
RESEARCH ARTICLE

Hierarchy of Child Exploitation by Parents in Makassar City, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

The problem of poverty is formed by the structure itself, even if it is formed by a culture that keeps it in the same condition and has no motivation to change. Family poverty makes children vulnerable to exploitation by parents because children have to take a role in fulfilling family life. In this research, we examine the hegemonic hierarchy of child exploitation in child labor practices as a form of parental exploitation. This research uses qualitative research with the aim of finding out the mechanisms of child exploitation by parents and the hegemony hierarchy of child exploitation. The subjects in this research were 5 children who were victims of exploitation, 5 parents who exploited their children, 3 people from women's empowerment and child protection, 2 people from community development officials, and 5 people from the community around victims of exploitation. Data collection was carried out by observing the research location and finding problems, in-depth interviews to find complete information and documentation. The research results show that there is a hegemonic hierarchy in the form of exploitation of children by parents in Makassar City. The hierarchical form of hegemony in the process has three levels, namely minimum hegemony (there is a feeling of fear in the child, there is frightening pressure or sanctions from parents, and the child's trust decreases), declining hegemony (there is a sense of dependence in the child, the child's trust begins to disappear, and there is the potential for conflict between children and their parents), total hegemony (a sense of responsibility/obligation within the child, no compulsion to work, full or total trust, integration between children and people), and "happy" hegemony (the existence of a sense of joy in the child, an inner drive to work, full or maximum trust, integration between the child and parents). Happy hegemony is the end of the hegemony process, namely a consensus that is built because of a feeling of happiness because children receive rewards after working.

KEYWORDS

Hierarchy, Hegemony, Child exploitation.

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1. Introduction

Some problems with poverty are formed by the structure itself, and even some are formed by culture (Rentschler, 2018); (Dick & Nadin, 2011), which makes them remain in the same condition and have no motivation to change because they have been ingrained in the mindset that the poverty they live in is an inherited condition (Tawodzera, 2012).

The problem of poverty concerns matters of welfare that are very complex (Thomas et al., 2020). Economic demands (Woodroffe, 2000); (Bathmaker et al., 2013); (Posel, 2005) are getting bigger day by day, causing the problem of poverty to increase day by day. This creates problems for families (Wuest et al., 2003); (Orellana et al., 2001) that require every family member to have a role in this matter, including children who must participate in fulfilling the family's living needs (Obimakinde & Shabir, 2023), (Pinzon-Rondon et al., 2010). Based on this, children are vulnerable to experiencing a process of exploitation (Tharinger et al., 1990); (Mbakogu, 2020) (Jimenez et al., 2015); (Robinson et al., 2019); (Walker, 2002) within the family.

In Makassar City, children who should be in school are often seen around traffic lights selling, begging, busking, and even scavenging to earn money because of the demands of parents who think that children must obey their parents and that children are dependent on other people parents who make children forced or not have to follow their parents' orders.

Based on the consensus agreed upon by children, the result of a discourse of obedience constructed by actors, in this case, parents, makes children experience exploitation, although in practice, some children feel forced, and some are happy to accept responsibility for meeting family needs. From this, researchers see that there is a level of hegemony of parental power over their children because there are children who work after being threatened, there are children who work after being physically abused, there are children who work because they feel sorry for single parents due to divorce, there are children who work because the level of obedience constructed by parents is very high, and there are also children who work because they feel happy with the rewards given after the child works.

2. Methods

The research method used in this study is qualitative (Creswell & Creswell, 2018); (Smagorinsky, 2008); (Miles & Huberman, A. Michael Saldana, 2014), namely a scientific way to obtain data with specific purposes and uses. Based on this, there are four keywords that need to be considered, namely: scientific method, data, objectives, and use. The scientific method means research activities are based on scientific characteristics, namely rational, empirical and systematic. Rational means that research activities are carried out in ways that make sense so that they are within the reach of human reason. Empirical means that the method used can be observed by humans so that other people can observe and know the method used. Systematic means that the process used in research uses certain logistical steps.

This research was conducted in Makassar City. This research instrument uses researchers as the main instrument using a list of observation guidelines, interview guidelines, documentation sheets, photo cameras and recording equipment. The informants in this research were 5 children who were victims of exploitation, 5 parents who exploited their children, 5 people from women and children empowerment, 1 person from community development officials, 2 people from the community who were victims of exploitation, and 2 people from empowerment women and child protection in shelter residents. Data collection was carried out by observing the research location and finding problems, in-depth interviews to find complete information and documentation. Qualitative data analysis is carried out through the stages of data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. The validity of qualitative data uses source triangulation, time triangulation and method triangulation.

3. Results and Discussion

There are three levels of hegemony proposed by Gramsci (Rowe, 2004), namely total hegemony (integral), decadent hegemony and minimum hegemony. Based on Gramsci's theory, the condition of exploitation of children by parents is due to the power of parents over children so that children obey parental orders, whether forced or not, depending on the level of consensus built based on parental hegemony over their children. The process of child exploitation hegemony in the city of Makassar occurs through stages, namely through minimum hegemony, declining hegemony, total hegemony and happy hegemony. This process occurs through the involvement of a network of child exploitation actors.

3.1 Minimum Hegemony

Minimum hegemony is characterized by the ideological unity of parents, which occurs simultaneously with reluctance towards any interference from children in managing family life; apart from that, parents or families as a hegemonic group do not want to adjust their interests to those of children (Deep, 2016); (Suwoto, 2013). Children as a subordinate group (McGillicuddy & Devine, 2018) no longer consider the interests of their parents as the ruling group to be in line with what they want. Acts of exploitation carried (Hounmenou & Her, 2018); (Pinzon-Rondon et al., 2010) out by parents against children constitute the minimum hegemony (Dural, 2012) (Ali, 2017) over parental power over children because parents cannot control children completely, even though children want to work. It can be seen from the resistance of children who cannot stand working under their parents' orders and the violence they receive, so the children choose to look for work themselves and leave home. Apart from that, the minimum hegemony that occurs in the relationship between parents and children shows that there is coercion, which the child really doesn't like. Children's trust in their parents decreases as a place to live their lives. This domination of power (Linder et al., 2020) manifests in two forms, namely direct domination and indirect domination (Hasibuan, 2020); direct domination is manifested through the existence of regulations that create ambiguity for individual children, such as school recommendations and work recommendations (Leidholdt, 2004) and indirect domination is expressed by children's obedience and obligations to help their parents.

3.2 Decadent Hegemony

Declining hegemony shows the social condition of children who follow the wishes of their parents by force without any resistance because children feel dependent on their parents; where this condition shows that whether children like it or not, they have to follow the wishes of their parents in fulfilling the family's living needs by employing children of the same age. Children should receive a proper education, and their parents should be responsible for the child's right to life. Decadent hegemony, characterized

by integration within the family, easily collapses (Folami, 2011), and parents, as the dominant group, begin to lose their children's trust. There is potential for disintegration or potential for hidden conflict in the family (Wood, 2015) because the child's mentality is not truly in harmony with the thoughts of parents (dominant) and children (subjects of hegemony). The level of thinking and awareness of children is not completely the same as the thinking and value system of their parents, which results in the potential for conflict between parents and society. Children can pretend to obey the will of their parents as a dominant group as a relatively subtle form of disobedience; however, there are still some aligned interests between parents and children (Shahen, 2021).

The condition of children who work because of their parents' orders with specific targets means that children have to obey their parents' orders because, since childhood, children have felt dependent on their parents. Children feel unable to live without their parents by their side even though they have to work following their parents' orders. This condition makes children feel dependent on their parents from childhood, which is influenced by several complex factors: 1). Economic Dependence (Orellana et al., 2001): One of the main factors is the economic dependence of children on their parents. When families experience economic difficulties, and children realize that the family's income is very dependent on their work, children feel they have no choice but to obey their parents' orders to work. 2). Social and Cultural Norms (Wood, 2015); (Willmott et al., 2022): Social and cultural norms in a particular society can influence children's expectations to contribute to meeting family needs from a young age. This makes children feel like they have to obey their parents' orders and follow their orders. 3). Limited Information and Awareness of Children's Rights (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak, 2020): Children do not have an adequate understanding of their rights, including the right to education and protection from exploitation. They don't realize that they can seek help or report a bad situation to the authorities. 4). Authoritarian Parental Tendencies (Deep, 2016): Parents who are authoritarian or have very high expectations of their children who apply emotional pressure or manipulation that make children feel they have to obey their orders. 5). Feeling of Emotional Dependence: Children have a strong sense of emotional dependence on their parents, which makes them afraid to separate themselves or disobey their parents.

3.3 Total Hegemony

Total hegemony is the hegemony of parents over their children who work with various jobs that are done without any coercion from parents because children who work already think that what they do is something that a child should do to help the family economy. Integral hegemony (Rowe, 2004); (Rowlands, 2015) is characterized by a relationship between parents and children that approaches totality, or children's obedience, as a group that is totally dominated or fully committed or strong. Children show a strong or strong level of moral and intellectual unity. This can be seen in the family organizational relationship between parents as leaders and children as individuals who are ruled, which is marked by the unity of values and intellectual levels between the ruling group and those who are ruled organically. Apart from that, this relationship is not filled with contradictions and antagonisms both socially and ethically, so that children's resistance to their parents does not take shape or is invisible.

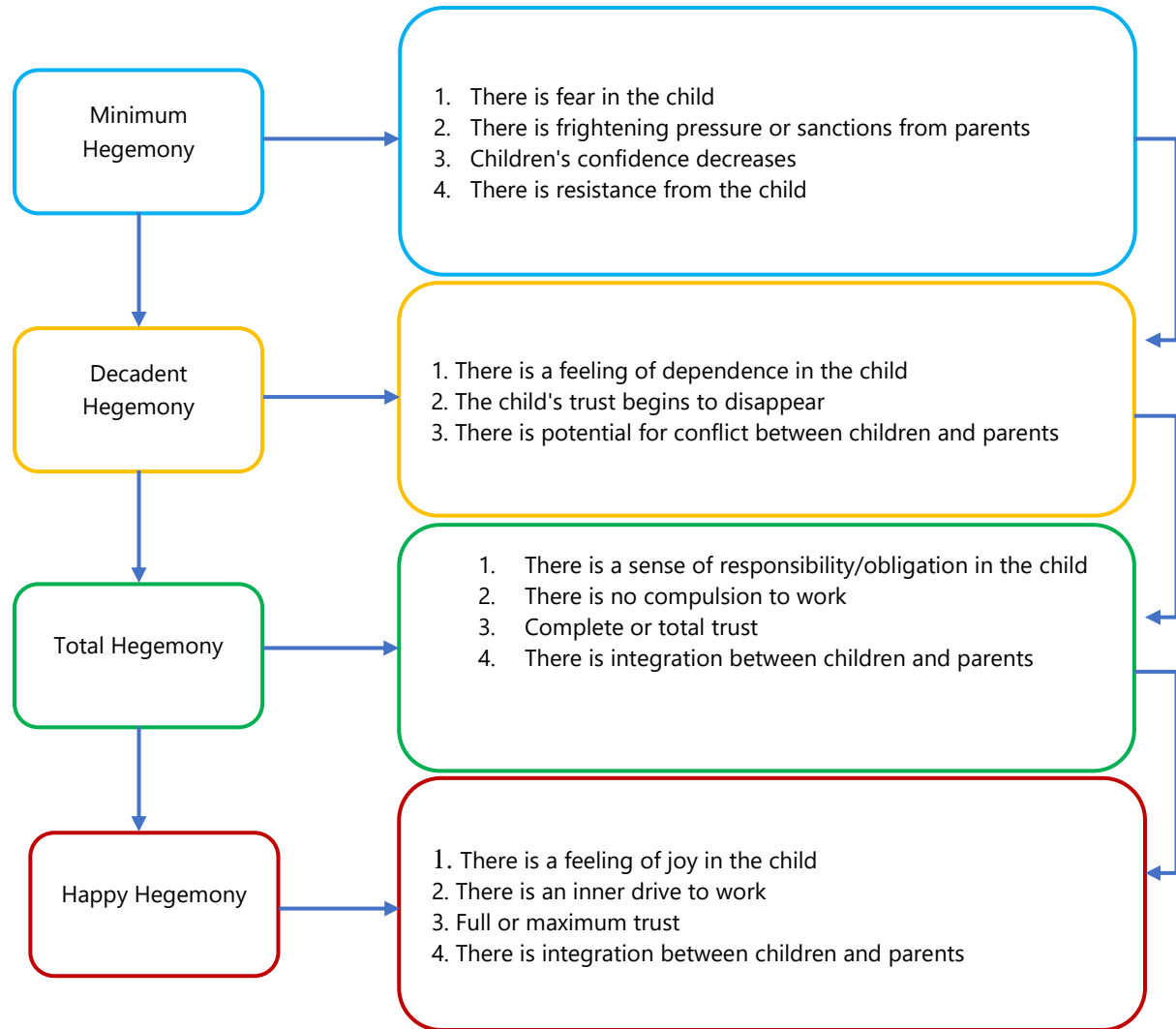
This is caused by various social, cultural and psychological factors. 1). The culture (Dick & Nadin, 2011) or society in which the family resides has strong norms that require children to help their parents or contribute to the family's livelihood from an early age. 2). Children feel (Deep, 2016) a moral or ethical responsibility to help their parents in difficult economic situations. They believe that this is the right way to support their family. 3). Parents have a strong psychological influence over their children, so children feel obliged to fulfill their parents' expectations without any physical coercion. 4). Children feel that they have no viable alternative options, such as limited access to education or other employment opportunities. This makes them feel that working for their parents is the only option they have.

3.4 Happy Hegemony

Happy hegemony is a discovery made by researchers in the field by looking at the condition of children who work without any coercion from their parents, but children work because they feel "happy". Children work happily because they get rewards from their work, and this means that children are not left behind in their social interactions.

The hegemony of parents over children in the form of exploitation by employing their children is no longer visible through violence, but children are very happy with the exploitative treatment carried out by parents in the context of employing children. Children feel happy; apart from the rewards they get, there is a sense of appreciation that children get because they are involved or contribute to meeting the family's needs.

Happy hegemony is the fourth level of the adjustment category discovered by Gramsci, namely at the first level because of fear, the second level because of habit, the third level because of awareness and approval (Towl, 2016), while the fourth level is because there is a feeling of happiness (happy), this level is what is meant by happy hegemony. An illustration of the levels of hegemony can be seen in the following picture:



4. Conclusions

In the process of hegemony of child exploitation employed by parents, there are three levels of hegemony according to Gramsci, namely: First, minimum hegemony, which is an act of exploitation carried out by parents against children based on the power of parents over children, because parents cannot control children completely even though children want to work where children prefer their own way of working and fight against oppression by their parents. In this case, children's trust in their parents is very minimal. Second, declining hegemony shows the social condition of children who follow their parents' wishes by force without any resistance because children feel dependent on their parents; this condition shows that whether children like it or not, they have to follow their parents' wishes in fulfilling the family's living needs. The third is total hegemony, which is the hegemony of parents over their children who work with various jobs which are done without any coercion from the parents because children who work already think that what they do is something that a child should do to help the family economy.

Based on the research results, researchers found happy hegemony from the hegemony process of child exploitation in Makassar City, which is the hegemony of parents over their children who are employed without any coercion from parents; even children feel happy with their work because of the rewards they get from their work.

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