

Studying intergenerational processes in 21st century rural African societies¹

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Abstract

This paper illustrates the impact of political economy on young people's life courses and intergenerational processes in rural Africa. Rapid transformations and social changes in rural Africa often as a result of political economy contributes to the increasing malleability of rural contexts and tensions across the life courses of children and youth. The temporality and spatiality of globalisation are illustrated using the neo-liberal policies in the Economic Structural Adjustments Programmes (ESAPs) and the global educational policies in the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs). The paper discusses the epistemological and methodological implications of political economy in rural African societies including approaches that capture complex interpenetrating factors contributing towards "constructions of young lives", "contexts and identities" and "agency and social responsibilities".

Introduction

In rural Africa, interruptions and uncertainties on young people's life courses as a result of impact of social changes on institutions and practices is little discussed in literature. Young people's everyday lives and life prospects mirror the increasing malleability of rural contexts themselves due to global political economy. Political economic policies often shaped from outside of the rural contexts have considerable impact on the rural social practices and relations. This paper illustrates the argument that rural political economy, through effects of Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAPs) and the global education goals, critically contributes to the malleability of rural Africa and creates tensions across life courses of the rural children and youths.

During 1995–2013, Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) had a steady economic growth at

about 4.5 percent in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita per year. The share of people living on less than \$1.90 a day declined from 54 percent in 1990 to 41 percent in 2013 (in 2011 international purchasing power parity PPP) (Barett et al. 2017: 2). Despite the progress, extreme poverty remains high, having increased from 276 million to 389 million, an increase of more than 100 million extreme poor (Barett et al. 2017: 2). Poverty has been partly driven by continuing high population growth, about 2.7 percent per year during 1990–2013. The majority of the poor, an estimated 82 percent, are living in rural areas mainly earning their income in agriculture. The above statistics makes what happens in agriculture, and in rural contexts of Africa, particularly important for poverty reduction policies. Rural Africa has therefore been a target of several development and structural transformation programmes.

Rural Africa has the contextual capacity to shape the everyday lives of not only young people, but also their intra- as well as intergenerational relations. Opportunities and constraints in rural Africa have the power of place to shape, in complex intersecting ways, the lives of residents (Punch 2007). Characteristically, rural communities usually have limited economic or political endowments when compared with urban areas with often relatively limited resources and basic services. In often isolated and remote regions, smallholder households focusing on subsistence agricultural livelihoods are the productive and economic units mainly relying on the labour of household members, young and old. Formal education, health and opportunities for waged employment as well as electricity and safe drinking water are either limited or distant. As a result, rural African communities experience double marginalization both at national and global scale (Abebe and Kjørholt 2013), assuming a relatively fragile position in relation to the national and global economy.

Intergenerational processes are understood to involve the complex ways in which political economic processes intersect with rural sociocultural processes and practices, reconfiguring intergenerational relations, pathways to adulthood, social constructions of personhood, livelihood transitions and collective values of reciprocity and interdependence. It involves locating children's place in the tensions involved in the rural sociocultural, livelihoods and political economy, as children 'come to embody the crisis of social reproduction, and at the same time become actors who bear the responsibility of meeting the challenge of social responsibility' (Huijsman et al., in Abebe 2016: 23). Social reproduction broadly involves practices and social relations that maintain and

reproduce particular relations of production in particular social locations (Katz 2004)

Therefore, understanding these impacts involve exploring rural context. The social, cultural and economic ways of lives and how they are represented. The paper will discuss both the substance, methodological and epistemological considerations of studying "intergenerational processes" in 21st century rural African societies. Firstly, the paper will discuss the temporality and spatiality of globalization in rural Africa. Thereafter, the paper will explore the convergence of political economy, (inter) generation and rural childhood wellbeing. In particular, two key processes of neo-liberal policies of the ESAPs and rural formal education (institutional schooling) are discussed in light of their intergenerational effects on rural young lives. The paper discusses the discourses of social modernization exemplified through increased participation in formal schooling propagated by global education goals of universal primary education in rural Africa. Finally, the paper makes a conclusive discussion of some epistemological and methodological reflections on studying intergenerational processes in rural Africa.

Temporality and spatiality of globalization and rural Africa

Whether driven by development, globalization or forces of social modernization, rural contexts are often associated with change (Woods 2011), which affects rural life at different scales, reconfiguring both the intra- and intergenerational relations. Globalization opens nation states to a multitude of influences that originate beyond their borders likely to decrease the primacy of the national economy, political and social institutions. Affecting the every-

day contexts in which children and young people grow up and interact with the rest of society (Kaufman et al. 2002). For children and young people, globalization often relates to transformations in both temporal and spatial relations. The discourses of, and practices by, youth and children bring the new temporal conjunctions of globalization into relationship with people's negotiation of the life course (Cole and Durham 2008: 4). The convergence of global economic forces and young people's everyday lives located in local social, economic and cultural contexts is therefore an "encounter" with varying impacts. Therefore, understanding these impacts requires exploring the rural context: the social, cultural and economic ways of lives, and their representations.

- Formal education, health and opportunities for waged employment as well as electricity and safe drinking water are either limited or distant.

Rural contexts are often unique spaces, preserving traditional and cultural practices that shape the young people's life courses in unique ways. In Africa, rural communities often have limited economic and political endowments when juxtaposed with urban areas. They are often in remotely isolated regions, with limited basic services and smallholder farming is the main livelihood activity. Smallholder farming households are therefore the productive and economic units. Formal education, health and opportunities for waged employment as well as electricity and safe drinking water are either limited or distant. Socio-economic challenges are normally shared and resolved within the context of togetherness and relationality.

Increasingly, these traditional lifestyles in many local communities are under pres-

sure to adapting or adopting more 'modern' lifestyles fitting with global discourses. For instance, research in rural Zambia reveals how village huts with grass thatched roofs and mud walls are now equated with poverty and ill-being (Phiri 2016). Yet, they have been at the centre of rural socio-cultural identity. They now associate iron or tin-roofed houses with brick walls to wellbeing. It can be asserted that these are partly effects of social modernity.

There has been limited discussion and concern on the position of children and young people in development processes and how they both impact and are impacted by these processes. Recent interdisciplinary literature bringing together development, childhood and youth studies uses the concept of 'generationing development' to redirect the encounter of development with social parameters of 'age' and 'generation.' They propose rethinking development as distinctly generational in its dynamic and best explained by a relational approach that dispels categorizing approaches (Huijsmans 2016). Thus, the processes of social reproduction in which children are central are key to development (Katz 2004; Robson 2004).

There are varying interpretations of effects of social changes on traditional rural contexts of Africa. One perspective is that they facilitate for new educational opportunities for young people whilst also potentially leading to formation of new identities that can be contradictory and difficult to negotiate (Hollo in Panelli, Punch and Robson 2007: 5). On the other hand, Katz (2004) demonstrates how responses to external forces might be variable including resilience, reworking and resistance.

Margaret Mead demonstrates different generational relations can be illustrative of differing negotiations of intergenera-

tional and life course transformation. In the postfigurative, children primarily learn from elders. Whereas children and adults learn from peers in the cofigurative. Finally, adults learn from their children in the prefigurative category (Mead 1972: 31 in Qvortrup et al. 2009). The different relations are situated in transformations of culture and society as people respond to new figurations of economic, social and technological conditions evolving into new mutual constellations at societal as well as local and familial levels (Qvortrup et al. 2009: 29).

- The competitive intensified export-driven agriculture negatively affected the majority poor subsistence smallholder households.

This paper will illustrate how neo-liberal policies impact on young people's experiences and life prospects within the rural socio-economic milieu by focusing on ESAPs and discourses of participation in formal schooling as a tool for social modernization. The paper will show implications of increased participation in rural schooling and impacts of ESAPs to the livelihoods of young people within socio-economic contexts of rural smallholder farming.

The convergence of political economy, (inter) generation and rural childhood wellbeing

The convergence of political economy, (inter) generation and rural wellbeing highlights the socio-economic impacts of political economic policies on the life courses of young people in rural Africa. In literature, there is limited focus on the impact of political economic policies on young people in rural Africa. Neo-liberal policies of ESAPs in the late 1970s and 1980s represented a

key shift from post-independence socialist (government-driven development) to capitalism. This entailed removal of state interference to free-up capital and allowed market mechanism to operate through impersonal forces of supply and demand (Heidhues and Obare 2011; Riddell 1992). Although the policy shifts happened in the close of the 20th century, they had profound and far-reaching development and social economic impacts on 21st century rural Africa.

Generally, The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and The World Bank introduced ESAPs due to the economic crisis and unsustainable debt burden by most African economies during 1970s and 1980s. The goal was macroeconomic stabilization through four main elements: currency devaluation, removal/reduction of the state control of the African economies, the elimination of subsidies to reduce expenditures (including reductions on social spending on services such as education and health) and trade liberalization (Riddell 1992; Heidhues and Obare 2011). ESAPs were expected to ultimately reduce poverty through fostering economic growth and shifting relative prices in favor of agriculture and rural areas where most of the poor resided in Africa (The World Bank 1981, in Heidhues and Obare 2011).

Instead, the ESAPs led to deepening poverty, underdevelopment, reduced quality of life, deteriorating service provision and massive unemployment (Heidhues and Obare 2011; Balat and Porto 2007; Riddell 1992). The ESAPs did not integrate the social dimensions of development in Africa (Heidhues and Obare 2011; Saasa 1996). This culminated into increased calls for "adjustments with a human face" during the 1990's (Heidhues and Obare 2011: 60), with greater attention to the social dimensions

of development and the role of the state. Some countries such as Uganda, Ghana, Ethiopia etc. are singled out at times as success cases. Overall, the ESAPs failed to promote growth and increased poverty in worsening conditions in Africa.

In rural Africa, ESAPs had mixed impacts largely characterized by growing inequality favoring surplus producers of agriculture. The competitive intensified export-driven agriculture negatively affected the majority poor subsistence smallholder households. In addition, severe public expenditure cuts in agricultural subsidies and social spending on education, health and extension services disproportionately worsened the living conditions of the rural poor. ESAPs meant poor households had reduced access to healthcare, education, income, food and work with detrimental effects for children. More than before, children's labour and other household contributions became critical for small-scale farmers' survival (Robson 2004: 231).

The need for smallholder households to balance growing of food crops and cash crops for consumption and capital increased the monetization of the rural economy. The increasing requirement for money (cash) in turn increasingly reconfigured relationships of redistribution and reciprocity historically associated with rural livelihoods into relationships of productivity and cash exchanges. In order to negotiate the changes, Riddell (1992) points out that peasants simultaneously participated in two types of exchanges. In the social exchange system, goods and services were transferred by mechanisms such as reciprocity and redistribution. On the other hand, peasants sold their produce or labour and in return purchased their necessities in the impersonal market. They worked in a market system dominated by the impersonal

forces of supply and demand. The impersonal markets seemed to be supplanting rather than complementing the traditional social exchange system of rural Africa. The intensification of commercialized rural agriculture increasingly requires access to cash income necessary for the changing rural consumer patterns.

The rural political economy is rapidly transforming due to both national and global factors. The infiltration of the cash economy and shifting consumer patterns reshape rural livelihood patterns (see Abebe 2007; Phiri 2016). In Zambia and Malawi, it is illustrated how social forms of immunity, such as ganyu traditional practices (Mtika 2001: 178), mostly done by adults are now drawing more participation of young people and transforming into a cash-based transaction. Mostly categorized as socialization and apprenticeship, there is an increased need for children's contributions for households to survive. Ganyu is transforming from a traditional non-cash labour practice involving adults to a cash-based transaction involving and fueling the monetization of child labour.

Similarly, Abebe (2016) shows how the political economy in Ethiopia leads to livelihood displacement, involving a shift from subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture. A shift that intensifies children's labour and increases their contributions to familial livelihood strategies in contexts of systemic poverty. He illustrates that international trade for coffee contributes to the reallocation of household responsibilities from men and women, to children, and in the process, amplifies children's (economic) exploitation.

Similarly, Robson (2004: 241) boldly asserts that many sectors in Africa, such as the informal sectors, peasant subsistence agriculture, petty commodity production,

and daily generational and social reproduction simply would not function without children's contributions. Research evidence increasingly reveals the need for children's direct and indirect household contributions including their unpaid productive and reproductive roles meant to supplement adults in sustaining households. Rural intergenerational household responsibilities between children and adults are becoming increasingly complex. Without attempting to romanticize children in poverty, or indeed any other adversity in rural Africa, this problematizes simple linear rescue interventions predicated on the western myths of work-free childhoods that abstract children from their social cultural contexts, disregarding the rural social changes, local values and intergenerational dynamics. Such perspectives conceal children's multiple household contributions through such labels as lost childhoods.

Although the population of children and youths in Zambia is rapidly growing and is amongst the most affected by poverty, limited literature explores how they experience the rural socio-economic contexts independently and inter-dependently with other social categories (adults). Thus, children's contributions to rural social economy are largely hidden. Yet, existing research informed by children reveals the unique ways in which poverty unfolds in their lives and how they respond and interpret its effects for their future life prospects (Phiri 2016; Phiri and Abebe 2016).

Increasingly young people in rural Zambia are important to the viability of rural household livelihoods. They begin participating in household farming as early as six/seven years. The productive and reproductive roles also have a gender dimension. Apart from helping with farming activities such as planting, weeding, harvesting etc.,

the girls undertake most of the laborious household chores such as fetching water, care work, preparation of food, food processing and errands. Boys do the labour intensive jobs such as preparing new fields, cutting trees, looking after animals.

Most of the children and young people in rural areas are economically active and critical to the viability of rural economies. In Zambia, the Central Statistics Office (CSO) (2015) showed that 58.5% of the population aged 12 years or older is economically active at national level. It also reveals higher levels of economic activities in the rural areas at 61.3% than urban areas at 55.4% (Central Statistics Office 2015: 6). Most of these are engaged in rural agricultural activities, with 89.4% of households engaged in agriculture. However, due to discourses of 'no work' childhoods, children's participation is often concealed and labelled negatively in campaigns on schooling.

Global education: the 'moral trap' of universal primary education in rural Africa

In line with desire for development with a 'human face' and addressing some of the social effects of the ESAPs, the 21st century began with the convening of the Millennium summit at the UN headquarters. The participating 149 heads of states unanimously agreed that the:

central challenge of today is to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for all, acknowledging that at present, both its benefits and its costs, are unequally shared. The Declaration called for global policies and measures, corresponding to the needs of developing countries and economies in transition.²

This global gathering contributed to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs had eight (8) different goals but the paper will focus on goal number 2, 'achieving universal primary education'. Formal education seems to be one instrument of modernization and development that reconfigures rural social, cultural and livelihood patterns. Based on the Education for All goals and MDG 2, major gains seem to have been achieved in form of increased access and enrolment in Africa, including in the rural contexts. Policies of free basic education, abolishing school fees, and increased investments in education seem to all have contributed. However, sub-Saharan Africa continues to top the out of school children, increasing in higher levels of the school system. Most of the out-of-school are girls at lower levels, children from economically poor backgrounds, and those in countries in conflict.

In rural Africa, formal education is increasingly portrayed as an instrument of modernity. Several global campaigns acknowledge benefits of education and often refer to education as a 'tool for development'. Education is often associated with the global world, social mobility, urbanity and modernity and increased future opportunities. Research in rural Zambia revealed that formal education was widely associated with children's well becoming through better life prospects. For example, in this excerpt from the boys Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), Elijah, 13 years old, explains the importance of persisting in school:

I need to learn how to write, read and listen to the teachers. For example, I am in Grade 9, I will write exams and pass! However, if I do not, I go back to Grade 8 all over again. It means that I should go up to Grade 12 until I finish that school.

However, the excerpt demonstrates some critical challenges of linear and developmental progression of schooling punctuated by several examinations. Failing examinations, repeating grades and being old for one's grade was very common in this context. For Elijah, this was his second attempt for the examination.

Rural sub-Saharan Africa continues to top the out-of-school children, increasing in higher levels of the school system. The out-of-school statistics affect girls at lower levels with an economic dimension. Several global campaigns acknowledge benefits of Education, and often refer to education as a 'tool for development'. Education is often associated with the global world, social mobility, urbanity and modernity and increased future opportunities. In my own research in rural Lundazi, Zambia, formal education was widely associated with children's well becoming through better life prospects. However, Serpell (1993) also discusses some of the disturbing characteristics of rural schooling in Zambia that still persist today, and the several complex tensions that confront young rural children in their life courses. Serpell relates the systematic steep decreases of children participation from primary to secondary school as the moral trap of the project of universal primary education as schools find themselves in the business of producing failures. Majority children who go through rural primary school emerge feeling like failures because the sheer lack of available space in secondary schools means that they do not only drop-out but are squeezed out of the system. A culture of examinations and certification serves as the main means of squeezing them out.

Rural schooling can also be interruptive to young people's life course if not properly aligned with rural social, cultural and liveli-

hoods wellbeing. Partly, this may be caused by individualistic discourses of global child rights and child labour influencing discourses of rural schooling. They tend to abstract children and young people from social cultural formations and collective work responsibilities. Apart from negatively portraying rural children's livelihood activities as child labour, rural livelihood agriculture is also relegated to rural schooling failures. It tends to conceal the complex intersectionality of schooling and rural livelihoods, involving intergenerational dependencies and reciprocity. Whilst children need protection from harmful work, children also benefit from work. They acquire technical skills to obtain future employment, learn life skills, achieve membership and status within families and communities, develop social relations and self-esteem, and learn a culture (Bourdillon 2014: 498). Viable household livelihoods are also key for sustaining young peoples continued participation and success in schools.

In her study of young people's perspectives of privatization in the pastoral Maasai rangeland in Elangata Wua in Southern Kenya, Archambault (2014) shows how neo-liberal processes of privatization are reconfiguring traditional Maasai pastoral social relations of collective holdings into individualized freehold titles. As Alber (2012) also notes, the possibilities for pathways to adulthood between working childhood and schooling childhood are getting slimmer with smaller chances of formal employment and increasing portfolio of rural non-farm income activities that broaden utility of schooling knowledge and skills within rural contexts.

While rural schooling fosters formal skills for formal employment required for global citizens in a globalizing world (Ansell 2014), the rural African contexts are largely

based on informal economy with scarce formal opportunities. Increasing literature highlights how attainment of formal education does not always lead to better employment opportunities but also creates unrealistic expectations. In some parts of Africa, patterns of back migration showing increasing urban to rural movements are also evident partly due to scarcity of urban formal employment (Kristensen and Birch-Thomsen 2013; Potts 2012). It largely reflects increasing trends of ruralization as opposed to urbanization (Potts 2012). Potts (2012) shows that Zambia, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali and Central African Republic have all experienced periods of counter-urbanization while many other countries show a pattern of slow urbanization. She attributes this to a desperate downturn of livelihoods of the majority African urban residents progressing from the aforementioned economic crisis and ESAPs. Similarly, Kristensen and Birch-Thomsen's (2013) study on rural youth employment in Uganda and Zambia also reveals that almost all the youth research participants in Zambia chose to remain in the rural areas where they considered prospects of success to be greater. As social actors, young people are also aware and conscious of the structural challenges of attaining the social economic mobility promised by formal education mainly due to structural constraints including poverty.

Elsewhere, I argue that more knowledge is required on how rural schooling can better respond to and empower the rural young with skills relevant to local livelihoods as well as social cultural patterns. Similarly, Admassie (2003: 5) also argues that policies should be aimed at facilitating work and education, rather than attempting to eliminate child labour by introducing compulsory education in rural subsistence economies

such as Africa [where] child labor is common and necessary for family survival (in Panelli et al. 2007: 5). Due to the 'travelling models of proper childhood' (Alber 2012: 175) pervasive in neo-liberal policies and context insensitive global campaigns, rural schooling finds itself resetting the local valuations of livelihoods as opposed to broadening schooling with skills education to thrive in changing rural economic contexts. In the next section, the paper will discuss some of the key consideration in studying intergenerational processes in a manner that explores young people's shifting positions and identities in a socially changing rural Africa.

Concluding discussions: consideration in studying intergenerational processes in Africa

In Africa, the literature on young rural lives in the fields of sociology, geography and/or childhood studies are still very limited (see also Panelli, Punch and Robson 2007). Children and young people are absent in debates on how they shape or are shaped by political economic policies. For instance, there has not been any comprehensive study, and little continues to be known, on the life course effects of the neo-liberal policies of ESAPs in rural Africa. Yet, most literature argues that the ESAPs deepened poverty and affected the wellbeing of people (Riddell 199; Saasa 1996; Robson 2004; Heidhues and Obare 2011).

This paper highlights implications of rural political economy on the life courses of young people in rural Africa exemplified by ESAPs and discourses of social modernization of increased participation in rural schooling championed by global education goals. This section will discuss some

key methodological and epistemological considerations for research. Generally, studying rural intergenerational processes entails sensitivity to social changes and their reconfiguration of social relations and practices.

Intergenerational processes in rural Africa reveals that childhood is socially constructed through their social, cultural and historical variability (James and Prout 1997). At the same time, childhood is a permanent structural form in society that should be part of the explanation of how society works and children's contributions (Mayall 2003: 13). The temporality of childhoods, as both beings and becomings (Lee 2001), highlights that rural childhood is in continuity with the adult world (Bourdillon 2006). In addition, the ways in which inter-mediating factors cause children to experience phenomena requires consideration of intersectionality. Exemplifying and illustrating how gender, age, ethnicity and birth order influences experiences and perceptions (Punch 2007; Robson 1996 in Panelli, Punch and Robson 2007: 5).

Rural African contexts involve an inter-penetration of multiple contexts that create multiple identities for young people. It has diverse contexts that surround and shape young people's experiences including social, cultural, economic, political and spatial settings. Certain aspects of the rural contexts operate at close proximity to young people's immediate environments while also including wider regional, national and global processes. Therefore, context sensitive approach to studies of young rural lives requires both acknowledgement of individual contextual dimensions and frames of thought that integrate the processes and relations surrounding young people (Panelli 2002: 118).

A holistic and integrated approach of understanding young rural lives situated in intergenerational processes should take into consideration multiple overlapping and interpenetrating social institutions (see also Punch 2007; Katz 2004). For instance, Katz (2012) demonstrates how in rural Sudan the dividing line between work, play and education becomes blurred which enhances young people's local environmental knowledge. In rural Bolivia, young people negotiate, shape and are shaped by multiple contexts within the overall rural contexts. This is an important entry point in understanding and conceptualizing the lives of rural children and young people as situated in intergenerational processes.

In most rural African communities, children's reproductive and productive, paid and unpaid work contribution is often seen in the context of interdependence and social responsibility to their rural families, households, communities etc. (see also Abebe and Kj rholm 2013; Phiri 2016; Phiri and Abebe 2016; Klocker 2007). According to Panelli (2002), this involves negotiated means by which young people experience and actively build their lives working through their contexts to perform both required and voluntary aspects of their lives. They are permeable processes that are shaped by the contexts in which young people find themselves even as they act and move as competent, knowledgeable and creative actors and makers of their own worlds. Indeed, this notion of social personhood is reinforced in the article 31, "responsibilities of the child", of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (African Union 1990).

Based on the scope, time and monetary resources, different studies have used different methodologies to capture the interpenetrating factors that shape rural in-

tergenerational processes. For instance, studies such as the Young Lives project in Ethiopia, Peru, India, and Vietnam used longitudinal studies to explore young people's life courses over a period of 15 years (www.younglives.org.uk) (see also Katz 2004; Archambault 2014 etc.). This allows a researcher to track the development of a phenomena over a life course. Based on the above considerations, rural studies could capture temporalities of experiences, perspectives and narratives, interpenetrating rural processes, intergenerational and intersectionality, exploration of contextual social practices, meanings and values across time and rural socio-economic practices and social relations within the broader macro level policies.

The paper has attempted to discuss the intergenerational processes in 21st century rural Africa within the frames of political economy and its impact on rural sociocultural configuration of Africa. It has revealed how the intergenerational tensions at the intersection of political economy and rural sociocultural are negotiated. In order to fully capture the complexity of rural intergenerational processes in Africa consideration should include rigorous epistemological and methodological approaches that capture the overlapping and interpenetrating factors of "constructions of young rural lives", "contexts and identities" and "agency and social responsibilities".

Notes

¹ This is a slightly edited version of my trial lecture on 30 November 2018 at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Department of Education and Lifelong Learning. The title was: "Studying intergenerational processes in 21st century rural African societies." A summary of the thesis can be found in the previous issue of *Barn* 37(1).

² https://www.un.org/en/events/pastevents/millennium_summit.shtml 1 May 2019.

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