killen & Smetana, 2015; Turiel, 1983).

*Age and exclusion context.* Children's age also interacted with the exclusion context. In the peer exclusion context, younger children referred to pragmatics attribution more frequently. In contrast, older children again attributed discrimination and unfair treatment based on SES and motivation to maintain status-quo intentions more frequently. In exclusion in educational settings, younger children referred to conformity to the rules and authority decisions more frequently, whereas this time, motivation to maintaining status-quo attribution was more prevalently used by older children. This set of novel findings was interesting by showing that in both contexts, younger children tend to attribute excluder's intention to external factors more frequently. Since the peer exclusion vignettes included stories about school activity pair-up, socializing, and inviting to lunch; younger children attended to the practicality of contacting with a peer from a



disadvantaged background by thinking that they might be living in a distant neighborhood or not know the excluded child due to physical proximity. Similarly, they believed that the protagonists excluded the disadvantaged child due to the requirements of the rules or the decisions of the authority figures.

*Age and family SES.* Lastly, children's age also influenced their intention attributions in interaction with family SES. It was found that regardless of the exclusion context, young children from low SES referred to conformity to the rules and authority decisions more frequently compared to their counterparts from high SES. Older children from high SES, on the other hand, referred to motivation to maintain status-quo attribution more frequently than their peers from low SES did. This novel finding is considered very informative and reflects the important impact of SES on children's social cognition. Possibly children from low SES families experience many instances of exclusion and discrimination on a daily basis. Yet, as the current findings suggested, they found it harder to recognize these behaviors' discriminatory nature and do not reflect them with a moral perspective. As a result, they might find themselves just conforming to the decisions given by parents or teachers without fully understanding the power and status dynamics behind them. Another possibility is that due to restricted access to resources, individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds might find it more "practical" to conform to the systems if they perceive themselves as less powerful and influential on societal systems. A pattern that was found in adult samples from lower SES, a sense of lack of control and choice (Kraus et al., 2009, 2012), might manifest itself in children's reasoning. On the flip side, even though older children from high SES recognize the discriminatory intentions, they also perceived them as an act of maintaining an established system in relationships and educational settings, possibly with an understanding of protecting their privileged standing (Jost et al., 2004).

**Emotion Attributions and Justifications.** In intergroup contexts, emotions also are considered as complementary to moral and social judgments. Children's understanding and attributions of emotions provide them important cues in deciding how to respond in socially-laden situations (Arsenio & Lemerise, 2004). In

addition, since recognizing emotions in morally relevant situations also requires a thorough evaluation of the situation, emotions offer additional information while understanding children's conceptualization of intergroup exclusion (Cooley, Elenbaas, & Killen, 2012).

To our knowledge, the current study is the first one examining emotion attributions to the excluded character and their justifications in the context of socioeconomic exclusion (e.g., How do you think X would feel when she/he learns she/he was not invited & why?). Results revealed that the majority of the children believed the excluded character in the vignettes would feel sad and lonely, in addition to the emotions of feeling neglected and degraded. The most commonly used justifications for the emotion attributions was due to being excluded and neglected, and being exposed to stereotyping and unfairness based on SES.

Among other emotions, feeling degraded was a novel emotion attribution for previous studies in intergroup exclusion (Crystal et al., 1999; Dys et al., 2019; Malti et al., 2012; Peplak et al., 2017). Usage of such emotion for socioeconomic exclusion, but not for other social group memberships, might be evaluated as a reflection of the attributions and stereotypes towards individuals from low SES, such as being incompetent. Thinking that the excluded character would have felt degraded might further indicate that children were able to recognize the psychological impacts of socioeconomic exclusion for individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds. Maybe, more importantly, we also speculate that the feeling of degraded might also stem from a cultural dynamic. As an honor culture, Turkish culture value personal and family reputation in relational contexts, and violation of respect and virtuous behaviors are often perceived as derogatory (Glick, Sakallı-Uğurlu, Akbaş, Orta, & Ceylan, 2016). Thus, being excluded based on socioeconomic background might be perceived as humiliating and dishonorable, above and beyond references to negative emotions. The endorsement of feeling degraded in this sense might be a culture-specific expression that was not observed in American and European samples.

***Age-related findings.*** Children's age was also found as influential both on their emotion attributions to the excluded character and justifications for the

emotion attributions. Younger children more prevalently stated that the excluded character would feel sad and lonely because of being excluded and neglected without referring to socioeconomic dynamics. Older children believed that the excluded character would feel neglected and treated unfairly, and degraded due to being exposed to stereotyping and unfairness based on SES. Adolescents' more sophisticated understanding of SES as an intergroup exclusion criterion also reflected itself through their emotion judgments.

***Exclusion context.*** The exclusion context did not have an impact on children's emotion attributions. Children attributed negative emotions to the excluded dominantly consistent with the literature (Dys et al., 2019; Malti et al., 2012; Møller & Tenenbaum, 2011), and the usage of these emotions did not differ across contexts. However, the exclusion context was influential on children's justifications for the emotion attributions. While being empathetic was used for the peer exclusion context more frequently, missing out an opportunity due to lack of resources was referred exclusion in educational settings more frequently. This pattern can be evaluated as expected since peer relationships are a big part of children's social lives and more intimate in nature. Exclusion from such an environment might increase children's tendency to put themselves into other peers' shoes. Being exposed to differential treatment in educational settings is institutional discrimination; thus, children might approach the emotional reaction given in such context more with more moral concerns.

**Possible Solutions to the Exclusion.** As another novel contribution to the literature, the last reasoning domain was children's possible solutions to the exclusion. While the questions elaborated in the previous sections required children to evaluate third-person situations, the answers in this part pertained to the children's views of what they would do if they were to decide in the relevant situations. In this sense, we expected children to personalize the exclusion stories more than the previous judgment measures, since offering their solutions to the socioeconomic exclusion also gave them a sense of accountability. Results showed that the majority of the children offered the solutions of inclusion (e.g., "I would, of

course, invite that child [disadvantaged] to hang out with us”) and choosing to be equal to both parties (either including/offering the same options or not for both of the children). The exclusion context also had a strong effect on the solutions children proposed.

***Exclusion context.*** In the peer exclusion context, solutions of inclusion, exclusion, and seeking for authority approval were offered more than they did in exclusion in educational settings. For the exclusion in educational settings, children stated that they would restore equity and choose to be equal to both parties more than they did in the peer exclusion context—the occurrence of solutions with moral concerns also aligned with children’s evaluations of exclusion and intention attributions. Comprehensively, children disapproved of differential treatment in education, perceived it more as a form of discrimination based on SES, and were more motivated to offer solutions to promote fairness and equity for the disadvantaged peers. Similar findings were also shown in other studies, such that children integrate the consequences of educational inequalities with moral concerns (Brown, 2006; Elenbaas, 2019c; Horn, 2003). When it comes to the peer context, the intimacy and physical proximity of dyadic relationships might lead children to suggest moral solutions to peer exclusion context less frequently and to prefer more direct solutions. Additionally, more frequent usage of exclusion and asking for authority approval solutions were also accord with children’s increased tolerance towards excluding a disadvantaged peer from peer relations.

***Exclusion context and family SES.*** Finally, the context effect was also modified by family SES in predicting children’s possible solutions to the exclusion. In both contexts, children from high SES offered the solution of exclusion more frequently compared to their peers from low SES, reflecting that they would decide in the same manner as the perpetrator. Contrary, children from low SES offered solutions of being equal to both parties in peer exclusion and restoring equity in exclusion in education contexts more frequently than their peers from high SES did. While these findings were novel in itself, previous studies concerning access opportunities and resource allocation are considered informative. It was shown that

adults who perceive themselves higher in subjective social status were less supportive of policy changes closing the gap between the poor and wealthy (Brown-Iannuzzi et al., 2015). Similarly, when children's reasoning patterns throughout the results of the current study were evaluated, children from affluent families were more motivated to maintain status-quo even they were able to recognize the status-based discrimination more than their disadvantaged peers did. On the contrary, children who were more aware of the access disparities between social groups were shown to be less tolerant to protecting privileges of high-wealth peers (Elenbaas, 2019c), more motivated to rectify past disadvantages through allocating more resources (Elenbaas & Killen, 2016b), and more supportive towards corrective policies (Hughes & Bigler, 2011). In our sample, children from low SES evaluated socioeconomic exclusion as less acceptable and elaborated on the wrongfulness of unfair treatment based on SES more than their affluent peers did. Correspondingly, they provided moral solutions to the exclusion vignettes more frequently with an attempt to promote equality and equity. In this sense, we suggest that children from low SES might have a more sophisticated understanding of societal inequalities and their moral consequences, above and beyond the immediate consequences of access disparities.

### **5.2.2 Parents' Reasoning Patterns**

Even though the SRD model revolves around the developmental processes of the interaction between group identities and morality, its premises also apply to adults' reasoning. Adults' reasoning of intergroup exclusion, differing in complexity compared to children, also includes the simultaneous evaluation of in- and out-group dynamics, societal requirements, moral concerns, and contextual factors. Building upon the previous research concerning psychosocial impacts of socioeconomic status (Kraus et al., 2009, 2013; Ostrove & Cole, 2003a), access disparities impact their lives as much as it does for children. An important feature of the current study was that the research focus was on children's experiences and understanding of SES as an intergroup exclusion criterion. Thus, the measurements we used were child-centered; they included situations and contexts which were

potentially salient in children's lives. For this reason, parents also read and responded to the same set of vignettes as their children, that is, stories of children who were exposed to socioeconomic exclusion in different contexts. Considering the role of parents in conveying the norms and values of their social groups (Dunn, 2014; Durkin, 2003) as well as perspectives on societal inequalities and poverty (Flanagan et al., 2014), we approached parents as one of the key actors shaping their children's perspectives about socioeconomic exclusion. Except for a few studies with adult samples (Gere & Helwig, 2012; Killen et al., 2004; Mwamwenda, 1998), to our knowledge, this is the first study examining parents' perceptions and reasoning of an intergroup exclusion criterion with a child-centered approach.

The great compatibility between children's and their parents' judgment content should be noted. While constructing the coding schemes, we did not force the same coding structure for both parties; instead, children and their parents were initially treated as different. Yet, as the content revealed, their conceptualization of socioeconomic exclusion was the same in all reasoning domains. This important novel pattern indicated that despite developmental differences in the usage proportion of different reasoning domains, children are capable of approaching socioeconomic exclusion as a type of discrimination and a moral violation, similar to adults. Also, the match in the content might be evaluated as parents' potential influence on their children's understanding of SES and the consequences of access disparities. Due to the considerable overlap between parents' and their children's conceptualization of socioeconomic exclusion, parents can be considered as important in shaping their children's awareness of inequalities and attitudes towards corrective actions.

**Exclusion Evaluations and Justifications.** Parents' results partially confirmed the hypotheses. While the exclusion context was influential on all of the reasoning domains as expected, family SES did not have any impact contrary to the expectations. Parents viewed the exclusion of a child from the peer context (school activity pair-up, socializing, and inviting to lunch) due to his/her socioeconomic background as more tolerable compared to exclusion in educational settings. In a

parallel fashion, referring to the wrongfulness of social exclusion was more common in the peer exclusion context compared to exclusion in educational settings. Supporting previous research on adults' (Killen et al., 2004) and children's (Killen et al., 2007; Park et al., 2012) reasoning about intergroup exclusion, parents seemed to approach children's choice to engage with a disadvantaged peer more as a personal decision. This pattern was also indicated by their increased reference to the wrongfulness of social exclusion in peer exclusion context, like their children. Even though parents perceived such an act with a moral lens, they did not link this circumstance with access disparities as much as they did for educational settings. In a parallel fashion, stating the importance of equity based on lack of resources or privilege was more prevalent in exclusion in educational settings than peer exclusion context. Since the violation of access to quality of education is perceived as a fundamental right and an institutional problem (Ostrove & Cole, 2003b), parents tended to evaluate educational settings as a context to rectify past disadvantages more than they did for personal-level interactions.

**Intention Attributions to the Excluder.** Parents' intention attributions to the excluder also revealed similar patterns to their children. Overall, parents viewed the actions of the protagonist as discriminatory and an unfair treatment based on SES. Exclusion context was also influential on their intention attributions showing that parents referred to discrimination and unfair treatment based on SES more frequently in peer exclusion context. This finding was interesting and novel, considering parents' evaluations of peer exclusion as more acceptable. The same results were also evident in older children's intention attributions. It seemed that even though parents and especially older children were able to recognize the unfair treatment the disadvantaged child in the vignettes was exposed, they still condoned socioeconomic exclusion in peer context more. These patterns were considered as important since they might create obstacles, especially for children, for learning to be inclusive. Another interesting pattern was parents' more frequent usage of pragmatics as the intention attribution to the excluder in the educational exclusion context. Considering their decreased tolerance towards educational discrimination and assessment of such circumstances with a motivation to provide equity, parents'

endorsement of pragmatics might reflect a different concern than children. In children's responses, pragmatics intention referred to perceiving the exclusion of the disadvantaged character due to not sharing the same physical environment (e.g., not living in the same neighborhood with the affluent peer) in more concrete terms. When parents referred to this intention, they might have subsidiary cognitions. For instance, a parent mentioned that: "The teacher might not give the place to the disadvantaged kid since he/she [teacher] was living in the same neighborhood with the other [affluent] kid". At first glance, the parent was mentioning the teacher's physical reality of sharing the same neighborhood; yet, it also meant that teacher was also living in an affluent area. Indeed, many accounts showed that the educational system is one of the most salient contexts amplifying the classism in which members of low socioeconomic groups feel alienated and unwelcomed (Calarco, 2014; Lareau, 2003; Manstead, 2018; Ostrove & Cole, 2003b; Radmacher & Azmitia, 2013). If parents were also referring to a similar dynamic, they might have assumed that the teacher was discriminating the disadvantaged character due to a perceived cultural or social misfit. These speculations should require further attention for more precise evaluations concerning parents' attitudes towards unfair and prejudiced educational figures. Still, sustaining certain behaviors despite recognizing their discriminatory nature, and reframing or covering them with other types of justifications, might create barriers to increase tolerance within the society and to rectify inequalities.

**Emotion Attributions and Justifications.** When it comes to emotion attributions to the excluded character, similar to their children, parents stated that the excluded character would feel sad and lonely due to experiencing exclusion and neglect and being exposed to stereotyping and unfairness based on SES. Again, these reflections were shaped by the exclusion context. While feeling degraded was stated more in peer exclusion context, feelings of sadness and loneliness due to missing out an opportunity was more common in exclusion in educational settings. These novel results were again in line with studies conducted with children in such a way that parents only attributed negative emotions to the excluded character (Dys et al., 2019; Malti et al., 2012; Møller & Tenenbaum, 2011). Feeling degraded in



the peer exclusion context was a finding unique to parents. Being neglected and excluded in a more intimate context was perceived as more humiliating by parents, contrary to evaluating educational discrimination more in terms of missing the opportunities due to lack of resources and privileges.

**Possible Solutions to the Exclusion.** As the last domain, parents' possible solutions to the exclusion showed an exact match with the solutions their children suggested. In a comprehensive manner with the results discussed above, perceiving exclusion in educational settings more wrong based on moral concerns also reflected itself through parents' moral solutions of restoring equity, and choosing to be equal to both parties. Peer context, on the contrary, associated with more direct solutions of inclusion, exclusion, and seeking authority approval.

Contrary to the hypotheses and the prevalent role of family SES on children's reasoning, family SES did not have any influence on parents' reasoning. This finding was unexpected since both objective and subjective measures of SES clearly separated low and high socioeconomic groups. It might be the case that evaluating child-centered vignettes might distract parents from internalizing or identifying with the problems presented. Another possibility is that parents might be concerned with social-desirability more compared to their children and might give more politically-correct responses.

### **5.2.3 Congruence between Parents' and Children's Exclusion Evaluations**

Parents and the family environment are one of the critical socialization contexts in their children's lives. Through modeling, communication, and providing specific social and cultural capital within the family environment, parents convey the rules, norms, and perspectives they and their communities value to their children (Dunn, 2014; Durkin, 2003; Grusec et al., 2014). Yet, detecting compatibility between parents' and their children's moral values and intergroup attitudes has been considered as complex; since many intermediate factors affect the value transmission between the two parties (Killen & Smetana, 2015). For this reason, we examined the congruence between parents' and their children's

evaluations of socioeconomic exclusion as exploratory. This was another unique contribution to the literature as there were no studies examining the compatibility between parents' and their children's reasoning about intergroup exclusion.

Results, including the overall sample, showed that the more parents' were tolerant towards peer exclusion and exclusion in educational settings, the more their children were also okay with exclusion in respective situations. There was also a cross-context correlation. That is, parents' acceptability of peer exclusion was linked to their children's acceptability of exclusion in educational settings. These findings were novel in the field of exclusion evaluations, and the magnitude of the correlations was comparative with the previous studies focusing on intergroup attitudes (Ajdukovic & Biruski, 2008; Verkuyten, 2002). Although we did not focus on any intermediate factors which would potentially affect this relationship, parents' attitudes towards the exclusion and discrimination towards socioeconomically disadvantaged groups seemed to influence their children's approach to this dynamic.

When the congruence between parents and their children was examined based on children's age, again, important patterns were observed. For younger children, parents' and their children's evaluations of *peer exclusion* were significantly correlated. For the older children, only parents' *acceptability of exclusion* in educational settings was positively linked to their children's acceptability of exclusion in educational settings. It might be the case that since younger children depend on their parents' permissions for peer relationships and social activities more than adolescents, the transference of values in peer contexts might be more substantial. Younger children also perceive their parents as authority figures more than their older peers do (Turiel, 1983). If the parents believe that children from different backgrounds wouldn't get along, then the child might also reflect such an attitude, as supported by the correlations. Due to increased autonomy and further developments in moral and social understanding, adolescents might drift apart from their families when it comes to the evaluation of peer relationships. However, exclusion in educational settings is an intuitional problem, and it includes inequalities in personal, social, and structural levels. It is likely that the attitudes and worldviews children internalized regarding educational

discrimination are partially communicated and modeled by their families. As it was shown in other studies of intergroup attitudes (Degner & Dalege, 2013; Nesdale, 2001), adolescents were influenced by their parents' approach to socioeconomic exclusion in educational settings. As the last notion, we found that parents' evaluation of peer exclusion was moderately linked to younger children's evaluation of exclusion in educational settings. This cross-context influence might also be evaluated as the prevalent influence of parents over their younger children; yet, younger children might find it harder to differentiate between peer context and the educational settings.

Overall, these novel findings indicated that parents' and their children's evaluation of socioeconomic exclusion was moderately linked based on exclusion context and children's age. While they set up a base to the value transmission concerning attitudes towards intergroup exclusion, further studies should also expand this inquiry to other reasoning domains (e.g., justifications of exclusion) and examine potential intermediate factors affecting transference of the values.

### **5.3 Synthesis of Qualitative and Quantitative Findings**

The findings of qualitative and quantitative studies complement each other in different ways. The qualitative interview study focused on children's and their parents' personal experiences and reflections about the meaning and functions of economic and social resources as well as SES. The quantitative study approached the socioeconomic background with a broader perspective and examined its salience in children's and their parents' reasoning as an intergroup exclusion criterion. Despite differences in methodologies and the scope of the insights provided by the two studies, overall results inform us on personal and social levels. On the one hand, as the agents who experience, observe or perpetrate differential treatment based on SES, individuals reflect their beliefs, attitudes, and cognitions while they interact with others from different socioeconomic backgrounds, willingly or unwillingly. On the other hand, commonly-held attitudes towards individuals living in low SESs, whether in favor of equality and fairness or stereotypes and status-quo, greatly influence their power and motivation to engage

with others in personal and social spheres. Thus, approaching the results of qualitative and quantitative studies as components of a bigger picture also helps us to unveil negative attitudes that sustain biases and prejudices as well as the ways and contexts children and adults resist the perpetuation of unfair treatment. Among many findings, two significant points in which qualitative and quantitative findings complement each other are discussed below.

According to the quantitative findings, the exclusion context was the most prominent factor shaping both children's and their parents' reasoning of socioeconomic exclusion. Regardless of socioeconomic background, both children and their parents were more tolerable to the exclusion of a disadvantaged child in peer context. This finding is important, particularly for individuals from low SES such that when they also believe exclusion in more personal interactions is accepted and common, they might withdraw themselves from such interactions to avoid rejection. Indeed, as mentioned in the current interviews, worries of access disparities and sharing the same lifestyles and values were described as the reasons why individuals from different socioeconomic backgrounds would choose to distance from each other. In addition, rejection in more personal relationships is perceived as more intimate and damaging. Thus, one may suggest that it is harder to accept rejection in personal relationships compared to unfairness in educational settings. Thus, the worries reported by children and adults from disadvantaged backgrounds in previous studies, such as not fitting in and not being welcomed (Rauscher et al., 2017; Ridge, 2002; Weinger, 2000a), is partly justified by the increased acceptability rates of peer exclusion in qualitative results.

Another important notion was concerning the participants' socioeconomic position. In the qualitative study, individuals from low SES were attributed to morally valuable features such as caring for equality and inclusiveness. Indeed, quantitative findings supported this expectation that children from disadvantaged families were more aware of the consequences of socioeconomic discrimination and motivated to promote equality and equity in their responses. On the contrary, especially older children from affluent families were more motivated to protect the status-quo by seeing exclusion of socioeconomically disadvantaged peers in relational and educational contexts as ordinary. In support of this finding,

prosperous living conditions and individuals from high SES were mostly linked to the importance of financial ownership and entitlement, patronizing behaviors, and meritocratic beliefs in the interviews. Protecting a system that is benefiting the affluent individuals, despite being aware of the unfair and prejudiced treatments alongside, seem to construct one of the reasons amplifying the psychological distance between socioeconomic groups.

#### **5.4 Limitations and Directions for Future Research**

The studies conducted in this dissertation provided important insights for the salience of socioeconomic status in children's and their parents' lives and reasoning. However, there are some limitations to this study. First of all, in constructing the vignettes in each exclusion context, the insights shared by the participants in the first study were used. While the contexts of peer relationships and educational settings are highly important in children's lives, they cannot be generalized to the other aspects of social life. For instance, an important research inquiry would be to examine reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion in group relations where the assumptions of competence might be evoked to protect group success and harmony. Such contexts can be diversified to elicit a more comprehensive perspective on children's and adults' approach to socioeconomic exclusion. In relation to the measurement materials of the quantitative study, adopting a child-centered approach might have distracted parents to identify with the vignettes and situations presented to them. Future studies examining adults' reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion should also focus on contexts and circumstances which would resonate with adults' experiences.

The participants of both studies were recruited from Ankara, the capital city of Turkey. We were able to reach out to families who were from low and high socioeconomic backgrounds, as indicated by objective and subjective measures of SES. In addition, most of the low SES participants were living in remote areas within the city. Yet, they still live in an urban area compared to the rural parts of Turkey. This feature limits the generalizability of the results. Especially the criteria, in which people compare themselves with others, whether they are economic or

social, might differ between urban and rural areas. Thus, access disparities and their psychosocial influences might change the ways children and adults approach to socioeconomic exclusion. External factors, such as the existence of media exposure or visibility of consumer goods, might also increase or reduce the discrimination based on SES. Investigating the urban-rural (dis)similarity in this sense would add another layer in understanding the contexts exacerbating the socioeconomic stratifications.

Since this dissertation is the first comprehensive study examining children's and adults' reasoning about SES as an intergroup exclusion criterion, we did not focus on other factors that might influence their judgments. One potential factor would be intergroup contact. As shown by the previous studies, the degree of personal contact with others from different backgrounds influences children's and adults' attitudes towards intergroup relations, stereotypes, and decisions of resource allocation (Crystal et al., 2008; Elenbaas, 2019b; McGlothlin & Killen, 2006). Future studies should examine whether children's and adults' contact with others who are from more disadvantaged vs. affluent conditions, impact their reasoning about socioeconomic exclusion.

The congruence between children and their parents was only explored with their exclusion evaluations. While the results were promising, a potential value transmission between the two parties should be examined with different statistical approaches, such as multilevel models. It would also be valuable to investigate the compatibility between parents and their children in terms of other reasoning domains. For instance, children, who view socioeconomic exclusion as a form of discrimination or a way to promote status-quo, might also have parents endorsing the same viewpoints; thus, future research might also examine this relationship via actor-partner interaction models. Research and applications could benefit from such findings in promoting children's understanding of justice and fairness.

Lastly, due to the matter in hand, participants in both studies might have been concerned with social desirability. Particularly, lack of SES influences in parents' reasoning in the second study might be partly explained by giving politically correct responses. In the future studies, different methodologies should also be used, such as behavioral assessments or minimal group paradigms, to

further minimize the social desirability effects while investigating socioeconomic exclusion.

## **5.5 Conclusions and Implications**

The current dissertation has various novel contributions to social and moral development literature. It also provides theoretical and practical insights regarding the impacts of socioeconomic status in children's and their parents' lives as an intergroup factor. To our knowledge, this is the first study exploring the salience of SES in children's and their parents' experiences in daily life, social encounters, and reasoning by using both qualitative and quantitative methods. Recruiting both children and their parents was another novel aspect, and it helped to examine the differences and similarities between children and their parents in terms of their experiences, perspectives, and reasoning about socioeconomic background. Examining the roles of developmental differences, family socioeconomic background, and context also provided a comprehensive picture of how different factors would shape individuals' approach to socioeconomic exclusion. Findings of the qualitative study showed that even not asked explicitly, access to resources and socioeconomic background was perceived as a strong factor shaping children's and their parents' daily experiences, social encounters and their willingness to contact with others, naturally. Building upon these insights, novel results of the quantitative study revealed that children and their parents used SES as an intergroup exclusion criterion supporting the premises of the SRD model, as tested. Altogether, the main findings of the quantitative study showed that while older children approached socioeconomic exclusion more as a form of discrimination and a violation of moral concerns compared to their younger peers, they were also better at detecting the impacts of such discrimination on more societal levels. Even though there were younger children approaching socioeconomic exclusion as prejudice and motivated to promote equity, they found it harder to recognize its social and emotional impacts. In addition, socioeconomic background of the participants and the exclusion context greatly affected children's and their parents' tolerance towards socioeconomic exclusion and the reasons behind their judgments. While differential

treatment towards disadvantaged children was evaluated as unfair and discriminative, exclusion of disadvantaged children from peer relations was condoned more particularly by the affluent participants.

All these novel findings have various implications. As the writing process of this dissertation coincided with the COVID-19 epidemic, globally, we witnessed staying home, and social distancing is an actual privilege and luxury. In addition to the problems in accessing quality medical care, food, and optimal living conditions, families from low SES often work in low-wage essential service jobs with less job security and high personal contact. While these facts put them in disproportionate risk on medical, economic, and social levels, accusations towards disadvantaged individuals constitute another layer of burden as if they willingly choose not to keep their social distancing and “accelerate” the epidemic.

We argue that all these prejudiced and stereotypic attitudes have their roots in regular daily contacts and interactions. The circumstances both children and adults encounter in their social spheres, and educational and institutional settings constitute one of the significant contexts children learn how to stand up against economic and social inequalities, and support corrective actions and justice. Discrimination and prejudice based on SES influence the victims and the perpetrators differently; yet, their individual and societal consequences impact everyone. As one of the implications of the current findings, particularly, children who perpetrate such actions should be intervened early to promote their capacity to care about equity and justice, which are some of the main characteristics of fair societal systems. As our findings suggested, parental attitudes and the family context is a potentially significant context to teach children about existing inequalities and the possible ways of promoting fairness with a sense of accountability. In addition, the messages families give to their children, knowingly or unknowingly, clearly influence their children’s approach to individuals from different socioeconomic backgrounds and the grounds children to justify socioeconomic exclusion. As one of the goals in this research was to reduce prejudice associated with socioeconomic status and to help create a more just, tolerant, and inclusive society, such conscious policies and their moral reflections can be used in designing intervention programs and education curricula based on



the current results. Particularly educational practices should actively engage with children about the issues of socioeconomic inequalities, their historical roots, and societal implications. Similarly, families should abandon group-blind views and help their children to understand their roles in rectifying psychological impacts of socioeconomic inequalities.

The fight against economic and social inequalities requires collaboration in personal, social, and intuitional levels. Yet, changes and the efforts spent in the nuclear context undoubtedly contribute to the broader changes in decreasing and rectifying the psychological impacts of the inequalities. Future studies should focus on socioeconomic exclusion and its psychological impacts in different contexts to continue this line of research and to shed light on various social policies.

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## APPENDICES

### A. QUALITATIVE STUDY PART 1: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

#### Çocuklar için Görüşme Soruları

- 1) En yakın arkadaşların kim/kimler, biraz bahseder misin?
  - a. Bu arkadaşlarının kişilik özellikleri neler?
  - b. Bu arkadaşlarının ailelerini tanıyor musun? Annesi babası ne iş yapıyor?
- 2) Bu arkadaşlar sizin evinize hiç geldiler mi? Ne sıklıkla gelirler?  
Sen onlara gittin mi? Sana yakın olan arkadaşlarından birinin evini tarif edebilir misin, yani evleri nasıl? (Gitmedi ise) Evlerinin nasıl olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?
- 3) Sınıfında ya da okulunda anlaşımadığın/yakın olmadığın çocuklar kimlerdir?
  - c. Kişilik özellikleri neler?
  - d. Ailelerini tanıyor musun? Annesi babası ne iş yapıyor?
- 4) Okulun nasıl? Mesela sınıftaki ya da okulundaki popüler kişiler kimler?
  - a. Bu öğrencilerin ailesini tanıyor musun? Anne ve babasının mesleği ne biliyor musun?
  - b. Öğretmenin bu öğrencilerin anne babasını tanır mı? Arası nasıldır?
- 5) Sınıftaki ya da okulundaki en başarılı öğrenciler kimler, nasıl çocuklar?
  - a. Bu öğrencilerin ailesini tanıyor musun? Anne ve babasının mesleği ne biliyor musun?
  - b. Öğretmenin bu öğrencilerin anne babasını tanır mı? Arası nasıldır?
- 6) Peki okulda çok popüler olmayan öğrenciler kimler, nasıl çocuklar?
  - a. Bu öğrencilerin ailesini tanıyor musun? Anne ve babasının mesleği ne biliyor musun?
  - b. Öğretmenin bu öğrencilerin anne babasını tanır mı? Arası nasıldır?
- 7) Peki dersleri iyi olmayanlar kimler, nasıl çocuklar?

- a. Bu öğrencilerin ailesini tanıyor musun? Anne ve babasının mesleği ne biliyor musun?
  - b. Öğretmenin bu öğrencilerin anne babasını tanır mı? Arası nasıldır?
- 8) Şimdi senden genel olarak sınıfını-okulunu düşünmeni istiyorum.
- a. Sence hiç sınıfındaki/okulundaki arkadaş gruplarına dahil olmayan birileri var mı?  
(Varsa) Bu çocuk kim, özellikleri neler?
  - b. Senin arkadaş grubuna almak istemediğin birileri var mı?  
(Varsa) Bu çocuk kim, özellikleri neler?
  - c. Sınıf öğretmenin/bir öğretmenin sizlerle arası nasıl?

### **Ebeveyn için Görüşme Soruları**

- 1) Çocuğunuzun en yakın arkadaşı/arkadaşları kimlerdir? Biraz bahseder misiniz?
  - a. Kişilik özellikleri neler?
  - b. Ailelerini tanıyor musun? Annesi babası ne iş yapıyor?
- 2) Çocuğunuzun bu arkadaşları sizin evinize hiç geldiler mi?
- 3) Siz bu ailelerin evlerine gittiniz mi? Evleri nasıldı?  
(Gitmediler ise) Evlerinin nasıl olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?
- 4) Peki çocuğunuzun sınıfında ya da okulunda anlayamadığı çocuklar var mı, biliyor musunuz? (Biliyor ise) Kimler, biraz bahsedebilir misin?
  - a. Kişilik özellikleri nelerdir?
  - b. Ailelerini tanıyor musun? Annesi babası ne iş yapıyor?
- 5) Çocuğunuzun sınıf/okul ortamını düşündüğünüzde sınıfındaki ya da okulundaki popüler kişiler kimler biliyor musunuz?
  - a. Bu öğrencilerin ailesini tanıyor musunuz? Anne ve babasının mesleği ne biliyor musunuz?
  - b. Öğretmen bu öğrencilerin anne babasını tanır mı? Arası nasıldır?
- 6) Çocuğunuzun sınıfındaki ya da okulundaki en başarılı öğrenciler kimlerdir, nasıl çocuklardır?
  - a. Bu öğrencilerin ailesini tanıyor musunuz? Anne ve babasının mesleği ne biliyor musunuz?

- b. Öğretmen bu öğrencilerin anne babasını tanır mı? Arası nasıldır?
- 7) Okulda çok popüler olmayan öğrenciler kimler, nasıl çocuklardır/olabilirler?
- a. Bu öğrencilerin ailesini tanıyor musunuz? Anne ve babasının mesleği ne biliyor musunuz?
- b. Öğretmen bu öğrencilerin anne babasını tanır mı? Arası nasıldır?
- 8) Dersleri iyi olmayanlar kimlerdir, nasıl çocuklardır?
- a. Bu öğrencilerin ailesini tanıyor musunuz? Anne ve babasının mesleği ne biliyor musunuz?
- b. Öğretmen bu öğrencilerin anne babasını tanır mı? Arası nasıldır?
- 9) Şimdi sizden genel çocuğunuzun sınıfını-okulunu düşünmenizi istiyorum.
- a. Sizce hiç sınıfındaki/okulundaki arkadaş gruplarına dahil olmayan birileri var mı?
- (Varsa) Bu çocuk kim, özellikleri neler?
- b. Çocuğunuzun bahsettiği ve onun arkadaş grubuna almak istemediğin birileri var mı? (Varsa) Bu çocuk kim, özellikleri neler?
- c. Öğretmenin/bir öğretmenin öğrencilerle/sizlerle arası nasıldır?

## B. QUALITATIVE STUDY PART 2: SELECTED PHOTOGRAPHS AND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

(Both children and parents were asked the same set of questions presented below)



- 1) Sence bu evlerde kimler/nasıl insanlar yaşar? Kişilik özellikleri nelerdir?
- 2) Bu evlerde yaşayan insanların meslekleri ne olabilir?
- 3) Bu evlerde yaşayan kişilerin ekonomik durumları nasıldır? Paraları var mıdır?
- 4) Bu evlerde yaşayan çocuklarla/ailen aileleri ile arkadaş olabilir mi? Neden?



- 1) Sence bu okullarda nasıl öğrenciler okur, bu okullara nasıl öğrenciler gider? Kişilik özellikleri nelerdir?
- 2) Sence bu okullarda okuyan öğrenciler boş zamanlarında neler yaparlar?
- 3) Sence bu okullardaki öğrenciler derslerde/ders dışı aktivitelerde neler yapıyorlardı?
- 4) Bu okullara giden çocuklarla/aileler aileleri ile arkadaş olabilir mi? Neden?

## C. STUDY 2: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SHEET OF PARENTS

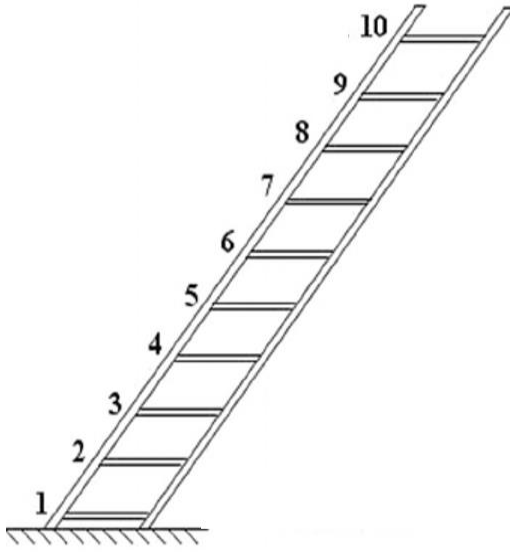
ANNE için:	
Doğum tarihiniz	
En son bitirdiğiniz okul: (Lütfen İşaretleyiniz)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Okuma-yazma bilmiyor</li><li>• Okuma-yazma biliyor</li><li>• İlkokul</li><li>• İlkokul terk</li><li>• Ortaokul</li><li>• Ortaokul terk</li><li>• Lise</li><li>• Lise terk</li><li>• Ön lisans (2 yıllık üniversiteler)</li><li>• Ön lisans terk</li><li>• Üniversite</li><li>• Üniversite terk</li><li>• Lisansüstü</li></ul>
Mesleğiniz	
Şu an için ne iş yapıyorsunuz?	
İşiniz düzenli bir iş mi?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Evet</li><li>• Hayır</li></ul>
Ne kadar süredir bu işte çalışıyorsunuz?	
Sigortalı mısınız?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Evet</li><li>• Hayır</li></ul>
Aylık kazancınız (ortalama olarak yazabilirsiniz)	<b>Gelir:</b> .....
Bugüne kadar en uzun yaşadığınız yer nasıl bir yerdi?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Büyük şehir merkezi</li><li>• Şehir</li><li>• Kasaba</li><li>• Köy</li><li>• Yurt dışı (yazınız).....</li></ul>
Şu an yaşadığınız semt neresidir?	
Medeni haliniz	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Evli ve birlikte yaşıyor</li><li>• Evli ama eşinden ayrı yaşıyor</li><li>• Eşinden ayrılmış</li><li>• Eşini kaybetmiş</li><li>• Diğer</li></ul>
Evliyseniz kaç yıldır evlisiniz?	

<b>BABA için:</b>					
Doğum tarihi					
En son bitirdiği okul: (Lütfen İşaretleyiniz)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Okuma-yazma bilmiyor</li> <li>• Okuma-yazma biliyor</li> <li>• İlkokul</li> <li>• İlkokul terk</li> <li>• Ortaokul</li> <li>• Ortaokul terk</li> <li>• Lise</li> <li>• Lise terk</li> <li>• Ön lisans (2 yıllık üniversiteler)</li> <li>• Ön lisans terk</li> <li>• Üniversite</li> <li>• Üniversite terk</li> <li>• Lisansüstü</li> </ul>			
Mesleği					
Şu an için ne iş yapıyor?					
İşi düzenli bir iş mi?		Evet		Hayır	
Ne kadar süredir bu işte çalışıyor?					
Sigortalı mı?		Evet		Hayır	
Aylık kazancı (Ortalama olarak yazabilirsiniz)		<b>Gelir:</b> .....			
Bugüne kadar en uzun yaşadığı yer nasıl bir yerdi?		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Büyük şehir merkezi</li> <li>• Şehir</li> <li>• Kasaba</li> <li>• Köy</li> <li>• Yurt dışı .....</li> </ul>			
Şu an yaşadığınız il ve semt neresidir?					
<b>ÇOCUKLAR için:</b>					
Toplam kaç çocuğunuz var? .....					
	Çocuğun doğum tarihi	Cinsiyeti	Okula gidiyor mu?	Kaçıncı sınıfa devam ediyor?	Şu an sizinle mi yaşıyor?
1. Çocuk					
2. Çocuk					
3. Çocuk					
4. Çocuk					



## HANE GELİR ANKETİ

Lütfen evinize giren toplam geliri düşününüz. Bu gelir içine eve giren tüm maaşlar, başka ev-arsa gibi mülklerden gelen aylık gelirler de dâhildir. Bu toplam geliri lütfen belirtiniz (Ortalama olarak yazabilirsiniz)	
Yukarıda belirttiğiniz geliri toplam kaç kişi paylaşıyorsunuz? Lütfen evinizde sizinle birlikte yaşayan toplam kişi sayısını yazınız.	
Oturduğunuz ev size mi ait, kiracı mısınız, yoksa lojman mı?	
Eğer kira veriyorsanız aylık ne kadar kira veriyorsunuz? (Ortalama olarak yazabilirsiniz)	

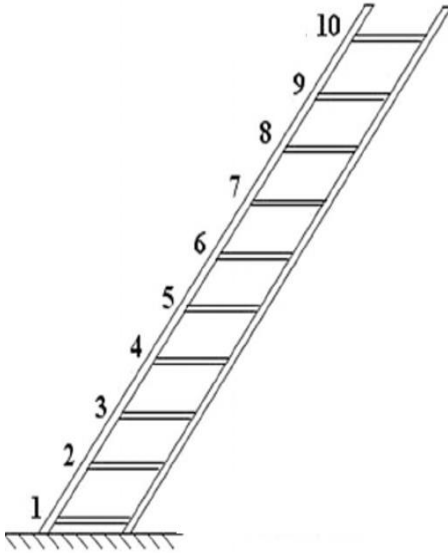


Sizden içinde yaşadığımız ülke şartlarını düşünmenizi rica ediyorum. Bu merdivenin en alt kısmı (yani 1 numara) toplumumuzda maddi imkânları en az olan kişileri göstermektedir. Merdivenin en üstü ise (10 numara) toplumumuzda maddi imkânları en fazla olan, kişileri göstermektedir.

Yaşadığınız yeri, gelirinizi ve sosyal çevrenizi göz önünde bulundurarak, kendinizi/ailenizi bu merdivende nereye koyardınız? Lütfen rakamı işaretleyiniz.

#### D. STUDY 2: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SHEET OF CHILDREN

Lütfen doğum tarihini yaz	
Cinsiyetin nedir?	<input type="checkbox"/> Kız <input type="checkbox"/> Erkek



Senden bu merdivene bakmanı istiyorum. Bu merdivenin en alt kısmı (yani 1 numara) istediği şeyleri satın almak ya da yapmak için yeterli imkânı hiç olmayan, yani en az paraya sahip insanları gösteriyor. Merdivenin en üstü ise (10 numara); istediği şeyleri satın almak ya da yapmak için yeterli imkânı en fazla olan, yani en fazla paraya sahip insanları gösteriyor.

Şimdi senden aileni düşünmeni istiyorum. Sence senin ailen bu merdivenin neresinde olurdu? Ailenin ait olduğunu düşündüğün sayıyı yuvarlak içine al.

## E. STUDY 2: SOCIAL EXCLUSION VIGNETTES

(Forms in this Appendix are one of the versions provided to girls.)

LÜTFEN AŞAĞIDAKİ HİKÂYELERİ OKU VE SORULARA CEVAP VER.

1) Zeynep ile Miray okulda tanışmışlardı. Zeynep ve ailesi, böyle bir evde yaşamaktaydı. Miray ve ailesi ise böyle bir evde yaşamaktaydı.

Zeynep'in evi



Miray'ın evi



Zeynep okulda herkesin tanıdığı, çok fazla arkadaşı olan bir çocuktü, yani popülerdi. Miray ise bu okula yeni başlamıştı ve çok arkadaşı yoktu. Zeynep ve Miray okullarında gerçekleşecek olan sene sonu gösterisine katılacaklardı. Bu gösteride çocuklar, ikili gruplar halinde bazı etkinlikler yapacaklardı. Öğretmen Zeynep'e Miray ile eşleşmek isteyip istemediğini sordu. Zeynep, Miray ile eş olabileceğini düşündü. Fakat, Zeynep'in arkadaşları ona Miray ile eş olmamasını, çünkü Miray'ın yaşadığı evi bildiklerini söylediler.

Sence, Zeynep'in arkadaşlarının Zeynep'e, Miray ile eşleşmemesini söylemeleri ne kadar kabul edilemez bir şeydir, ya da kabul edilebilir bir şeydir? (Lütfen işaretle)

1 = Hiç kabul edilemez	2 = Biraz kabul edilemez	3 = Ne kabul edilebilir ne kabul edilemez	4 = Biraz kabul edilebilir	5 = Kesinlikle kabul edilebilir

Neden böyle düşünüyorsun? (Üstteki suratlara verdiğin cevap için)

Zeynep'in arkadaşlarının, ona Miray ile eşleşmemesini söylediklerini öğrendiğinde, sence Miray nasıl hissetmiş olabilir? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

Miray'ın neden böyle hissedeceğini düşünüyorsun? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

Sence Zeynep'in arkadaşları ona neden Miray ile eşleşmemesini söyledi? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

Sen Zeynep'in yerinde olsaydın ne yapardın? Neden böyle yapardın? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

2) Elif ile Ayşe aynı okula gidiyorlardı. Elif ve ailesi, böyle bir evde yaşamaktaydı. Ayşe ve ailesi ise böyle bir evde yaşamaktaydı.

Elif'in evi



Ayşe'nin evi



Elif ile Ayşe zaman zaman okulda vakit geçirip oyun oynuyorlardı. Elif, okul dışında ve boş zamanlarında evlerinin yakınında oturan ve kendi evine benzeyen evlerde yaşayan mahalleden arkadaşları ile birlikte sinemaya gidiyor, ya da alışveriş merkezlerinde geziyordu. Elif ve arkadaşlarına Ayşe de katılmak istedi. Bir gün Elif, Ayşe'yi de gelmesi için davet etmeyi düşündü. Fakat Elif'in mahalledeki arkadaşlarından biri Elif'e, Ayşe'yi dışarı çıkarken davet etmemesini, çünkü Ayşe'nin onlarla aynı mahallede yaşamadığını söyledi. Bu nedenle Elif, Ayşe'yi davet etmekten vazgeçti.

Sence, mahalleden arkadaşı istemediği için Elif'in, Ayşe'yi dışarı çıkarken çağırması ne kadar kabul edilemez bir şeydir, ya da kabul edilebilir bir şeydir? (Lütfen işaretleyin)

1 = Hiç kabul edilemez	2 = Biraz kabul edilemez	3 = Ne kabul edilebilir ne kabul edilemez	4 = Biraz kabul edilebilir	5 = Kesinlikle kabul edilebilir

Neden böyle düşünüyorsun? (Üstteki sıratlara verdiğin cevap için)

---

Sence Ayşe davet edilmediğinde nasıl hissetmiş olabilir? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

---

Ayşe'nin neden böyle hissedeceğini düşünüyorsun? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

---

Sence Elif'in mahalleden arkadaşı, neden Ayşe'yi dışarı çıkarken çağırması istemedi?

---

Sen Elif'in yerinde olsaydın ne yapardın? Neden böyle yapardın? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

3) Defne ile Yağmur okulda tanışmışlardı. Defne ve ailesi, böyle bir evde yaşamaktaydı. Yağmur ve ailesi ise böyle bir evde yaşamaktaydı.

Defne'nin evi



Yağmur'un evi



Defne ile Yağmur zaman zaman okulda vakit geçirip oyun oynuyorlardı. Bir gün Defne, evlerinin yakınında oturan arkadaşlarını kendi evlerine öğle yemeğine davet etmeye karar verdi. Defne, Yağmur'u da yemeğe çağırmayı düşündü. Fakat sonra bu fikrinden vazgeçti. Çünkü Defne, Yağmur'un onların evine gelmesini ailesinin istemeyeceğini düşündü ve Yağmur'u davet etmekten vazgeçti.

Sence, ailesinin istemeyeceğini düşündüğü için Defne'nin Yağmur'u evlerine öğle yemeğine çağırması ne kadar kabul edilemez bir şeydir ya da kabul edilebilir bir şeydir? (Lütfen işaretleyin)

				
1 = Hiç kabul edilemez	2 = Biraz kabul edilemez	3 = Ne kabul edilebilir ne kabul edilemez	4 = Biraz kabul edilebilir	5 = Kesinlikle kabul edilebilir

Neden böyle düşünüyorsun? (Üstteki suratlara verdiğin cevap için)

---

Sence Yağmur davet edilmediğinde nasıl hissetmiş olabilir? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

---

Yağmur'un neden böyle hissedeceğini düşünüyorsun? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

---

Sence Defne, neden Yağmur'u evlerine öğle yemeğine çağırmasını ailesinin istemeyeceğini düşündü?

---

Sen Defne'nin yerinde olsaydın ne yapardın? Neden böyle yapardın? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

---



4) Merve ile Zehra iki öğrenciydi. Merve ve ailesi, böyle bir evde yaşamaktaydı. Zehra ve ailesi ise böyle bir evde yaşamaktaydı.

Merve'nin evi



Zehra'nın evi



İkisi de çocuklara ücretsiz verilen bir yüzmeye kursuna katılmak istiyorlardı. Fakat kursta sadece bir kişilik boşluk kalmıştı. Yüzme öğretmeni aslında ne Merve'yi ne de Zehra'yı tanımıyordu, fakat Merve ile aynı mahallede yaşadığını öğrendi. Öğretmen, kurstaki son boş yer için Merve'yi seçti. Zehra da bu nedenle yüzmeye kursuna katılamadı.

Sence, yüzmeye öğretmenin Zehra'yı yüzmeye kursuna kabul etmemesi ne kadar kabul edilemez bir şeydir ya da kabul edilebilir bir şeydir? (Lütfen işaretle)

1 = Hiç kabul edilemez	2 = Biraz kabul edilemez	3 = Ne kabul edilebilir ne kabul edilemez	4 = Biraz kabul edilebilir	5 = Kesinlikle kabul edilebilir

Neden böyle düşünüyorsun? (Üstteki suratlara verdiğin cevap için)

---

Sence Zehra yüzmeye öğretmeni onu seçmediği için nasıl hissetmiştir? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

---

Zehra'nın neden böyle hissedeceğini düşünüyorsun? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

---

Sence yüzmeye öğretmeni Zehra'yı neden kursa kabul etmedi? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

---

Sen yüzmeye öğretmenin yerinde olsaydın ne yapardın? Neden böyle yapardın? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

---

5) Nehir ve Ela iki öğrenciydi. Nehir ve ailesi, böyle bir evde yaşamaktaydı. Ela ve ailesi ise böyle bir evde yaşamaktaydı.

Nehir'in evi



Ela'nın evi



Nehir'in ailesi, Nehir ne zaman derslerinde zorlansa ona özel kurs aldırıyor, yabancı dil öğrenmesi için yazları onu yurt dışına gönderiyordu. Ela ise genelde derslerine kimseden yardım almadan çalışıyor, yabancı dili de yine kendi çabalarıyla öğreniyordu. Okulun yurtdışında anlaştığı başka bir okula yaz kampına gönderilmek üzere sınıftan bir öğrenci seçilecekti. Nehir ve Ela okuldaki en başarılı iki öğrenciydi, ayrıca ikisinin de yabancı dil ve diğer derslerde ortalamaları eşitti. Sonunda okul bu programa Nehir'in gitmesine karar verdi.

Sence, okulun Ela'yı yurtdışında yaz kampına gitmesi için seçmemesi ne kadar kabul edilemez bir şeydir ya da kabul edilebilir bir şeydir? (Lütfen işaretle)

1 = Hiç kabul edilemez	2 = Biraz kabul edilemez	3 = Ne kabul edilebilir ne kabul edilemez	4 = Biraz kabul edilebilir	5 = Kesinlikle kabul edilebilir

Neden böyle düşünüyorsun? (Üstteki suratlara verdiğin cevap için)

Sence Ela, yaz kampına gitmek için seçilmediğinde nasıl hissetmiştir? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

Ela'nın neden böyle hissedeceğini düşünüyorsun? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

Sence okul Ela'yı neden bu programa gitmesi için seçmedi? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

Sen okul yönetiminin yerinde olsaydın ne yapardın? Neden böyle yapardın? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

6) Eylül ile Mine aynı etüt merkezine giden iki öğrenciydi. Eylül ve ailesi, böyle bir evde yaşamaktaydı. Mine ve ailesi ise böyle bir evde yaşamaktaydı.

Eylül'ün evi



Mine'nin evi



Etüt merkezindeki öğretmen, her gün öğrencilere çözmeleri için bazı matematik soruları veriyordu. Eylül de Mine de bazı soruları çözmekte zorlanıyorlardı ve öğretmenin yardımına ihtiyaçları vardı. Öğretmen her zaman Eylül'e hemen yardım ediyordu. Etüt merkezine gittikleri günlerin çoğunda ise öğretmenin Mine'nin sorularını yanıtlamaya zamanı kalmıyordu. Mine öğretmenin ona neden yardım etmediğini anlamıyordu.

Sence, öğretmenin Mine'nin sorularını çoğu zaman yanıtlamaması ne kadar kabul edilemez bir şeydir ya da kabul edilebilir bir şeydir? (Lütfen işaretleyin)

1 = Hiç kabul edilemez	2 = Biraz kabul edilemez	3 = Ne kabul edilebilir ne kabul edilemez	4 = Biraz kabul edilebilir	5 = Kesinlikle kabul edilebilir

Neden böyle düşünüyorsun? (Üstteki suratlara verdiğin cevap için)

---

Sence Mine öğretmenin ona yardım etmediği zamanlarda nasıl hissetmiştir? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

---

Mine'nin neden böyle hissedeceğini düşünüyorsun? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

---

Sence etüt merkezindeki öğretmen Mine'ye neden yardım etmiyordu? (Lütfen aşağıya yaz)

---

Sen etüt merkezindeki öğretmenin yerinde olsaydın ne yapardın? Neden böyle yapardın?

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## F. ETHICAL APPROVAL FORM OF STUDY 1

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ  
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



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www.ueam.metu.edu.tr

Sayı: 28620816/347

07 HAZİRAN 2017

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu


Sayın Yrd. Doç. Dr. Başak Şahin ACAR;

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız doktora öğrencisi Buse GÖNÜL'ün "*How Children and Their Parents Perceive Inequalities: A Preliminary Study*" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay 2017-SOS-097 protokol numarası ile 07.06.2017 – 05.06.2018 tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.


  
Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL  
Üye

  
Prof. Dr. Ş. Halil TURAN  
Başkan V

  
Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR  
Üye

  
Doç. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI  
Üye

**BULUNAMADI**  
Yrd. Doç. Dr. Pınar KAYGAN  
Üye

  
Doç. Dr. Zana ÇITAK  
Üye

  
Yrd. Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK  
Üye

## G. CONSENT FORMS OF STUDY 1

Ebeveynler için Onam Formu



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Psikoloji Bölümü  
Department of Psychology

Tel: 90 (312) 210 31 82  
Faks:90 (312) 210 79 75

Bu çalışma Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü Gelişim Psikolojisi Araştırma Görevlisi Uzman Psikolog Buse Gönül'ün doktora tezi kapsamında Psikoloji Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi Yrd. Doç. Dr. Başak Şahin-Acar danışmanlığında yürütülmektedir. Çalışmanın amacı farklı sosyal durumların yetişkinler ve çocuklar tarafından nasıl algıladıklarını araştırmaktır. Bu amacı gerçekleştirebilmek için sizin de çalışmamıza katılımınıza ihtiyaç duymaktayız.

**Katılmaya karar verdiğiniz takdirde çalışmaya size uygun bir zamanda evinizde katılacaksınız. Araştırmacı ile yapacağınız görüşmede bir takım fotoğraflar gösterilecek ve fotoğraflardaki durumları anlatmanız istenecektir. Toplamda 30 dakika sürecek olan bu görüşmede ses kaydı alınacaktır.**

Görüşmede vereceğiniz yanıtlar kesinlikle gizli tutulacak ve bu yanıtlar sadece bilimsel araştırma amacıyla kullanılacaktır. Bu formu imzaladıktan sonra görüşmeden ayrılma hakkına sahipsiniz. Araştırma sonuçlarının özeti istediğiniz üzerine tarafımızdan size ulaştırılacaktır. Araştırmaya katılımınız amaçlarımızı gerçekleştirmemiz açısından oldukça önemlidir. Araştırmayla ilgili sorularınızı aşağıdaki e-posta adresini veya telefon numarasını kullanarak bize yöneltebilirsiniz.

Saygılarımızla,

Buse Gönül  
Psikoloji Bölümü/ Araştırma Görevlisi  
[gbuse@metu.edu.tr](mailto:gbuse@metu.edu.tr) - 312 210 3144

*Lütfen bu araştırmaya katılmak konusundaki tercihinizi aşağıdaki seçeneklerden size en uygun gelenin altına imzanızı atarak belirtiniz.*

A) Bu araştırmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum. Çalışmayı istediğim zaman yarıda kesip bırakabileceğimi biliyorum ve verdiğim bilgilerin bilimsel amaçlı olarak kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum.

Adı-Soyadı.....  
İmza .....

B) Bu çalışmaya katılmayı kabul etmiyorum.

Adı-Soyadı.....  
İmza .....



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Psikoloji Bölümü  
Department of Psychology

Tel: 90 (312) 210 31 82  
Faks:90 (312) 210 79 75

Bu çalışma Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü Gelişim Psikolojisi Araştırma Görevlisi Uzman Psikolog Buse Gönül'ün Doktora tezi kapsamında Psikoloji Bölümü Öğretim Görevlisi Yrd. Doç. Dr. Başak Şahin-Acar danışmanlığında yürütülmektedir. Çalışmanın amacı farklı sosyal durumların yetişkinler ve çocuklar tarafından nasıl algılandıklarını araştırmaktır. Bu amacı gerçekleştirebilmek için çocuklarımızın çalışmamıza katılmına ihtiyaç duymaktayız.

**Katılmasına izin verdiğiniz takdirde çocuğunuz çalışmaya size uygun bir zamanda ve evinizde katılacaktır. Çocuğunuzun araştırmacı ile yapacağı görüşmede ona bir takım fotoğraflar gösterilecek ve fotoğraflardaki durumları anlatmaları istenecektir. Toplamda 30 dakika sürecek olan bu görüşmede ses kaydı alınacaktır.**

Dünyada benzeri çalışmalar farklı ülkelerde sıklıkla yürütülmekte olup, çocukların psikolojik gelişimine bir zararı olmadığı tespit edilmiştir. Siz de çocuğunuzun cevaplayacağı soruların onun psikolojik gelişimine olumsuz etkisi olmayacağından emin olabilirsiniz. Çocuğunuzun vereceği yanıtlar kesinlikle gizli tutulacak ve bu yanıtlar sadece bilimsel araştırma amacıyla kullanılacaktır. Bu formu imzaladıktan sonra çocuğunuz görüşmeden ayrılma hakkına sahiptir. Araştırma sonuçlarının özeti istediğiniz üzerine tarafımızdan size ulaştırılacaktır.

Araştırmaya çocuğunuzun katılmasına izin vermeniz ve sizin katılımınız amaçlarımızı gerçekleştirmemiz açısından oldukça önemlidir. Araştırmayla ilgili sorularınızı aşağıdaki e-posta adresini veya telefon numarasını kullanarak bize yöneltebilirsiniz.

Saygılarımızla,

Buse Gönül  
Psikoloji Bölümü/ Araştırma Görevlisi  
[gbuse@metu.edu.tr](mailto:gbuse@metu.edu.tr) - 312 210 3144

*Lütfen tercihinizi aşağıdaki seçeneklerden size uygun gelenin altına imzanızı atarak belirtiniz.*

A) Bu çalışmaya çocuğum .....'nın katılımcı olmasına izin veriyorum. Çalışmayı istediğim zaman yarıda kesip bırakabileceğini biliyorum ve çocuğumun verdiği bilgilerin bilimsel amaçlı olarak kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum.

Veli Adı-Soyadı.....  
İmza .....

B) Bu çalışmaya çocuğum .....'nın katılımcı olmasına izin vermiyorum.

Veli Adı-Soyadı.....  
İmza .....

## H. DEBRIEFING FORM OF STUDY 1



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
ANKARA-TÜRKİYE

Psikoloji Bölümü

Tel: 90 (312) 210 31 82

### KATILIM SONRASI BİLGİ FORMU

Bu çalışma daha önce de belirtildiği Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü Gelişim Psikolojisi Araştırma Görevlisi Uzman Psikolog Buse Gönül'ün Doktora tezi kapsamında Psikoloji Bölümü Öğretim Görevlisi Yrd. Doç. Dr. Başak Şahin-Acar danışmanlığında yürütülmektedir.

Dünya çapında ciddi bir problem olan ekonomik ve sosyal eşitsizlikler bireylerin hayatlarını olumsuz etkilediği gibi, bizlerin de bu eşitsizliklere bakış açısını etkilemektedir. Sağlık, eğitim, barınma gibi temel ihtiyaçlara bazı yetişkin ve çocuklar daha rahat bir şekilde ulaşabilirken, birçok yetişkin ve çocuk bu haklara ulaşımdan mahrum kalmaktadır. Sizlerde ve çocuklarla yaptığımız bu görüşme katılımcıların yukarıda bahsedilen sağlık, eğitim, barınma gibi temel haklara ulaşımda eşit olmayan şartları nasıl değerlendirdiğini incelemektedir.

Verdiğiniz kıymetli bilgiler, ekonomik ve sosyal kaynaklara ulaşımı yeterli olmayan bireylere karşı toplumsal tutumumuzu anlamaya yardımcı olacak ve Türkiye içindeki durumu anlamamıza çok önemli bir ışık tutacaktır.

Bu çalışmadan alınacak ilk verilerin Temmuz 2018 sonunda elde edilmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Elde edilen bilgiler sadece bilimsel araştırma ve yazılarda kullanılacaktır. Çalışmanın sonuçlarını öğrenmek ya da bu araştırma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için aşağıdaki iletişim adreslerine başvurabilirsiniz. Bu araştırmaya katıldığınız için çok teşekkür ederiz.

Uzman Psikolog Buse Gönül  
Psikoloji Bölümü/ Araştırma Görevlisi  
[gbuse@metu.edu.tr](mailto:gbuse@metu.edu.tr) – 0312 210 31 44

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Başak Şahin  
Psikoloji Bölümü/ Öğretim Üyesi  
[basaks@metu.edu.tr](mailto:basaks@metu.edu.tr) - 0312 210 5968

## I. ETHICAL APPROVAL FORM OF STUDY 2

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ  
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

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Sayı: 28620816 / 350

06 Haziran 2018

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Buse GÖNÜL

"Çocuklar ve Ebeynlerinin Sosyoekonomik Düzey Bağlamında Değerlendirmelerine Gelişimsel Bir Yaklaşım" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay 2018-SOS-101 protokol numarası ile 08.06.2018 - 30.12.2019 tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL

Üye

Prof. Dr. Ş. Halil TURAN

Başkan V

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR

Üye

Doç. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI

Üye

Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK

Üye

Doç. Dr. Zana ÇITAK

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Pınar KAYGAN

Üye

## J. MINISTRY OF EDUCATION APPROVAL FORM OF STUDY 2



T.C.  
ANKARA VALİLİĞİ  
Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü

Sayı : 14588481-605.99-E.13957064  
Konu : Araştırma İzni

30.07.2018

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİNE  
(Öğrenci İşleri Daire Başkanlığı)

İlgi: a) MEB Yenilik ve Eğitim Teknolojileri Genel Müdürlüğünün 2017/25 nolu Genelgesi.  
b) 17/07/2018 Tarihli ve E.21 sayılı yazımız.

Üniversiteniz Psikoloji Anabilim Dalı, doktora öğrencisi Buse GÖNÜL'ün yürütmekte olduğu "Çocuklar ve Ebeveynlerinin Sosyoekonomik Düzey Bağlamında Değerlendirmelerine Gelişimsel Bir Yaklaşım" konulu tez çalışması kapsamında uygulama talebi Müdürlüğümüzce uygun görülmüş ve uygulamanın yapılacağı İlçe Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğüne bilgi verilmiştir.

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## K. PARENTAL CONSENT FORM OF STUDY 2



ORTADOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ Psikoloji Bölümü

**ÇOCUĞUNUZUN BU ÇALIŞMAYA OKULUNDA VE  
SINIFINDA KATILIMINA İZİN VERİYORSANIZ, LÜTFEN  
ALTTAKİ KISMI DOLDURUNUZ.**

Bu çalışma Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü Gelişim Psikolojisi Araştırma Görevlisi Uzman Psikolog Buse Gönül'ün doktora tezi kapsamında Psikoloji Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi Dr. Başak Şahin-Acar danışmanlığında yürütülmektedir. Çalışmanın amacı farklı sosyal durumların yetişkinler ve çocuklar tarafından nasıl değerlendirildiğini araştırmaktır. Bu amacı gerçekleştirebilmek için çocuklarınızın çalışmamıza katılımına ihtiyaç duymaktayız.

- İzin verdiğiniz takdirde çocuğunuz bu çalışmaya okulda arkadaşları ile birlikte sınıfta katılacaktır. Çocuklardan, kendilerine sunulan hikâyeleri değerlendirmeleri istenecektir.
- Size gönderilen formları ise evinizde doldurmanızı rica etmekteyiz. Çocuğunuzun dolduracağı ölçeklerde size iletilen ölçeklere benzer hikâyeler yer almaktadır.
- Çalışmamızı tamamlayan katılımcılar arasından çekiliş yapılarak seçilecek 16 aileye D&R kitapveinden 25'er TL değerinde hediye çeki verilecektir.

Dünyada benzeri çalışmalar farklı ülkelerde sıklıkla yürütülmekte olup, çocukların psikolojik gelişimine bir zararı olmadığı tespit edilmiştir. Çocuğunuzun vereceği yanıtlar kesinlikle gizli tutulacak ve bu yanıtlar sadece bilimsel araştırma amacıyla kullanılacaktır. Bu formu imzaladıktan sonra çocuğunuz çalışmadan ayrılma hakkına sahiptir. Araştırma sonuçlarının özeti istediğiniz üzerine tarafımızdan size ulaştırılacaktır.

Araştırmayla ilgili sorularınızı aşağıdaki e-posta adresini veya telefon numarasını kullanarak bize yöneltebilirsiniz.

Uzman Psikolog Buse Gönül  
Psikoloji Bölümü/ Araştırma Görevlisi  
[gbuse@metu.edu.tr](mailto:gbuse@metu.edu.tr), [busegonul@gmail.com](mailto:busegonul@gmail.com), 0312-210-3144

**Lütfen tercihinizi aşağıdaki seçeneklerden size uygun gelenin altına imzanızı atarak belirtiniz.**

A) Bu çalışmaya çocuğum (buraya çocuğunuzun adını yazınız) .....'nın katılımcı olmasına izin veriyorum. Çalışmayı istediğim zaman yarıda kesip bırakabileceğimi biliyorum ve çocuğumun verdiği bilgilerin bilimsel amaçlı olarak kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum.

Veli Adı-Soyadı.....  
İmza .....

B) Bu çalışmaya çocuğum .....'nın katılımcı olmasına izin vermiyorum.

Veli Adı-Soyadı.....  
İmza .....

## L. CURRICULUM VITAE

### Personal Information

Surname, Name: Gönül, Buse  
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### Education

Degree	Institution	Department	Years
Ph.D.	Middle East Technical University	Developmental Psychology	2014-2020
M.Sc.	Middle East Technical University	Developmental Psychology	2012-2014
B.S.	Middle East Technical University	Psychology	2007-2012

### Work Experience

Years	Institution	Position
2019-2020	University of Gothenburg, Psychology Department	Swedish Institute Fellow
2013-2020	Middle East Technical University, Psychology Department	Research & Teaching Assistant
2012-2013	Artı Kalite Special Education Centre for Children, Ankara	Psychologist

### Publications

**Gonul, B.**, Işık, H. & Güneş, S. (2020) Multigroup Analysis of Family Climate and Volunteering: The Mediating Role of Parental Conversations in Emerging Adulthood. *Applied Developmental Science*.

**Gonul, B.** & Sahin-Acar, B. (2018) Influence of Regional Perceptions and Children's Age on Their Social Inclusion Judgments. *Nesne Psikoloji Dergisi*, 6(13), 256-288. doi:10.7816/nesne-06-13-02

**Gonul, B.** & Sahin-Acar, B. (2018) Çocukların Toplumsal Cinsiyet Bağlamında Sosyal Dahil Etme Yargıları. *Türk Psikoloji Dergisi*, 33(82), 67-80.

**Gonul, B.**, Işık-Baş, H. & Sahin-Acar, B. (2018). Aile İklimi Ölçeği'nin Türkçeye Uyarlanması ve Psikometrik Açından İncelenmesi. *Türk Psikolojik Danışma ve Rehberlik Dergisi*, (8)50, 165-200.

Tadic, M., Gioaba, I., Garcia Garzon, E., **Gonul, B.**, Lucatuorto, L., McCarthy, C., & Rutar, D. (2014). Examining well-being in school context: Weekly experiences of pupils and teachers. *Journal of European Psychology Students*, 5, 13-18. doi:10.5334/jeps.bx



## M. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKE ÖZET

### ÇOCUKLAR VE EBEVEYNLER SOSYOEKONOMİK DÜZEYE BAĞLI EŞİTSİZLİKLERİ VE DIŞLAMAYI NASIL DEĞERLENDİRİYOR: ÇOCUĞUN YAŞI, AİLENİN SOSYOEKONOMİK GEÇMİŞİ VE DIŞLAMA BAĞLAMININ ROLLERİ

Bir lisansüstü seminer toplantısında, birçok meslektaşım ile eğitim politikalarını tartışıyorduk. Tartışma çocukluğumuzdaki kişisel deneyimleri paylaşma ile devam ederken, ilkokul yıllarımdan hatırladığım bir anıyı onlarla paylaştım. Okulumuzda bazı okul faaliyetlerinden dışlanan ve ayrımcılığa maruz kalan akranlarımız vardı. Ben de birinci sınıftan sonra okulumu değiştirmek zorunda kalmıştım ve sınıfta yeni bir öğrenciydim, fakat benzer muamelelere maruz kalmıyordum. Bu nedenle de diğer arkadaşlarımla ve bazı eğitimcilerin neden onları dışladığını anlamakta zorlanıyordum. Daha sonra öğrendiğime göre arkadaşlarımla ekonomik açıdan dezavantajlı ailelerden geliyor olmasıydı. Okuldaki bu durum açıkça konuşulmuyor olsa da bir hayli yaygın ve göz önündeydi. Bu paylaşımım ardından toplantıdaki diğer meslektaşlarımla da okul yıllarımdan benzer anılarını paylaştılar. Kimisi ailelerinin ekonomik ve sosyal statüsü nedeniyle kendi deneyimledikleri ihmal ve dışlama hikâyelerini paylaştı; kimisinin ise benzer tutumlara maruz kalan arkadaşları olmuştu. Türkiye'nin farklı yerlerinden gelsek ve farklı geçmişlere sahip olsak da böyle benzer hikâyeler duymak bizi şaşırtmıştı. İlginç bir şekilde, benim anımsadığım gibi, diğer meslektaşlarımla da çocukluk yıllarımda bu ayrımcılığın sebebini anlamakta güçlük çektiklerini anımsıyorlardı. Çocukluk yıllarımda dile getirilmeyen bu sorun, sosyoekonomik geçmişe bağlı dışlama, günlük yaşantımızda da çok fazla yaygındı.

Bu tezin amacı, sosyoekonomik düzeyin (SED) ailelerin yaşamlarındaki rolünü anlamak ve çocuklar ile ebeveynlerinin sosyoekonomik dışlamayı nasıl

değerlendirdiklerini incelemektir. Sosyal hayatın doğası gereği, sosyal çevremize ve gruplarımıza, kimlerin dâhil edileceğine ve dışlanacağına dair çok yönlü değerlendirmeler yaparız. Zaman zaman hem çocuklar hem de yetişkinler belirli kişiler ile iletişim kurma ya da kurmama nedenlerini kişilik özellikleri, nitelikler ve yetenekler gibi bireysel etkenlere bağlamaktadırlar (Rubin, Bukowski ve Parker, 2006). Ancak, dahil etme ya da dışlama kararları bireylerin sosyal grup kimliklerine göre verildiğinde (örn., cinsiyet, etnik köken, ırk, milliyet, din gibi) iç ve dış grup tutumları, önyargılar, kalıpyargılar ile statü, güç ve imtiyaz algıları bu kararlarını etkiler (Killen, Mulvey ve Hitti, 2013). Dolayısıyla, sosyal grup kimliği nedeniyle başkalarını dışlamak yani *gruplar arası dışlama*, özünde bireylerin ekonomik ve sosyal kaynaklara ulaşımında eşitsizlik yaşayan bireylere karşı tutum ve atıfları ile ilgilidir ve bir ayrımcılık türüdür (Cooley, Elenbaas ve Killen, 2016). Bu tezde de SED bir sosyal grup kimliği olarak ele alınmıştır. Böylelikle, çocuklar ve ebeveynlerinin SED ve ilgili eşitsizliklere karşı yaklaşım ve değerlendirmelerinin ne oranda ayrımcı tutumlar içerdiğinin araştırması hedeflenmiştir. Ek olarak, elde edilen bulguların, sosyoekonomik olarak dezavantajlı koşullarda yaşayan bireylerin maruz kaldığı kalıpyargı ve önyargıların gelişimsel süreçlerine de ışık tutacağı düşünülmektedir. Sosyal Muhakeme Gelişim Modeli (Social Reasoning Developmental Model; Rutland, Killen ve Abrams, 2010) temel alınarak yürütülen bu tez, bildiğimiz kadarıyla, sosyoekonomik dışlamaya dair değerlendirmeleri ve yargıları ulusal ve uluslararası düzeyde inceleyen en kapsamlı çalışma özelliğini taşımaktadır.

Tez kapsamında ilki nitel ikincisi nicel olmak üzere iki çalışma yürütülmüştür. İlk nitel çalışma, çocuklar ve ebeveynleri ile yapılan görüşmeleri içermiştir. Bu çalışmada, ekonomik ve sosyal kaynaklara erişimin çocukların ve ebeveynlerinin ilişkilerini ve sosyal hayatlarını ne oranda biçimlendirdiğini anlamayı hedeflemiştir. İlk çalışmadan elde edilen içerik, çocukların ve ebeveynlerinin sosyoekonomik dışlama hakkındaki muhakemelerini incelemek için kullanılmıştır. Aynı zamanda gelişimsel değişiklikleri incelemek amacıyla, her iki çalışmada da orta çocukluk ve orta ergenlik dönemleri arasındaki geçişe odaklanarak 8-10 ve 14-16 yaş grubundaki çocukları ve aileleri çalışmaya dâhil edilmiştir. Buna ek olarak, düşük ve yüksek sosyoekonomik geçmişe sahip ailelere

ulaşılarak, iki grubun sosyoekonomik dışlamaya yaklaşımlarındaki olası farklılıklar ve benzerliklerin ortaya konması amaçlanmıştır.

### **Sosyoekonomik Düzeyin Kavramsallaştırılması**

Çalışmanın temelini oluşturması nedeniyle, SED'ye hangi açıdan bakıldığını ele almak önemlidir. Tarihsel süreç içinde SED –ya da bazı kaynaklarda kullanıldığı üzere sosyal sınıf– için farklı tanımlamalar kullanılmıştır (Côté, 2011). Bu çalışmada SED, sosyal, bilişsel ve kültürel bakış açılarının birleşimini yansıtan bir yaklaşım ile ele alınmıştır (Kraus, Piff, Mendoza-Denton, Rheinschmidt ve Keltner, 2012). Bu bakış açısına göre, bireylerin ekonomik ve sosyal kaynaklara erişimi onların bazı biliş, davranış ve sosyal statü algıları üzerinde etkili olmaktadır. Bu biçimde bireylerin sahip oldukları imkânlar ve toplumsal güç algılarının onların hem kendilik değerlendirmeleri hem de diğer insanlarla olan ilişkileri üzerinde etkili olduğu düşünülmektedir.

### **Kuramsal Çerçeve: Sosyal Muhakeme Gelişim Modeli**

Mevcut çalışmada, çocukların ve ebeveynlerinin sosyoekonomik dışlamaya dair muhakemelerini incelerken Sosyal Muhakeme Gelişim (SMG) Modeli temel alınmıştır (Killen ve Rutland, 2011; Rutland ve ark., 2010). Bu model, temel sosyal psikoloji ve gelişim psikolojisi kuramları olan Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı (Tajfel ve Turner, 1979), Gelişimsel Öznel Grup Dinamikleri Modeli (Developmental Subjective Group Dynamics Model; Abrams ve Rutland, 2008; Nesdale, 2004) ve Toplumsal Alan Kuramı (Smetana, 2006; Turiel, 2006) bakış açılarını birleştirerek, sosyal kararları ve değerlendirmeleri etkileyen gelişimsel süreçlere odaklanan sosyo-bilişsel bir modeldir. Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı ve ardından takip eden Gelişimsel Öznel Grup Dinamikleri Modeli önce yetişkinlerin, ardından yapılan çalışmalarda da çocukların hayatlarında iç ve dış grupların psikolojik etkilerine odaklanmıştır. Tıpkı yetişkinlerde olduğu gibi (Tajfel ve Turner, 1979), çocuklar için de üyesi oldukları sosyal grupların (cinsiyet, etnik köken, ırk gibi) menfaatini korumak benlik algıları ve özgüvenleri üzerinde olumlu etkiler göstermektedir (Nesdale, 2004). Bu yanlı ve kendi grubuna öncelik veren tutumların olumsuz çıktısı ise; yetişkinleri ve çocukları dış grup üyelerine karşı ayrımcı ve önyargılı tutumlara sahip olmaya itmesidir (Nesdale, Durkin, Maas, ve Griffiths, 2005). SMG modelinin önemli bileşenlerinden biri olan Toplumsal Alan Kuramı ise (Nucci,

2001; Smetana, 2006; Turiel, 2006) çocukların karmaşık sosyal durumlarda nasıl karar verdiklerine ve bu kararlarını nasıl gerekçelendirdiklerine dair önemli bir kuramsal temel sağlamaktadır. Sosyal Alan Kuramı sosyal durumların üç temel bilgi alanı altında değerlendirileceğini öne sürer. Bunlar ahlaki (moral), geleneksel (social-conventional) ve psikolojik (psychological) alanlardır. Ahlaki alan, adalet, eşitlik, haklar ve diğerlerinin refahı gibi konuları kapsarken, geleneksel alan, normlar, gelenekler, otorite gibi grupların işleyişini sağlayan düzenlemeleri içerir. Son olarak psikolojik alan, kişilerin bireysel seçimlerini ve tercihlerini ifade eder. Alan kuramı her üç alanın da sosyal etkileşimler ve deneyimler yoluyla geliştiğini ve öğrenildiğini göstermektedir (Turiel, 2006).

Tüm bu kuramsal yaklaşımları sentezleyerek, SMG Modeli önyargı ve ayrımcı tutumların gelişimine dair kapsamlı bir çerçeve sunmaktadır. Modelin temel argümanlarından biri olarak çocukların grup kimlikleri ve dinamikleri ile eşitlik, adalet gibi ahlaki değerlendirmelerin bir arada ele alındığı durumlarda bağlamın da gerekliliklerini göz önüne alarak karmaşık değerlendirmeler yapabildikleri birçok çalışmada gösterilmiştir (Crystal, Killen ve Ruck, 2010; Malti, Killen ve Gasser, 2012; Park, Lee-Kim, Killen, Park ve Kim, 2005). Çocukların değerlendirmeleri ve farklı dinamikleri aynı anda tartabilme becerisi yaş ile birlikte daha çok gelişmektedir. Mevcut tezde, SED'nin bir sosyal grup kimliği olması nedeniyle, SMG Modeli özellikle düşük sosyoekonomik koşullardaki bireylerin maruz kaldığı dışlama ve önyargıların hem çocuklar hem de ebeveynleri tarafından ne oranda ve hangi gerekçelerle kabul edilip edilmediğine kuramsal bir temel sağlamaktadır.

### **Gruplar Arası Dışlamaya Dair Değerlendirmeleri Etkileyen Faktörler**

**Yaş ve Gelişimsel Süreçler.** Mevcut çalışmada çocukların sosyoekonomik dışlamaya dair muhakemelerini etkileyen etkenlerden biri olarak yaş ele alınmıştır. SED ve buna bağlı eşitsizlikleri değerlendirmek çocukların varlık, sosyal statü, güç gibi soyut kavramları anlamalarını gerektirir. Geçmiş çalışmalar, çocukların ilk önce maddi mülkiyete işaret eden somut kavramlar üzerinden “zengin ve fakir” ayrımlarını yaptıklarını göstermiştir (Ramsey, 1991). Çocukluk döneminden başlayarak daha varlıklı algılanan kişilere daha ılımlı yaklaştıkları gözlemlenmiş (Shutts ve ark., 2016), daha fazla kaynağı olan grupları daha olumlu

değerlendirdikleri bulunmuştur (Horwitz ve ark., 2014). Orta çocukluk ve ergenlik yıllarında ise çocuklar, ekonomik ve sosyal eşitsizlikleri daha soyut düzeyde değerlendirmeye başlamaktadırlar. Eşitsizliklerin ardındaki yapısal ve sistemsel sorunları daha iyi kavrarırken (Emler ve Dickinson, 2005; Leahy, 1983), bu sorunların bireyler ve toplumlar üzerindeki olumsuz etkilerini de daha çok fark ederler (Flanagan ve ark., 2014).

Çocukların eşitsizlikler ve varlık gibi kavramlar ile ahlaki kaygılar ve grup dinamiklerini birlikte değerlendirmeleri, gruplar arası dışlamanın psikolojik ve sosyal çıktılarını anlamaları açısından önemlidir (Killen ve Smetana, 2015). Bu tezde odaklanılan orta çocukluktan orta ergenliğe geçiş süreci önyargı gelişimi ve önlenmesi açısından bir hayli önemlidir. Ergenler, çocuklarla karşılaştırıldığında, varsayımsal düşünme ve perspektif alma becerileri gibi soyut yargılarda daha gelişmiş bakış açılarına sahiptirler (Steinberg, Vandell ve Bornstein, 2010). Sosyal olarak ise ergenler, farklı geçmişlerden gelen akranlarla daha fazla temasa geçerler. Bu süreçte, gruplarının ve parçası oldukları toplulukların normlarını da içselleştirmeye devam ederler. Tüm bu sosyo-bilişsel gelişmeler ve sosyal deneyimlerdeki çeşitlilik, ergenleri ahlak, grup bağlılığı ve kişisel değerler gibi farklı konuları daha karmaşık düzeyde tartmaya ve öncelikler belirlemeye yöneltmektedir (Richardson, Hitti, Mulvey ve Killen, 2014).

**Sosyoekonomik Geçmiş.** Bu çalışmada ele alınan bir diğer etken katılımcıların sosyoekonomik geçmişleridir. Çocuklar doğdukları andan itibaren ailelerinin ve parçası oldukları toplulukların ekonomik ve sosyal imkânlarını deneyimlemeye başlarlar. Bu şekilde erken yaşlardan itibaren bireyler ait oldukları sosyoekonomik grubunun normlarını ve değerlerini de içselleştirmeye başlarlar (Bourdieu, 1985; Kraus, Piff, ve Keltner, 2009). Geçmiş çalışmalar, özellikle dezavantajlı koşullarda yaşayan çocukların, ailelerinin yaşadığı ekonomik ve sosyal sorunların farkında olduğunu (Weinger, 2000c), gelecek beklentilerini bu koşullara göre şekillendirdiklerini (Weinger, 2000a) ve dışlama, yetersiz hissetme gibi olumsuz deneyimleri paylaştıklarını göstermiştir (Weinger, 2000b). Yüksek sosyoekonomik koşullar ise “soğuk olma, kibirlilik” gibi olumsuz kalıpyargılar ile daha fazla eşleştirilmekte ve bu grupların daha az kapsayıcı oldukları düşünülmektedir (Burkholder, Elenbaas ve Killen, 2019). Daha varlıklı koşullardan

gelen bireylere oranla, dezavantajlı koşullarda yaşayan çocuk ve yetişkinlerin zorlu koşulları ve ayrımcılığı deneyimleyen taraf olarak, gruplar arası dışlama dinamiklerine daha az toleranslı yaklaştıkları ve bu davranışları daha fazla önyargı ve ayrımcılık olarak değerlendirdikleri gözlemlenmiştir (Burkholder ve ark., 2019; Killen, Henning, Kelly, Crystal, ve Ruck, 2007; Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin ve Stangor, 2002;). Bu çalışmada da katılımcıların düşük ya da yüksek sosyoekonomik koşullardan gelmelerinin, sosyoekonomik dışlamayı nasıl değerlendireceklerini ğini etkilemesi beklenmiştir.

**Dışlama Bağlamı.** Mevcut çalışmada odaklanılan son etken ise dışlama bağlamıdır. Önyargı ve ayrımcı tutumların nasıl dışa vurulduğu içinde bulunulan bağlamdan bir hayli etkilenmektedir. SMG Modeli temel alınarak yapılan bazı çalışmalarda yetişkinlerin bireyleri sosyal grup kimliklerine göre eğitim, oy verme gibi temel haklardan dışlamasının kabul edilemez değerlendirdikleri gözlemlenmiştir (Killen, Stangor, Price, Horn, ve Sechrist, 2004). Fakat söz konusu daha fazla fiziksel yakınlık ve sosyal temas gerektiren bağlamlar olduğunda (sosyal aktiviteler, birini eve davet etme, arkadaşlık kurma gibi), hem çocuklar hem de yetişkinler gruplar arası dışlamayı daha kabul edilebilir değerlendirmektedirler (Killen ve ark., 2002; Møller ve Tenenbaum, 2011). Değerlendirmelerdeki bağlamsal farklılıklar göz önüne alınarak, mevcut çalışmada çocuklar ve ebeveynlerinin sosyoekonomik dışlamaya dair değerlendirmeleri akran ilişkileri ve eğitimde ayrımcılık bağlamlarında ele alınmıştır.

## **Çalışma 1: Nitel Çalışma**

### **Amaç**

Bu tezin ilk çalışması olan bu nitel kısımda, çocuklar ve ebeveynleri ile bireysel görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Görüşmelerin ilk kısmında ekonomik ve sosyal kaynaklara erişimden bahsetmeden, katılımcılara arkadaşlıklar, sosyal etkileşimler ve okul deneyimleri hakkında genel sorular sorulmuştur. Bu sayede, çocukların ve ebeveynlerinin hayatlarını SED ve ilgili dinamiklerin ne ölçüde ve hangi bağlamlarda etkilediğini tarafsız bir biçimde öğrenmek amaçlanmıştır. Görüşmelerin ikinci bölümünde ise, çocukların ve ebeveynlerinin farklı sosyoekonomik koşullara yönelik bakış açıları ve tutumları doğrudan araştırılmıştır. Katılımcılara, dezavantajlı ve ayrıcalıklı yaşam koşullarını yansıtan fotoğraflar

gösterilmiş ve bu koşullarda yaşayan bireylerle iletişim kurma istekleri ile ilgili sorular sorulmuştur. Bu bölümde, farklı sosyoekonomik grupların birbirleriyle etkileşime girme istekliliği ve nedenlerini anlamak amaçlanmıştır.

### **Yöntem**

**Katılımcılar.** Bu çalışmaya katılan ailelerin SED'si ortalama hane eğitimi temel alınarak hesaplanmıştır (Kalaycıoğlu, Çelik, Çelen ve Türkyılmaz, 2010). Bu ölçüte göre ortalama hane eğitimi sekiz yıl ve altı olan aileler düşük; on üç yıl ve üstü eğitim ortalamasına sahip aileler ise yüksek SED olarak ayrılmıştır. İlk Çalışmaya Ankara'da ikamet eden otuz üç ebeveyn-çocuk çifti katılmıştır. Bu çiftlerin on yedisi düşük, kalan on altısı ise yüksek sosyoekonomik koşullarda yaşamaktadır. Düşük sosyoekonomik koşullarda yaşayan çocukların sekizi 8-10 yaş grubunda iken, dokuzu 14-16 yaş aralığındadır. Yüksek sosyoekonomik koşullarda yaşayan çocukların ise sekizi 8-10 yaş grubunda ve diğer sekizi de 14-16 yaş aralığındadır.

**İşlem.** Çalışma izni Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından sağlanmıştır. Çalışmaya katılmayı kabul eden aileler evlerinde ziyaret edilmiştir. Ebeveyn onam formları ve çocuk sözlü onamlarının toplanmasının ardından, çocuklar ve ebeveynleri bireysel görüşmelere katılmışlardır. Yarı-yapılandırılmış görüşmeler ortalama 35-40 dakika sürmüştür ve görüşmelerde ses kaydı alınmıştır.

### **1. Kısım: Arkadaşlıklar, Sosyal İlişkiler ve Okul Deneyimleri**

Görüşmeler, birbirini tamamlayıcı iki kısımdan oluşmuştur. Bu nedenle her parçanın analizi kendi içinde yapılmıştır. İlk kısmın amacı; ekonomik ve sosyal kaynaklara erişimin katılımcıların hayatlarında, ilişkilerini ve sosyal etkileşimlerini düzenleyici bir etken olarak görüp görmediklerini anlamaktır. Aynı zamanda, kaynaklara erişim önemli ise; düşük ve yüksek sosyoekonomik koşullardan gelen ailelerin deneyimlerindeki benzerlik ve farklılıklara ulaşmak hedeflenmiştir. Bu kısımda katılımcılara çocukların akran ilişkileri ve okul deneyimleri ile ilgili genel sorular yöneltilmiştir (bkz. Ek A). Görüşme soruları, çalışma öncesinde gerçekleştirilen bir odak grup görüşmesi temel alınarak oluşturulmuştur.

**Analiz.** Ses kaydı alınan görüşmeler ilk önce birebir deşifre edilmiştir. Ardından, görüşmeler ekonomik ve sosyal kaynaklara erişim ve SED ile ilgili

kısımları tematik analiz ile incelenmiştir (Braun ve Clarke, 2006). Kodlama şemasını oluşturma sürecinde araştırmacılar ilk olarak beş görüşme üzerinde çalışmış ve geçici kodlama şemalarını oluşturmuşlardır. Ardından, yedi görüşme daha kodlanmış ve bazı temalar içerik ve anlam açısından gözden geçirilip düzenlenmiştir. Final kodlama şemaları oluşturulduktan sonra tüm veri birinci yazar tarafından kodlanmıştır. Kodlama, toplumsal inşacılık bakış açısı ve tümevarım yöntemi takip edilerek MAXQDA 12 yazılımı ile tamamlanmıştır. Tema ve alt temaları oluştururken çocuk ve ebeveyn görüşmeleri ayrı ayrı ele alınmıştır. Fakat kodlama ilerledikçe, çocuk ve ebeveynlerin görüşmelerinde ortaya çıkan tema yapısının büyük oranda aynı olduğu gözlemlenmiştir.

**Sonuçlar.** Tema analizinin sonuçlarına göre çocuklar ve ebeveynleri kaynaklara sınırlı erişimin olduğu ve refah koşulları belirli deneyimlerle eşleştirmişlerdir. Çocuklar ve ebeveynleri ekonomik ve sosyal kaynaklara erişimde zorluk yaşayan bireyler ve dezavantajlı koşullardan bahsederken, *ilişkisel bağlamlarda soyutlanma ve dışlanma, eğitimde ihmal ve dışlanma, ebeveyn ihmali ve dezavantajlı yaşam koşullarına kalıpyargı atıfları* alt temalarını kullanmışlardır. Bu koşullardan bahsederken sadece ebeveynlerde gözlemlenen bir alt tema ise bir *iç grup ölçütü olarak kaynakların azlığı* alt teması ortaya çıkmıştır.

Refah yaşam koşullarından ve varlıklı ailelerden bahsederken ise hem çocuk hem ebeveynlerin görüşmelerinde *hayatta öncelik ve ayrıcalıklı muamele elde etme, sosyal yaşamın düzenleyicileri olarak finansal kaynaklar, ekonomik kaynaklar ile popülerlik ve güven kazanma, varlıklı yaşam koşullarına kalıpyargı atıfları* alt temaları bulunmuştur. Sadece ebeveyn görüşmelerinde ise *bir iç grup ölçütü olarak sosyal sermaye* alt temasına rastlanmıştır.

## **2. Kısım: Seçilmiş Fotoğraflar ile Dezavantajlı ve Varlıklı Koşulları Değerlendirme**

Görüşmelerin ilk kısmı tamamlandıktan sonra ikinci kısımda katılımcılardan dezavantajlı ve varlıklı koşulları doğrudan değerlendirmeleri istenmiştir. Bu amaçla, öncül çalışmada bu koşulları temsil edecek ve özellikle çocukların ilgili koşulları somutlaştırılabilmesine yardımcı olacak fotoğraflar seçilmiştir. Bu fotoğraflar eşliğinde katılımcılardan gösterilen koşullarda yaşayan bireyleri ve bu bireyler ile iletişim kurma/arkadaş olma isteklerini belirtmeleri istenmiştir (bkz. Ek



B). Görüşmelerin kodlaması ve analizinde ilk kısımdaki işlemler takip edilmiştir.

### **Sonuçlar**

**Dezavantajlı yaşam koşulları.** Çocuklar ve ebeveynleri dezavantajlı yaşam koşullarını değerlendirirken birçok tanımlama yapmışlardır. Bu tanımlamalar; *kaynaklara sınırlı erişim ve zorluklar, kırsal ve uzak bölgelere referans, mavi yakalı işler ve kırsal alanlarda istihdam ve mali sınırlar içinde yaşamak* olmuştur. Dezavantajlı koşullarda yaşayan bireylere *ilişkisel ve sıcak olma, azimli ve hırslı olma, mütevazı olma* gibi olumlu atıfların yanında *olumsuz kalıpyargılar* da atfedilmiştir. Bu koşullarda yaşayan bireylerle olası ilişki kurma ve iletişime geçme sorularına ise; düşük SED’de yaşayan bazı çocuk ve ebeveynler yaşam koşullarındaki benzerlik üzerinden olumlu yaklaşırken, yüksek SED’den gelen bazı katılımcılar ise hayat şartlarındaki farklılıklar sebebiyle bu bireylerden uzak durmayı tercih edeceklerini iletmişlerdir.

**Varlıklı yaşam koşulları.** Benzer biçimde çocuklar ve ebeveynleri varlıklı yaşam koşullarını değerlendirirken zenginlik ve beyaz yaka işlerde istihdam gibi tanımlamalar yapmışlardır. Bu koşullarda yaşayan bireyler için kibirli olma, hak edilmeyen kazanımlar gibi olumsuz atıfların yanında meritokrasi atıfları da yapılmıştır. Son olarak, varlıklı yaşam koşullarında yaşayan bireyler ile yüksek SED’den gelen birçok katılımcı yaşam koşullarındaki benzerlik nedeniyle bu kişilerle anlaşacağını belirtirken, düşük SED’den gelen birçok katılımcı ise bu bireylerle anlaşamayacağını ve onlardan uzak kalmayı tercih edeceğini belirtmiştir.

## **Çalışma 2**

### **Amaç ve Hipotezler**

İlk çalışmanın sonuçları, ekonomik ve sosyal kaynaklara erişimin çocuklar ve ebeveynleri tarafından akran ilişkilerini, sosyal hayatlarını ve eğitim deneyimlerini etkileyen ve düzenleyen bir etken olarak değerlendirildiğini göstermiştir. Bu çalışmadan elde edilen veriler ışığında ikinci çalışma olarak bir nicel çalışma yürütülmüştür. Nicel çalışmanın ölçüm materyalleri katılımcıların nitel görüşmelerdeki paylaşımları ve ortaya çıkan temalar üzerine oluşturulmuştur (bkz. Ek E).

Bu ikinci çalışmanın amacı çocukların ve ebeveynlerin bir dışlama kriteri olarak sosyoekonomik düzeyi nasıl değerlendirdiklerini anlamaktır. Bu incelemeyi

yaparken çocukların yaşı, ailenin sosyoekonomik geçmişi ve dışlama bağlamı bağımsız değişkenler olarak ele alınmıştır. Çalışmanın hipotezleri şu şekildedir:

1) 8-10 yaş çocuklarına göre, 14-16 yaş grubundaki çocukların sosyoekonomik dışlamayı daha az kabul edilebilir değerlendirmeleri ve bu dinamiğe yüksek oranda bir ayrımcılık türü ve ahlaki ihlal olarak yaklaşmaları beklenmiştir.

2) Aile sosyoekonomik geçmişinin hem çocukların hem de ebeveynlerinin muhakemelerini etkilemesi beklenmiştir. Özellikle düşük sosyoekonomik koşullardan gelen katılımcıların sosyoekonomik dışlamayı daha az kabul edilebilir bulmaları ve daha fazla ahlaki değerlendirmeler yapmaları beklenmiştir. Yüksek sosyoekonomik koşullardan gelen katılımcıların ise statükoyu korumaya daha fazla meyilli olması beklenmiştir

3) Son olarak dışlama bağlamının hem çocukların hem de ebeveynlerinin muhakemelerini etkilemesi beklenmiştir. Akran bağlamındaki sosyoekonomik dışlamanın, daha kabul edilebilir olarak değerlendirileceği eğitimde ayrımcılığın ise daha fazla ayrımcılık ve hak ihlali temelinde değerlendirileceği öngörülmüştür.

## **Yöntem**

**İşlem.** Çalışma izinleri Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu ve Ankara İl Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü tarafından sağlanmıştır. Özellikle düşük ve yüksek SED ailelere ulaşılması hedeflendiği için izin aşamasında Çankaya, Altındağ, Keçiören ve Mamak semtlerine odaklanılmıştır. Okullarda çalışma duyuruları yapıldıktan sonra çocuklarının katılmasını kabul eden ve kendileri ölçümleri dolduran tüm ebeveynlerin çocukları çalışmaya dâhil edilmiştir. Ebeveynler için onam formları ve çalışma ölçümleri kapalı zarflar içinde eve gönderilmiştir. Çocuklar ise çalışmaya okul ortamında katılmışlardır.

**Katılımcılar.** İlk çalışmada olduğu gibi katılımcıların SED'leri ortalama hane eğitimi ölçütüne göre belirlenmiştir. Belirlenen eğitim ölçütüne uymayan ailelerden gelen katılımcılar son katılımcı setinden çıkartılmıştır. Bu ikinci çalışmaya toplam 270 ebeveyn-çocuk çifti katılmıştır. 144 çift düşük sosyoekonomik, 126 çift ise yüksek sosyoekonomik koşullarda yaşamaktadır. Her sosyoekonomik grup içinde 8-10 ve 14-16 yaş gruplarından çocuklar bulunmaktadır (bkz. Tablo 6).

**Ölçümler.** Çocuklar ve ebeveynleri demografik bilgiler, algılanan sosyal statü ve sosyal dışlama hikâyeleri olmak üzere aynı ölçümleri tamamlamışlardır. Dışlama hikâyeleri katılımcıların nitel çalışmadaki paylaşımlarına dayalı olarak oluşturulmuş olup düşük ve yüksek sosyoekonomik koşullardan bireylerin karşılaştığı durumları içermiştir. Katılımcılar üçü akran ortamından dışlama üçü ise eğitimde ayrımcılık olmak üzere toplamda altı hikâyeyi okuyup ardından gelen altı soruyu yanıtlamışlardır. Yanıtlanan sorular şu biçimdedir:

1) Dışlama değerlendirmeleri (1-5 Likert tipi, “Okulun, yaz kampına Ela’yı göndermemesi ne kadar kabul edilemez bir şeydir ya da kabul edilebilir bir şeydir?”)

2) Dışlama değerlendirmelerinin gerekçelendirmeleri (“Neden bu puanı verdin, üstteki soru için”)

3) Dışlayan karaktere niyet atıfları (“Neden okul yaz kampına Ela’yı göndermemiştir?”)

4) Dışlanan karaktere duygu atıfları (“Sence Ela yaz kampı için seçilmediğini öğrendiğinde nasıl hissetmiştir?”)

5) Duygu atıflarının gerekçelendirmeleri (“Sence Ela neden böyle hissetmiştir?”)

6) Dışlamaya olası çözümler (“Sen okul yönetimi yerinde olsan ne yapardın?”)

### **Kodlama Şemalarının Oluşturulması ve Veri Analizi**

Katılımcıların hikâyelerdeki sorulara verdikleri yanıtlar, analize hazır hale getirilmek için birtakım kodlama süreçlerinden geçirilmişlerdir. Dışlama değerlendirmeleri hariç diğer beş soru katılımcıların açık uçlu olarak cevaplarını yazmalarını gerektirmiştir. Bu sorulara verilen yanıtlar için, her soru içinde ayrı ayrı olmak üzere, kodlama şemaları oluşturulmuştur. Bu kodlama şemaları hem geçmiş çalışmalar (Burkholder ve ark., 2019; Elenbaas ve Killen, 2016b; Killen ve Rutland, 2011; Malti, Ongley, Dys ve Colasante, 2012) hem de katılımcılardan toplanan veri ışığında oluşturulmuştur. Kodlama şemaları oluşturulduktan sonra katılımcıların cevapları sayısal değerlere dönüştürülmüştür. Örneğin, dışlayan karaktere niyet atıfları sorusunda analize katılan dört kategori vardır (bkz. Tablo 8). Katılımcılar bu soruda kodlama kategorilerden birini kullandıklarında 1, ikisini

kullandıklarında ise .50 puanını almışlardır. Her katılımcı için her hikâyede ve her hikâyeye altındaki beş soruda bu puanlama işlemi tekrarlanmış ve ortalamaları alınmıştır (ortalamalar akran ortamında dışlama ve eğitimde ayrımcılık hikâyeleri içinde alınmıştır). Bu ortalama puanlar tekrarlı ölçüm değişkenleri olarak analizlere eklenmiştir. Katılımcıların yanıtları SPSS 25 yazılımı kullanılarak tekrarlı ölçümler karma desen ANOVA analizleri ile test edilmiştir. Post hoc testleri için Bonferroni yöntemi ve eşleştirilmiş örneklem t-testleri gerçekleştirilmiştir.

### **Çocuklara Ait Sonuçlar**

**Dışlama Değerlendirmeleri.** Analiz sonuçları çocuk yaşının  $F(1, 250) = 9.127, p = .003, \eta_p^2 = .035$  ve dışlama bağlamının dışlama değerlendirmeleri üzerinde etkili olduğunu göstermiştir  $F(1, 250) = 5.769, p = .017, \eta_p^2 = .023$ . Küçük çocuklara oranla, büyük çocuklar sosyoekonomik dışlamayı daha az kabul edilebilir değerlendirmişlerdir. Yaştan bağımsız olarak çocuklar, akran bağlamında sosyoekonomik dışlamayı eğitimde ayrımcılığa göre daha fazla kabul edilebilir değerlendirmişlerdir. Yaş, aile sosyoekonomik geçmişi ve dışlama bağlamı arasındaki etkileşim ise ( $F(1, 250) = 4.611, p = .033, \eta_p^2 = .02$ ) düşük SED ailelerden gelen büyük çocukların sosyoekonomik dışlamayı daha az kabul edilebilir bulduğunu göstermiştir.

**Dışlama Değerlendirmelerinin Gereçeklendirmeleri.** Çocuklar dışlama değerlendirmelerine verdikleri puanları çeşitli gerçeklendirmeler ile açıklamışlardır. Bu gerçeklendirmeler üzerinde çocukların yaşının ( $F(3.391, 64.829) = 16.131, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .057$ ), dışlama bağlamının ( $F(2.28, 750.45) = 39.95, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .13$ ) ve aile sosyoekonomik geçişinin ( $F(2.54, 663.39) = 3.003, p = .038, \eta_p^2 = .012$ ) etkili olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Küçük çocuklara oranla, büyük çocuklar daha fazla SED'ye dayalı haksız muamelenin yanlışlığı üzerinde dururken, küçük çocuklar sosyal dışlamanın yanlışlığı gerçeklendirmelerini daha fazla kullanmışlardır. Dışlama bağlamının etkilerinde ise; eğitimde ayrımcılık hikâyelerinde daha fazla SED'ye dayalı haksız muamelenin yanlışlığı ve hakkaniyeti sağlamanın önemi gerçeklendirmeleri üzerinde durulurken, akran bağlamında dışlama hikâyelerinde ise sosyal dışlamanın yanlışlığı gerçeklendirmeleri kullanılmıştır. Benzer şekilde, düşük SED ailelerden gelen çocuklar SED'ye dayalı haksız muamelenin yanlışlığı üzerinde daha fazla dururken

yüksek SED ailelerden gelen çocuklar daha fazla statükoyu koruma üzerinde durmuşlardır.

**Dışlayan Karaktere Niyet Atıfları.** Çocuklar hikâyelerdeki dışlayan karaktere niyet atıfları yaparken tüm çalışma değişkenlerinin etkili olduğu bulunmuştur. Çocuk yaşı ve dışlama bağlamının etkileşim sonuçları ( $F(2.164, 575.58) = 5.609, p = .003, \eta_p^2 = .021$ ) akran bağlamında dışlama hikâyelerinde küçük çocukların dışlayan karaktere pratik nedenler niyet atfını daha fazla yaptıklarını göstermiştir. Büyük çocuklar ise; SED'ye dayalı ayrımcılık ve haksız muamele ile statükoyu koruma niyet atıflarını daha fazla yapmışlardır. Eğitimde ayrımcılık hikâyelerinde ise küçük çocuklar dışlayan karaktere daha fazla otorite karar ve kurallarına uyma niyetlerini atfederken, büyük çocuklarda yine statükoyu koruma niyet atıfları daha fazla gözlemlenmiştir.

Aile sosyoekonomik geçmişi ve çocuk yaşı etkileşiminde ise ( $F(1.731, 460.374) = 5.523, p = .006, \eta_p^2 = .020$ ) düşük SED ailelerden gelen küçük çocukların daha fazla otorite karar ve kurallarına uyma niyet atıfları gözlemlenmiştir. Yine düşük SED ailelerden gelen büyük çocuklar SED'ye dayalı ayrımcılık ve haksız muamele atıflarını daha fazla yaparken yüksek SED ailelerden gelen büyük çocuklar ise statükoyu koruma niyet atıflarını daha fazla kullanmışlardır.

**Dışlanan Karaktere Duygu Atıfları.** Küçük çocuklar büyüklere oranla hikâyelerde dışlanan karakterin üzgün ve yalnız hissettiklerini daha fazla düşünmüşlerdir ( $F(1.283, 341.162) = 24.104, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .083$ ). Büyükler ise dışlanan karakterin daha fazla ihmal edilmiş ve haksızlığa uğramış hissettiklerini ve küçük düşürülmüş hissettiklerini söylemişlerdir. Aile sosyoekonomik geçişinin etkilerinde ( $F(1.283, 341.162) = 5.71, p = .011, \eta_p^2 = .021$ ) ise düşük SED ailelerden gelen çocukların üzgün ve yalnız hissetme duygusunu daha fazla kullandıkları, yüksek SED ailelerden gelen çocukların ise dışlanan karakterin ihmal edilmiş ve haksızlığa uğramış hissettiklerini daha fazla raporlamışlardır.

**Dışlanan Karaktere Duygu Atıflarının Gerekçelemeleri.** Çocukların raporladıkları duyguların gerekçelemeleri yaşlarından ( $F(2.294, 120.682) = 15.279, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .054$ ) ve dışlama bağlamından ( $F(2.263, 40.897) = 14.049, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .050$ ) etkilenmiştir. Büyüklere oranla, küçük çocuklar daha fazla

dışlama ve ihmal gerekçelendirmelerini kullanmışlardır. Büyükler ise SED'e dayalı kalıpyargı ve haksız muameleyle maruz kaldıkları ile dışlanan karakterlerin belirttikleri duyguları hissedeceklerini düşünmüşlerdir. Dışlama bağlamı etkilerinde ise akran bağlamında dışlama hikâyelerinde empati gerekçelendirmelerini daha fazla kullanılırken, eğitimde ayrımcılık hikâyelerinde ise kaynak azlığı nedeniyle eğitimde imkân kaçırma gerekçelendirmeleri daha fazla kullanılmıştır.

**Dışlamaya Olası Çözümler.** Çocuklara hikâyelerdeki durumda siz olsanız ne yapardınız sorusu sorulduğunda çocuklar çeşitli çözümler önermişlerdir. Bu çözümleri etkileyen etkenlerden biri dışlama bağlamı olmuştur ( $F(2.56, 681.75) = 574.70, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .684$ ). Akran bağlamında dışlama hikâyelerinde dâhil etme, dışlama ve otorite onayı arama çözümleri daha fazla önerilirken, eğitimde ayrımcılık hikâyelerinde hakkaniyeti sağlama ve herkese eşit davranma çözümleri daha fazla önerilmiştir. Aile sosyoekonomik geçmişinin ve dışlama bağlamının etkileşiminde ise ( $F(2.56, 681.75) = 3.74, p = .016, \eta_p^2 = .015$ ) düşük SED ailelerden gelen çocuklar herkese eşit davranma çözümünü daha fazla önerirken yüksek SED ailelerden gelen çocuklar ise dışlama çözümünü daha fazla önermişlerdir. Eğitimde ayrımcılık hikâyelerinde ise düşük SED ailelerden gelen çocuklar daha fazla hakkaniyeti sağlama çözümünü önermişlerdir.

### **Ebeveynlere Ait Sonuçlar**

Ebeveynlerin sonuçlarında tek etki dışlama bağlamı değişkeninde gözlemlenirken aile sosyoekonomik geçmişinin etkisi bulunmamıştır. Çocuklar gibi ebeveynler de akran bağlamında sosyoekonomik dışlamayı daha kabul edilebilir bulmuşlardır,  $F(1, 240) = 4.4298, p = .036, \eta_p^2 = .02$ . Bu değerlendirmelerini, akran bağlamında dışlama hikâyelerinde daha fazla dışlamanın yanlışlığı; eğitimde ayrımcılık hikâyelerinde ise hakkaniyeti sağlamanın önemi üzerinde daha fazla durarak gerekçelendirmişlerdir,  $F(3.06, 806.76) = 53.575, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .167$ . Hikâyelerde dışlayan karaktere yapılan niyet atıfları aynı şekilde bağlamdan etkilenmiştir,  $F(1.968, 527.517) = 20.292, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .070$ . Ebeveynler akran bağlamında dışlama için daha fazla SED'ye dayalı ayrımcılık ve haksız muamele atıflarını yaparken eğitimde ayrımcılık için dışlayan karaktere pratik nedenler niyet atfını daha fazla yapmışlardır. Dışlanan karakterin akran bağlamında dışlamada küçük düşürülmüş hissettiklerini daha fazla söylemişlerdir,  $F(1.521, 407.614) =$

8.194,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .030$ . Eğitimde ayrımcılık hikâyelerinde dışlanan karakterin üzgün ve yalnız hissettiklerini daha fazla düşünen ebeveynler, bu duygu atıflarını kaynak azlığı nedeniyle eğitimde imkân kaçırma gerekçelendirmeleri ile açıklamışlardır ( $F(3.657, 41.13) = 23.827$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .082$ ). Son olarak, dışlamaya olası çözümler, çocukların önerileri ile aynı yapıyı göstermiştir,  $F(2.92, 782.80) = 608.26$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .694$ . Ebeveynler, akran bağlamında dışlama hikâyelerinde dâhil etme, dışlama ve otorite onayı arama çözümleri daha fazla önerirken, eğitimde ayrımcılık hikâyelerinde hakkaniyeti sağlama ve herkese eşit davranma çözümleri daha fazla önerilmiştir.

### **Ebeveynler ve Çocukları Arasındaki Dışlama Değerlendirme Uyumu**

Ebeveynler ve çocuklarının dışlama değerlendirmeleri arasındaki uyum keşfedici analiz olarak yapılmıştır. Ebeveynlerin akran bağlamında dışlama değerlendirmeleri ile çocuklarının aynı bağlamdaki değerlendirmeleri arasındaki korelasyon anlamlıdır,  $r = .165$ ,  $p = .009$ . Benzer bir ilişki eğitimde ayrımcılık hikâyeleri için de gözlemlenmiştir,  $r = .215$ ,  $p = .001$ . Bu ilişkiler çocukların yaşlarına göre incelendiğinde, ebeveynlerin akran bağlamında dışlama değerlendirmeleri ile 81-0 yaş grubundaki çocuklarının akran bağlamında dışlama ve eğitimde ayrımcılık değerlendirmeleri arasındaki korelasyonlar anlamlıdır. Ebeveynlerin eğitimde ayrımcılık değerlendirmeleri ile 14-16 yaş aralığındaki çocuklarının eğitimde ayrımcılık değerlendirmeleri de ilişkili bulunmuştur,  $r = .330$ ,  $p < .001$ .

### **Tartışma**

Bu tezin amacı, sosyoekonomik düzey ve ilgili psikososyal dinamiklerin çocuklar ve ebeveynleri tarafından gruplar arası bir dışlama kriteri olarak nasıl ve hangi bağlamlarda kullanıldığını anlamaktır. Bu amaca ulaşmak için, keşifsel ardışık karma yöntemler tasarımı benimsenmiştir. İlk adım olarak, ekonomik ve sosyal kaynaklara erişimin bireylerin yaşamlarını, sosyal etkileşimlerini ve günlük deneyimlerini nasıl şekillendirdiğini anlamak için çocuklar ve ebeveynleri ile nitel bir görüşme çalışması yapılmıştır. Bu görüşmelerden elde edilen bilgiler, kaynaklara erişimin, katılımcıların yaşamlarını düzenlemede önemli bir etken olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. İlk çalışmaya dayanarak, ikinci nicel çalışma çocukların ve ebeveynlerinin sosyoekonomik dışlama hakkındaki muhakemelerini

ve bu süreci etkileyen faktörleri arařtırmak için tasarlanmıřtır. Sonuçlar, SMG Modelini destekleyerek, gelişimsel farklılıklar ile katılımcıların sosyoekonomik geçmiři ve dışlama bağlamı gibi etkilerin olduğunu göstermiştir.

### **Nitel Çalışmaya Dair Bulgular**

Nitel çalışma hem yöntemsel özellikleri hem de bulguları ile önemli bilgiler sağlamıştır. Özellikle SED (ya da sosyal sınıf) konularını ele alan geçmiş çalışmalarda katılımcılara ilgili dinamikleri açık bir şekilde değerlendirmeleri yönünde yönergeler verilmiştir (örn., Barreiro, Arsenio ve Wainryb, 2019; Bessell, 2019; Brown, Spears, Mistry ve Bigler, 2007; Calarco, 2014; Enesco ve Navarro, 2003; Flanagan ve ark., 2014). Mevcut çalışmada ise katılımcılara bu dinamikleri değerlendirmeleri istenmeden önce arkadaşlıklar ve sosyal hayat ile ilgili genel sorular sorulmuş, önemli görüldüğü takdirde ekonomik ve sosyal kaynaklara erişimin katılımcılar tarafından paylaşması beklenmiştir. Sonuçlar kaynaklara erişim ve SED'nin katılımcıların hayatını birçok düzeyde etkilediğini göstermiştir. Bir diğer önemli nokta ise, çocuklar ve ebeveynleri tarafından paylaşılan deneyimlerin benzerliğidir. Çocuklar ve ebeveynleri görüşmelere ayrı olarak alınmış; analizlerde ise bu iki veri seti ayrı olarak tematik analize tabii tutulmuştur. Fakat çocuklar, tıpkı ebeveynleri gibi ekonomik ve sosyal kaynaklara erişimi hayatlarını etkileyen önemli faktörler olarak ele almışlardır. Örneklemdaki en küçük çocukların sekiz yaş grubunda olduğu göz önüne alındığında, bu yaş dönemindeki çocukların da kaynaklara erişimi birtakım deneyimlerle ve ayrıcalıklarla eşleştirmeleri çok önemlidir.

Katılımcılar kaynaklara kısıtlı erişim koşullarında sosyal dışlama, ihmal edilme, içine kapanma, eğitimde ayrımcılık gibi deneyimlerden bahsetmişlerdir. Bu kaygılar geçmiş çalışmalarda da çocuklar tarafından paylaşılmış olup özellikle dezavantajlı koşullarda yaşayan çocukların çok erken yaşlarda fark ettiği ve deneyimlediği dinamikler olduğu gözlemlenmiştir (Rauscher, Friedline ve Banerjee, Ridge, 2002; Weinger, 2000a). Kaynaklara erişimin daha rahat olduğu koşullar ise hem çocuklar hem de ebeveynleri tarafından ayrıcalık sağlama, popülerlik kazanma, haksız kazanç elde etme gibi deneyimlerle eşleştirilmiştir. Özellikle finansal kaynakların varlığı ve sosyal sermaye gibi faktörler yüksek sosyoekonomik koşullardan gelen katılımcılar tarafından daha yaygın biçimde



önemli olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Görüşmelerin kısıtlı ve refah kaynaklara erişimi doğrudan değerlendirildiği parçanın sonuçları ise, farklı sosyoekonomik koşullardan gelen katılımcıların birçok nedenle birbirlerinden uzak kalmayı tercih ettiklerini göstermiştir. Her sosyoekonomik grubun bireyleri kendi şartlarına benzer koşulları değerlendirirken benzerliklere atıfta bulunup o koşullarda yaşayan bireyler ile iletişim kurup anlayacaklarını belirtirken, kendilerinden daha iyi ya da kötü sosyoekonomik koşulları değerlendirirken farklılıklar nedeniyle anlayamayacaklarını düşünmüşlerdir. Bu örüntü hem çocuklar hem de yetişkinler tarafından paylaşılmıştır. Dolayısıyla, farklı sosyoekonomik koşullarda yaşayan bireylerin hem fiziksel hem de psikolojik olarak uzak hayatlar yaşamalarının küçük yaşlardan itibaren fark edilip pratiğe döküldüğü söylenebilir.

### **Nicel Çalışmaya Dair Bulgular**

Nicel çalışmanın bulguları, SMG Modelinin temel aldığı birçok argümanı destekler sonuçtadır (Killen ve Rutland, 2011; Rutland ve ark., 2001). Hem çocuklar hem de ebeveynleri sosyoekonomik düzeye gruplar arası dışlama kriteri ve bir tür ayrımcılık olarak yaklaşmışlardır. Katılımcıların çoğu bu ayrımcılığa karşı tutum sergileyip, yanlışlığını adaletsizlik gibi ahlaki temellerde değerlendirmişlerdir. Bu genel örüntüye rağmen, çalışma değişkenlerinin katılımcıların sosyoekonomik dışlamaya dair muhakemeleri üzerinde etkili olduğu bulunmuştur.

Çalışmanın öne çıkan bulgularından biri çocukların kronolojik yaşına aittir. Genel hatlarıyla, büyük yaşta çocuklar küçüklere oranla sosyoekonomik dışlamayı daha az kabul edilebilir değerlendirmişler, bu değerlendirmelerinin gerekçelendirmelerinde ise bir bireyi sahip olduğu kaynakların azlığı nedeniyle dışlamanın ahlaki yanlışlığı üzerinde daha fazla durmuşlardır. Benzer bir örüntü hikâyelerde dışlayan karaktere yapılan niyet atıflarında da mevcuttur. Hikâyelerde kendilerine sunulan dinamiklerin arka planında ekonomik ve sosyal eşitsizlikler ile güç ve statü algılarının olduğunu daha iyi kavradıkları gözlemlenmiştir. Yine büyük çocuklar, dışlanan karaktere aşağılanmış hissetmek, kalıpyargı ve haksız muameleye maruz kalmış hissetmek gibi daha karmaşık ve soyut duygular atfetmişlerdir. Küçük çocuklar ise dışlamayı yanlış bulsa da bu durumu daha fazla sosyal dışlama üzerinden değerlendirmiş; ilişkili sosyoekonomik dinamiklere daha

az odaklanmışlardır. Bu gelişimsel bulgular geçmiş çalışmalarla da uyumludur ve hipotezleri desteklemiştir. Büyük çocuklar, bilişsel gelişim süreçleri ve sosyal deneyimlerindeki artış ile gruplar arası ayrımcılığı bireysel ve sosyal düzlemlerde daha iyi değerlendirebilmekte, bu dinamiklerin ahlaki sonuçlarını daha iyi kavrayabilmektedirler (Flanagan ve ark., 2014; Killen ve ark., 2001; Killen ve Stangor, 2001; Møller ve Tenenbaum, 2011). Önemli bir nokta ise küçük yaştaki katılımcıların yine birçoğu sosyoekonomik dışlamayı kabul etmediklerini söyleyip bunun bir tür ayrımcılık olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Fakat bu değerlendirme biçimi büyük çocuklar arasında daha yaygındır.

Genel olarak etki büyüklükleri diğer sonuçlara göre düşük olmasına rağmen, çocukların sosyoekonomik geçmişi muhakemeleri üzerinde etkili olmuştur. Bu etkinin özellikle çocukların yaşı ve dışlama bağlamı ile etkileşim içinde daha da anlam kazandığı gözlemlenmiştir. Düşük SED ailelerden gelen büyük çocukların sosyoekonomik dışlamayı daha az kabul edilebilir değerlendirmesi, daha fazla eşitlikçi gerekçelendirmeler yapmaları ve hikâyelerdeki dışlamalara daha fazla adaleti ve hakkaniyeti sağlama yöneliminde olmaları hem yaş hem de içinde bulunulan sosyoekonomik koşulların etkilerini destekler niteliktedir. Dezavantajlı koşullarda yaşayan çocuk ve yetişkinlerin halihazırda maruz kaldıkları eşitsizlik ve adil olmayan tutumlar nedeniyle farkındalığı daha gelişmiş bakış açılarına sahip oldukları düşünülmektedir (Burkholder ve ark., 2019; Malti ve ark., 2012; Weinger, 2000a). Yüksek SED ailelerden gelen çocuklar ise sosyoekonomik dışlamayı daha olağan görmüş ve var olan düzeni korumaya yönelik statüko atıflarında bulunmuşlardır. Kendi hayatlarında sahip oldukları imkânlar ve ayrıcalıklar, daha varlıklı ailelerden gelen çocukların eşitsizliklerin ve sonuçlarının daha az farkında olmasına ve sahip oldukları konumları ya da düzeni korumaya daha fazla motive oldukları geçmiş çalışmalarda da gözlemlenmiştir (Bigler, Brown ve Markell, 2001; Flanagan ve Kornbluh, 2019).

Güçlü bir etki ise dışlama bağlamı değişkeninde ortaya çıkmıştır. Hem çocuklar hem de ebeveynleri akran ortamından dışlama ile eğitimde ayrımcılık bağlamlarını farklı değerlendirmişlerdir. Akran ortamından dışlama daha fazla kabul edilebilir değerlendirilirken eğitimde ayrımcılık bir temel hak ihlali olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Bu bulgular yine geçmiş çalışmalarla da uyumludur. Çocuklar

erken yaşlardan itibaren eğitim, sağlık gibi temel haklara erişimin kısıtlandığı durumların farkına varmakta ve bu tür davranışları kabul etmemektedirler (Brown, 2006; Ruck, Keating, Abramovitch ve Koegl, 1998). Eve birini davet etme, sosyalleşme gibi fiziksel ve sosyal yakınlığın daha fazla olduğu durumlar ise bu temel hak bağlamından ayrı değerlendirilmekte ve bir tür ayrımcılık olmasına rağmen daha fazla kişilerin iradesine daha fazla bağlı olarak değerlendirilmektedir (Møller ve Tenenbaum, 2011; Park ve ark., 2005). Buna paralel olarak hem çocukların hem de ebeveynlerin kendilerine sunulan hikâyelerde akran bağlamında dışlamaya olası çözüm olarak dışlama yani var olan durumu koruma ve aile-öğretmen onayı gibi otorite kararına başvurma gibi seçenekleri daha fazla gündeme getirmişlerdir. Eğitimde ayrımcılık hikâyelerinde ise karakterlerin maruz kaldığı haksızlıkları telafi etme ve eşitlikçi tutumlara sahip olma farklı bağlamlardaki gruplar arası dışlamanın da aynı değerlendirilmediğini destekler niteliktedir.

### **Çalışmanın Kısıtlılıkları ve Gelecek Çalışmalara Öneriler**

Mevcut çalışmanın bazı kısıtlılıkları bulunmaktadır. Her ne kadar akran ortamında dışlama ve eğitimde ayrımcılık katılımcıların deneyimlerinden elde edilen bağlamlar olsa da sosyal hayatın tüm çeşitliliğini içermemektedir. Özellikle grup dinamiklerinin ve başarısının daha çok gündeme gelebileceği bağlamlarda sosyoekonomik dışlamaya dair tutumlar gelecek çalışmalarda incelenmelidir. Her iki çalışmanın da örneklemini Ankara'dan toplanmıştır. Özellikle düşük SED ailelere ulaşmak amacıyla titiz ölçümler yapılsa da bu aileler şehirde yaşamakta dolayısıyla daha kırsal bölgelerin özelliklerini içermemektedirler. Kırsal bölgelerde çocukların ve yetişkinlerin maruz kaldığı çeşitlilik dolayısıyla statü ve güç atıflarını yaptıkları kaynaklar ve değerlendirmeler farklı olabilir. Gelecek çalışmaların ilgili dinamikleri farklı örneklem ve kırsal bölgelerde de incelemesi önerilmektedir. Mevcut tez sosyoekonomik dışlamaya odaklanan en kapsamlı ilk çalışmadır. Bu nedenle bireylerin değerlendirmeleri üzerinde etkisi olabilecek etkenlere odaklanılmamıştır. Gruplar arası sosyal temas gibi önemli aracı değişkenlerin rolü gelecek çalışmalarda araştırılmalıdır. Son olarak, çocuklar ve ebeveynleri arasındaki tutum ve değerlendirme benzerlik ya da farklılıkları daha gelişmiş ve ikili analizlerle incelenmelidir.

### **Sonuç**

Bu tezin alanyazına yaptığı orijinal katkıların yanı sıra uygulamalar açısından da birçok çıktısı vardır. Daha makro sistemler içinde sosyoekonomik açıdan dezavantajlı bireylerin maruz kaldıkları önyargı ve ayrımcılıkların köklerinden biri de günlük ilişkiler ve sosyal etkileşimlerden geçmektedir. Özellikle var olan eşitsizlikleri ve düzeni destekleyici tutumları benimseyen çocukları daha eşitlikçi ve adil tutumlara yöneltmek erken yaşlarda müdahale edilmesi gereken bir konudur. Çalışma sonuçlarında da görüldüğü üzere bu tutumların desteklenmesi ve çocuklara aktarılması gereken bir bağlam aile ortamı ve ebeveyn-çocuk ilişkileridir. Mevcut bulgulara dayanarak geliştirilebilecek müdahale çalışmaları ve eğitim içerikleri, çocukların toplumdaki eşitsizliklerin farkına vararak değişimin birer parçası olmalarına ve eşitsizliklerin psikolojik etkilerinin bireysel düzlemde azaltılmasına katkı sağlayacağı düşünülmektedir.

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