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Doctoral thesis

Sophia Chanyalew Kassa

Intergenerational Relationships and Expectations Among Urban Affluent and Peasant Families in Ethiopia: Children's Perspectives

NTNU
Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Thesis for the Degree of
Philosophiae Doctor
Faculty of Social and Educational Sciences
Department of Education and Lifelong learning

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Trondheim, December 2020

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I dedicate this thesis to my late father Dr. Chanyalew Kassa

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Sophia Chanyalew Kassa, Trondheim, 20 May 2020.

Summary of Thesis

This thesis explores children's relationships with parents and family members in Ethiopia. It examines expectations and intergenerational relationships among affluent and peasant families in two settings: Addis Ababa and rural Dangila, Ethiopia. The thesis looks into the values that are embedded in contemporary childhood in Ethiopia and how those values shape familial expectations placed on children and thus intergenerational relationships. Within the context of the relationships children and parents have, childing (the act of being a child) and the various positions children assume as well as the nature of the relationships they have with parents and family members are explored and analyzed.

The two contrasting study settings were chosen to shed light on the diversities and commonalities of intergenerational relationships and childhoods in Ethiopia. To generate data, I carried out seven months of ethnographic fieldwork where both children and parents were informants. Semi-structured interviews, diary, story writing, key informant interview, informal talk, and semi-participant observation were used for generation of data. These methods were applied to bring children's perspectives to the center of the research and position children as the primary informants about their own lives. The methods also helped to shed light on the everyday context of the children's lives and the roles they take in that context. In the urban affluent families in Addis Ababa, children's everyday lives is a reflection of the socio-economic status of parents and the technical and material conditions in which children grow up, whereas in the peasant families in Dangila, daily life mirrors the complex socio-economic and cultural responsibilities children hold within their families and community.

The thesis presents its findings in three articles published in *Childhood*, *Children and Society* and *Children's Geographies*, accompanied by four chapters that discuss theory, methodology context and synthesis of the findings. The outcomes of the research bridge the gap in our understanding of how local familial and community ideologies and expectations of childhood are encountered by children and families in Ethiopia. It gives valuable insights into (1) How complex and diverse childhoods in Ethiopia are in terms of bearing socio-economic and cultural meanings from parents, families, and community members; (2) How values placed on children shape their lives and have implications for the ways in which children act in their everyday lives; (3) How the social norms of the act of being a child, which are defined by the differing valuations of children and childhoods, shape intergenerational relationships; and (4). How children navigate social expectations linked to relocation in different familial and community settings and the ways in which child relocation is an integral aspect of social reproduction and child upbringing. The research shows that values and expectations are not the only parts of the equation that contribute to how the everyday life of children unfolds in contemporary Ethiopia.

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Acronyms

ANT	Actor Network Theory
CSA	Central Statistics Agency
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
TFR	Total Fertility Rate
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UN	United Nations

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This thesis explores children's relationships with parents and family members in Ethiopia. It draws on an ethnographic study carried out in two contrasting settings: (1) rural-peasant families in Dangila and (2) urban-affluent families in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital. Before discussing the topic and research questions, I want to briefly explain why I was drawn to the subject of child-parent (and child-family) relationships. Growing up in Addis Ababa and later on working with young people, it has always been my interest to learn about the social world and relationships of children with parents. This interest grew during the years I was working as a coordinator of a youth reproductive health program in Addis Ababa. Targets of the program were diverse groups of young people aged 10-24 and holding discussions on youth reproductive health with parents and young people was part of my job responsibility.

In its initial design, the reproductive health program categorized young people in the service community into two major groups. The first group was called the 'hard to reach' group and comprised of young people living outside of the home environment and who were on the move. This group, for example, included those youth who live on the streets and in temporary shelters. The second group was called the 'easy to reach' group and comprised of young people living with family and thus in a fixed address. Through time, such categorization nevertheless proved wrong as some young people living with families were found to be the 'hard to reach' group. Despite the fact that the youth can easily be located through their permanent addresses, many of the families were not allowing them to participate in our program. Following this observation, we started to organize various forums that brought young people and parents together to discuss reproductive health as a strategy to improve

service gaps among youth living with families. The routine discussions were overall insightful to redesign our program but, on a personal level, this is where I developed interest on learning about and with young people concerning their relationships with parents.

In 2006, I joined the Master's program in childhood studies at the Norwegian Centre for Child Research, NTNU, and children's relationship with parents was a topic I wanted to conduct a study and write a thesis on. The brief literature review that I carried out by that time, nevertheless, indicated that this topic is too broad to be treated in a fieldwork period of two months. I then shifted to the second topic of my choice i.e. exploring health seeking behavior among children living on the streets of Addis Ababa. In this study, one of the background questions I asked children was to explain reasons for living on the street. Different explanations were given but the one that caught my attention most was conflicts between children and their parents. Sometime after completing this study, I wrote a proposal for a doctoral research on children's relationships with parents in Ethiopia.

The social expectations of childhood and experiences of growing up differ cross-culturally (Spittler and Bourdillon, 2012), and the roles both children and parents play in the process are shaped by various factors such as sociocultural context, economic status, family size and personal preferences (Ntarangwi, 2012). These and other aspects shape the everyday interactions between children and parents and the positions children occupy in families and communities. This study aims to explore and analyze the perspectives of children and their parents on the dynamics of their relationships. It considers aspects that contextualize embodied relationships of children with parents; values and expectations families and communities place on children, and ways in which children navigate those expectations along with their individual interests. This is done mainly by moving away from children's individual agency to document their relational agency i.e. every day and mundane negotiations that shape their everyday lives. So, this study, on the one hand, attempts to

unravel ideologies, values, and expectations that are embedded in contemporary childhoods in Ethiopia, and, on the other, is a comparative analysis of rural-peasant and urban-affluent children's engagements within their social worlds.

Ethiopia, the second most populous country in Africa with nearly 102 million[1] inhabitants is still predominantly rural and agricultural. It is characterized by substantial ethnic and religious diversity; more than 80 ethnic groups exist and most world religions are represented (Yohannes, 1992). The country has diverse agro-ecological zones: pastoralism is the main livelihood in the eastern and to some extent southern arid regions; the western lowlands are largely uncultivated fertile lands with a small population, and the highlands in the north are densely populated but ideal for farming (MoFED, 2003). Agriculture is the backbone of the Ethiopian economy and 80 percent of the population that lives in rural areas depends on small holds of land either for farming, cattle rearing or combination of the two. Land being used by small-scale farms accounts for 95 percent of the total arable land of the country where these farmers are responsible for more than 90 percent of the total agricultural output (Gebre-Selassie and Bekele, 2012).

Ethiopia is one of the few African nations with fast economic growth while making continued efforts in reducing poverty (Economic Commision for Africa, 2015). As the World Bank (2015a) reports, the number of Ethiopians living below the poverty line has declined from 56 percent in 2000 to 31 percent in 2011. Between 2011 and 2016, the country's economy continued to grow rapidly, with an annual GDP growth rate in excess of 9 percent (World Bank, 2020). Despite the great inequality among the country's population, the rise in the level of urbanization combined with economic restructuring is reported to bring expansion and access to services such as health and education (Gebre, 2008). Government interventions

[1] Figure from the UN last forecast and the countries surface area is 1,104,300 square km

interacting with broader modernization processes and context-specific local dynamics have been key drivers of these changes (Bevan et al., 2017). In these changes that the country is undergoing, rapid social change and globalization plays a significant role. It is documented that even the most physically remote communities are now linked to global power processes and transformed by these relationships (Hammond, 2004). A two-decades longitudinal study carried out on the current contexts and trajectories of 20 selected rural communities in Ethiopia has widely documented how these communities have become less rural and more outward-looking with people living in them reflecting greater openness (Bevan et al., 2017).

Some studies on the linkages between globalization and Ethiopian children have yielded evidence on its impacts on rural and urban children (Poluha, 2004; 2007) and changes in roles parents and children play in each other's lives (Tafere and Pankhurs, 2015). Other than studying approaches to raising children (Klein and Rye, 2004) and ways in which parents and children are adjusting to new ways of life, there are no studies that have examined contemporary social values and expectations placed on children and how those values play out in the everyday life of the children and in shaping intergenerational relationships. Ethiopian parents are experiencing contextual and structural changes that are drastically different from the time they were children, and globalization is giving them access to information on different approaches of raising children (Gelan, 2016). Children, in parallel, are being exposed to and are experiencing new ways of growing up and being children.

This study is about expectations; it is about social values of childhood and the role of children in families. The very idea of having children in any family context is laden with social, economic, cultural, and emotional values. Given the aforementioned contextual and structural changes in Ethiopia, it is worth investigating, among other things, how relationships between children and parents and the wider 'family collective' (Abebe, 2008b), as well as the context

it offers for what it means to be a child are being transformed and negotiated in everyday life in Ethiopia. It is useful to explore how community and family ideologies and valuations of children and childhood shape expectations and intergenerational relationships. By shedding light on the ways in which children are socialized into and manage complex sets of social, cultural and economic responsibilities and how the relationships children have with parents are defined by the intersecting economic and social class, gender, and geographical contexts of their lives, this study examines the fluidity and complexity of mundane interactions between children and parents. In addition to looking into ways children conceptualize and practice familial relationships, it also raises questions around how negotiations to parental and familial expectations play out in children's everyday lives.

Locating the Research Problem within Childhood Studies

The significance of moving beyond adult ideological viewpoints to document children's subjective experiences and views about their lives is well recognized in children and childhood studies in Ethiopia. A growing number of studies with an active agenda of social research involving and listening to children are producing a rich picture of contemporary childhoods (Poluha, 2007; Crivello and Gaag, 2016). Among others, Young Lives Ethiopia and its affiliated institute- the Ethiopian Centre for Child Research - are instrumental in generating multidisciplinary child-focused research and evidence on policy and practice to inform the improvement of the lives of children in the country. As part of this initiative, a Child Research & Practice Forum has been held every month for the last 10 years to promote and disseminate research findings and facilitating dialogue between researchers, policymakers, and practitioners. Yet, despite such continued efforts to document various aspects of children's lives and their childhoods (e.g. Poluha, 2007; Abebe, 2008a; Boyden, 2009; Heinonen, 2011; Boyden, 2012; Camfield, 2012; Chuta and Crivello, 2013; Heissler and Porter, 2013; Morrow et al., 2014; Pankhurst and Tafere, 2015; Pankhurst et al., 2016),

little attention is given to the nature of the relationships children have with parents. There are a few studies that have documented parenting styles commonly practiced in the country (e.g. Abraham, 1996; Zeleke, 1998; Habtamu, 2005). Such studies, however, focused on capturing experiences of parents whereas largely ignoring that of children. Likewise, recent studies on parents' relationships with children (e.g. Gelan, 2016; Mohammed, 2016) have also failed to recognize wider intergenerational relationships between children and parents.

Research Questions

In undertaking this research, I was guided by the following questions:

General questions:

How do Ethiopian children in urban-affluent families in Addis Ababa and peasant families in rural Dangila interact with parents/family members in everyday life? How do children navigate social expectations linked to relocation in different familial and spatial settings in Ethiopia?

Specific questions:

Research Q. 1. How are children and childhoods valued in urban affluent families and peasant families in Ethiopia?

Research Q. 2. How do ideologies and valuations of children and childhood shape expectations and intergenerational/ familial relationships?

Research Q. 3. How do children conceptualize and practice family relationships?

Research Q. 4. How do children's negotiations of parental and familial expectations play out in their everyday lives (school, work, and leisure activities)?

Research Q. 5. What are commonalities and differences in children's experiences of intergenerational and familial relationships in peasant and urban-affluent families in Ethiopia?

As I discuss in the methods and research process chapter, I have attempted to answer the aforementioned questions through ethnographic fieldwork that involved using a range of methods. The specific methods used offer valuable opportunities to contextualize the research (Camfield et al., 2008) and one way of researching a diversity of childhoods and children's life experiences is to use a range of different methods and techniques (Punch, 2002b). In this study, by using multiple methods, I was able to produce detailed data both on the context and topic of the study. Research topics that seek to understand relationships between children and parents need to continue to use ethnographic approaches to produce thick data.

In sociology, what we mean by *generational relation* differs from that of *generational relationship.* The latter can be divided into inter (between) and intra (within) generational relationship. However, as I have observed, some scholars in childhood studies mix these two conceptual terms in their writings. Whereas some use generational *relation* in place of generational *relationship,* others do vice versa. I, therefore, find it necessary to make clear here, what I mean by intergenerational relationship and thus demarcate my use of the term in this study. In so doing, I refer to the definition given by Jens Qvortrup (2009b:10): *generational relations* are connections between larger groups, collectives or categories, whereas *inter (intra) generational relationship*s are the close or primary interactions between persons, be they relatives, peers or friends. The term intergenerational relationship should, therefore, be reserved for discussions of interactions *between* individual members of different generations that can take place both within and outside of the family environment (Brownell and Resnick, 2005). In this study, my interest is to explore relationships children have with parents (family); I, therefore, relate to the term intergenerational relationship to refer to interactions between individual children and their parents (significant adults) within the context of extended families only. In Ethiopia, within the context of the extended family

network, intergenerational relationship includes interactions between children and biological parents, but also between that of children and other significant adults.

In a study that explores relationships children have with parents and significant adults, looking into how generationing plays out for children is central. As described by Mayall (2002), generationing is,

> The relational processes whereby people come to be known as children, and whereby children and childhood acquire certain characteristics, linked to local contexts, and changing as the factors brought to bear change (p. 27).

Determining who children are, what roles they play in society, and how relationships between generations should be enacted have significant consequences for children's lives (Ansell, 2016a). In this study, in applying the concept of generationing, it is also essential to pursue a sociological thinking, which is fundamentally relational. As it is well recognized, a relational or generational approach has a particularly salient role in contemporary studies of childhoods and the use of it in this study makes it possible to reveal how children and their lives are intertwined with that of parents and community members. Relational thinking can take many forms in which different things such as actors, dimensions, dynamics, or forces are conceptualized as tied, emphasizing networks, friction, interaction, negotiation, and power (Huijsmans, 2016 pp. 3-4). As I will return to discuss broadly in Chapter 2, this study calls for the need to give attention to all hybrid actants i.e., the people and things that flow in and between the study settings, and the way they play a part in constructing what emerges as 'childhood' there' (Prout, 2011).

Organization of the thesis

This thesis contains four chapters, and three published articles. *Chapter one* introduces the problem statement and research agenda and questions. The research questions formulated in the first chapter are addressed in three complementary articles that are published in journals of Childhood, Children's geographies, and Children and Society. Chapter 2 discusses theoretical perspectives in childhood and family studies that this study largely draws on. It offers an overview of research on intergenerational studies within the context of childrearing, parenting and socialization studies that acknowledge gaps in knowledge and contributions of this study. The third chapter reviews in detail the path I took to answer the above research questions and also the context of the study, my data sources, and methods of analysis. In the fourth and final chapter, I bring together the thesis articles and discuss the cross-cutting themes while along the way attempt to indicate some practical implications in connection to major findings of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical discussions

This chapter discusses theoretical viewpoints that inform this study. It sheds light on perspectives I found useful to elaborate on the empirical data and the phenomenon I studied. I draw on three major theoretical perspectives. These are (1) Actor Network Theory (ANT) by Brurno Latour (1987) and which Alan Prout (2005; 2011) has operationalized and argues useful in childhood studies; (2) Perspectives on interdependent child-adult relationships, which was first discussed in childhood studies by Berry Mayall and Leena Alanen (2001) and further theorized in the context of the global south by Samantha Punch (2001; 2002a; 2015) and Roy Huijsmans (2016); and (3) David Morgan's (1996; 2011a) notion of 'family as doing'. However, before discussing these theories, I will first highlight the existing disconnections between childhood studies and parenthood (family) studies and show how my study attempts to bring the two together. Then, I will offer an overview of previous research on intergenerational studies within the context of childrearing, parenting and socialization studies and detail how this study contributes. Intergenerational research and practices must be context-linked and works I reviewed are from Africa in general and Ethiopia in particular. Specific themes I discuss include: 1) Childrearing, parenting and socialization studies in Ethiopia and beyond; 2) Values and valuations of children within family and community context; 3) Shifting of norms and attitudes on the process of raising children; and 5) Age and gender differences in parental expectations and ways of raising children.

Bridging the gap between Childhood studies and Parenthood (family) studies

This study lies at the intersection of childhood studies and generational analysis. In general, the exploration of interconnections between the lives of children and parents is an important

area of research and practice. In the last few decades however, the development of childhood studies as a separate field of inquiry has deflected attention from its relation to concepts and practices of parenthood (child-family relationships), resulting in debates that have lost sight of interconnections between the lives of children and parents (Thelen and Haukanes, 2010). The source of much of the deflection can be attributable to the long-standing concern of the sociology of children on children as social agents. As it is well known, the sociology of children has been internally and externally criticized for endorsing the myth of the autonomous and independent child as if it is possible to be human without belonging to a complex web of interdependencies (Prout, 2011: 8). Any disproportionate attention to children's agency is problematic and of questionable in value (Ansell, 2017) because it omits wider relationships and generational processes that inform childhood and make children, children (Abebe and Ofosu-Kusi, 2016).

Childhood is a relational category (Mayall 2009), which implies that while conducting research with children, one should view other generations such as parents, families and community members as subjects of research. This in turn entails that the artificial gap created between studies of childhood (which makes children predominantly subjects of its study) and studies of parenthood (which makes adults as primary informants about child-parent relationships) should be avoided. Bringing children and adults (parents) together to study childhoods neither stands against the idea of valuing the perspectives of children nor the capacity of children to challenge, resist and negotiate social norms and adult expectations. Hence, in this study, concepts such as 'negotiated interdependencies' (Punch, 2001; 2002a; 2015) and 'generationing' (Alanen and Mayall, 2001; Huijsmans, 2016) were useful for the development of a nuanced and productive understanding of children's lives, while at the same

time maintaining the normative benefits of recognizing children as active participants in their own and other's lives (Punch and Tisdall, 2012). As Punch (2001: 3) argues,

> Autonomy is partial and relative, as no one lives in a social vacuum, and the ways in which one uses time and space, or makes choices, take place within social contexts involving other people, both children and adults.

In this study, by positioning myself against the myth of the independent child, I explore the interconnections of the lives of children and parents in Ethiopia. Because it moves away from a focus on children's agency to instead incorporate negotiations and relationships that shape their everyday lives (Tisdall and Punch, 2012), my study attempts to contribute to theoretical development in childhood studies that pushes back against the straightforward acceptance of children as active agents that ignores their intersecting social, cultural and material contexts (Abebe, 2019).

Furthermore, in the context of exploring relationships between children and parents and members of their extended families, I view children in this study as 'doers' and 'thinkers' (Panelli et al., 2007). I, however, simultaneously understand children's 'thinking' and 'doing' in terms of 'situated agency' (Robson et al., 2007; Abebe, 2019), which means as it is located in the daily circumstances of their lives. Children's agency must be defined and re-defined in a relational way (Dépelteau and Powell, 2013), giving networks and other similar concepts such as associations and assemblages a central role to a relational study of children's agency. As Oswell (2013) argues, children's capacities to speak and act in a particular social, natural and technological context is dependent on their being networked, assembled with other persons, and things in such ways as to endow them with powers which they alone could

neither hold nor use. As Abebe (2019) also argues, in conceptualizing children's agency, it is important to go beyond recognizing that children are social actors so as to reveal the social, cultural and material contexts, as well as relational processes within which their everyday agency unfolds. In view of that, in this study, (1) I recognize children's agency as it relates to their role in the establishment and maintenance of intergenerational relationships; (2) Look into how contexts and relationships can act as 'thinners' or 'thickeners' of children's agency by constraining and expanding the range of available choices for them (Klocker, 2007; Abebe 2019); and (3) Explore the interconnections between childhood or childing (which is the act of being a child) and parenthood or parenting (which is the act of being a parent) as a way of illuminating the interdependencies between the lives of children and parents.

As I highlighted in the introduction to this chapter, the three broader theoretical perspectives that I found very useful for this study are *Actor Network theory,* theory of *interdependent child-adult relationships,* and the notion of *family as doing*. In the following sections, I will present these theories and discuss how they are applied in the study I carried out in Ethiopia.

Actor Network Theory

The theoretical basis for this study focuses on relationality with an emphasis on Actor Network Theory (ANT). Actor Network Theory, abbreviated as ANT, is a social theory initially pioneered in the eighties by Michel Callon (1984) and Bruno Latour (1987). Although the theory emerged from the natural sciences and technological research, it has advanced to the social science fields of sociology, anthropology, geography, economics, and political science. In ANT, social interaction is conceptualized in terms of networks, where networks are seen as integrating the material environment (e.g. livelihood, technology) and the semiotic environment (e.g. concepts and symbolic meanings). ANT does not claim that

objects do things but simply argue that no science of the social can begin without first exploring who and what participates in the action (Latour, 2005). The social world, according to ANT, refers to networks of interactions between actors who cannot be abstracted from these networks and also take shape within those interactions (Crossley, 2010).

Actor Network Theory pushes back against theories that engage with tension between structure and agency. It is also a theory that improvises on theories such as structuration (Giddens, 1984). Structuration theory states that individuals, through their agency, have the power to shape the structures they are a part of in much the same way as their actions are structured by societal factors. ANT enhances these types of theories in two major ways: 1) It explains how actions are intertwined through relationships and practices that reveal interdependencies; and 2) It uses networks rather than scales as a metaphor in describing interdependent societal relations and relationships. Although their formulations substantially differ from each other (Néray, 2016), the work of many relational sociologists connect with the theorization in ANT (e.g. Emirbayer, 1997; Tilly, 2000; Crossley, 2010; Dépelteau and Powell, 2013). Nick Crossley (2010), for example, argues that the most appropriate analytic unit for the scholarly study of social life is the network of social relations and interactions between both human and non-human actors. As Crossley further argues, networks of interaction manifest irreducible properties and generate further emergent properties that include the very agents who interact within them.

According to Latour (1996), thinking in terms of network has three advantages. First, it helps social scientists to get rid of ‘the tyranny of distance’ or ‘proximity’. This is possible because the elements that are close when disconnected may be extremely remote when their connections are analyzed; and elements which would appear as extremely distant may be

close when their connections are brought back into the picture. Networks , therefore, are not just patterns of connection but also of non-connection in which both are important in studying society or any particular phenomena in a given society (Crossley, 2010).

The second advantage of thinking through networks is that it allows social scientists 'to dissolve the macro-micro distinction that has plagued social science theory from its inception' (Latour, 1996: 371). Conceptualization of interdependent societal relations and relationships through network helps avoid the general assumption in social theories that society has a bottom and a top relationship; the top as macro and the bottom as micro. Such conceptualization treats 'micro' and 'macro' as two ends of a continuum along which sociologists must learn to move (Crossley, 2010: 6). As Latour (1996) further explains, a network is never bigger than another one; it is simply longer or more intensely connected. In ANT, the whole range of scale going from the individual to the nation state, through family, extended kin, groups, and institutions is replaced by the metaphor of connections. In Latour's (1996) own words;

> The network notion is ideally suited to follow the change of scales, since it does not require the analyst to partition her world with any a priori scale. The scale that is the type, number, and topography of connections, is left to the actors themselves. [...]. Instead of opposing the individual level to the mass or agency to structure, we simply follow how a given element becomes strategic through the number of connections it commands, and how it loses its importance when losing its connections (pp. 371-72).

Finally, thinking through networks has a third advantage. Because it allows a more flexible and non-dualistic ways of thinking, network helps social scientists to avoid far/close big/small

dimensions, as well as an inside/outside surface features of social relations. A network is all boundaries without an inside and outside and it allows to 'reshuffle special metaphors that have rendered the study of society-nature so difficult: close and far, up and down, local and global, inside and outside' (Latour, 1996: 372). In ANT, such dual metaphors are replaced by associations and connections.

In childhood studies, the significance of thinking through ANT is well recognized by Alan Prout (2005; 2011), who calls scholars in the sociology of childhood to move away from widespread thinking in dichotomies that were fundamentally established within modernist sociological thinking. Some of the famous dichotomies Prout discusses include, childhood as social structure *versus* children as agents; childhood as natural *versus* childhood as social construct; and childhood as becoming *versus* being. These are 'false dichotomies' because they obscure the complexity of experiences of individuals who bring together and contain tensions between dualities in their daily lives (James, 2010). ANT, therefore, is concerned with the materials from which social life is produced, as well as processes by which these are brought into relationship with each other (Prout, 2005). Because it wishes to avoid a priori assumptions about what these materials and means are, ANT is also skeptical about the many commonly employed forms of sociological explanation, especially those that mobilize ready-made abstractions such as 'power' and 'organization'(Prout, 2005).

Furthermore, as Prout (2005; 2011) argues, we should see childhood as a complex phenomenon that cannot readily be reducible to one end of two separate dichotomies. For example, structural studies of childhood are concerned with the large scale and durable patterning of childhoods in a given society. Such studies, rather than seeking to understand how a pattern of activity achieves largeness of scale, simply assume the large scale patterns

explain the actions of individuals and collective agents. Studies that fall within structural approach, thus, define childhood as a set of societal or structural parameters that are the result of strong relations between prevailing parameters, which all must be counted as structural forces (Qvortrup, 2009a). In order to indicate the achievement of stability and strong influence on individual actors, structural studies apply the metaphor ‘structure’. Similarly, studies of children as agents are the mirror image of structural approach to childhood because they simply avoid giving explanations on how the large-scale patterns of resources and constraints provide the agency of children as social actors (Prout, 2005; 2011).

It is well known that scholars in childhood studies have been for long raising voices against binaries such as structure/agency, local/global, being/becoming, and agency/dependence. A broad explanation on the fruitlessness of the use of binaries in childhood studies and ways to avoid them is given by Prout (2011). Prout (2011) argues that works that are based on any form of oppositions do not yield insight but rather create a gap which he calls the ‘excluded middle’. The ‘excluded middle’ is the result of the opposition out of which binaries ‘define themselves out of each other’s domain’ and makes it hard for childhood sociologists to find ‘points of connection’ (Prout, 2011: 8). Two possible ways suggested by Prout that can help childhood researchers avoid such oppositions are: 1) Treating actors as hybrids of culture and nature in which the hybrid actors or actants are ‘the people and things that flow in and between different settings and that all may play a part in constructing what emerges as ‘childhood’ there’ (Prout, 2011: 11); and 2) Viewing actors or actants as ranging from small to big (e.g. from small children to state/global economy). Actants appear just as points; all must be treated as networks whereas the networks that are stabilized appear like what modernist sociology call ‘structure’ or ‘system’. As Prout (2011: 10) emphasizes, under the right condition, networks can on the one hand arise, stabilize, and grow in scale and on the

other become fragile and fall. In the same way, 'new forms of childhood arise when new sets of network connections […] are made'. Prout (2011: 10) concludes that the task of the childhood researcher should be 'to ask about the network within and through which a particular form of childhood […] is produced'.

How is ANT useful to this study?

Most studies on generational contexts do not necessarily highlight intergenerational complexities. I, therefore, want to emphasize here that I use ANT (1) To focus on relationalities in intergenerational practices in my study and their complexities in particular; and (2) To show the contribution of my study to furthering the development of ANT and its use in childhood studies. In ANT, there is no sharp distinction between the social construct and the natural aspect of relationships. Such an approach implies that relationships between children and adults (parents), as well as physical materials, spaces and entities in hybrids are complex and equal (Tisdall and Punch, 2012). Conceptualizing relationships in such a way offers a threefold advantage to this study.

Firstly, it helps to conceptualize children as having, in principle, equal and complex relational positions in influencing other human actors and non-human actants that intersect the social, cultural and material contexts of their life worlds. In ANT, whether it is a child, an adult, a state, or a global economy, all actants make, in principle, similar contributions to social life. Positioning children in such a manner helps this study to depart from the structural approach to childhood which argues that 'the human interventions that make observable societal changes are adults' rather than children's interventions' (Qvortrup, 2009b: 2) and also depart from the agency approach of children's lives that overlooks the fact that social forces shape human agency. My study does not only depart from purely applying either of these two

approaches, but rather attempts to bridge the gaps between the two. For example, when comparing the power of a child actor and a state actor in shaping child-parent relationships, it is easy to see the influence of the state through visible channels of action such as the school system. But by applying the principle of 'equal influence', I avoided the simple assumption that the state actor (and for that matter other human and non-human actants) has stronger influence in modifying relationships that children have with parents that the children themselves have. Consequently, the significance of children's actions in shaping other actants in their environment and the networks of relationships that form and re-form their childhoods is well recognized in this study whereas the simple idea that children have agency in influencing structures without explaining how that is taking place is simultaneously avoided. As the relational sociologist Donati (2010) argues, when I intervene with respect to the phenomenon I studied, it was necessary to look into other relevant subjects and surrounding objects and the effects such network of relationships have on the actions and lives of children.

Actants might have distinct features in distinct geographies. In the two contrasting settings of this study, although there is a general similarity in the way actants are involved in orchestrating the lives of children, there exist differences between what was being observed. In the case of the rural, the actants comprised human actors (e.g. birth parents, grandparents, foster parents, siblings, relatives, neighbors and community members), natural actants (e.g. rivers, streams, farms, herding fields, vegetation, seasons), material actants (e.g. money, land, farming tools, home and homestead structures) and discourses (e.g. on valuations of children, meanings of children's work, patterns of marriage, child disciplining, collective responsibilities). In the urban area, actants included human actors (e.g. birth parents, grandparents, siblings, relatives, hired housemaids, guards, tutors), natural actants (e.g. home garden), material actants (e.g. multi-room home, the family car, access to phones, computer,

Internet, cable-TV, extra school activities, vacation travels), and discourses (on valuations of children, modern parenting, children's rights, child disciplining). ANT as a theoretical lens allowed me to explore the complexity of the relationships children have with other actants in constructing and reconstructing their childhoods. I closely examined the connectedness of actants in shaping children's everyday lives. Yet, as Prout (2011) argues, one actor or actant might at one time contribute better to a long and intense connection in a given network and looses such an intense connection at another, making any relationship far from being stable and fixed. Taking such a stance allowed me to consider only the task of exploring and observing 'how different versions of… [childhoods or parenthoods] emerge from the complex interplay, networking and orchestration of different natural, discursive, collective and hybrid materials' (Prout 2011: 12) in the particular settings where I conducted the study. Overall, I conceptualize intergenerational relationships as networks of relationships in which children are regarded as social groups that minimize constraints and increase opportunities for themselves.

Secondly, thinking through ANT helped me avoid the nature-nurture dichotomy that creates an artificial-divide between the world of nature and nurture shaping the relationships I studied. As discussed above, social relations are made up of a wide variety of material, discursive, cultural, natural, technological, human and non-human resources and thus requires a broad set of intellectual resources and an open-minded process of enquiry (Prout, 2005).

Thirdly, thinking through ANT has benefited this study to avoid the assumption that there is ultimate stability or solidity of any form of social interaction or relationship including that of intergenerational relationships. Obviously, in a given period and social context, a certain pattern of social interaction or relationship might appear in an easily identifiable form. Yet, as

Prout (2011) argues, such easily distinguishable patterns are not formed once and for all; in a continuous interaction with hybrid actants such patterns are open to change and possibly to replacement with other forms. In this study, children's actions are conceptualized as continuously open to change with a potential to influence other patterns of social practices such as parenting, which might in turn lead to a continuously changing forms of childing (the act of being a child), as well as the overall intergenerational relationships children have with parents. Thus, although the degrees of connections of actants to children's lives differ, children's actions are viewed as intertwined through relationships and practices that reveal all the interdependencies between the actants in their lives.

Interdependent child-adult relationships

In childhood studies, 'generation' is used to describe children and childhoods and to emphasize the relational aspects of the notion of child (James et al., 1998, Alanen and Mayall, 2001). Scholars also adopted the term 'generation' as a solution to the problem inherent in the relation between structure and agency and advocate its use for analysis on two levels; micro and macro. Because the use of generation on a micro and macro level has two different analytical senses, I find it important to make clear the meaning and context of its use in this study. Otherwise, as Närvänen and Näsman (2004) argue, there is a risk of using generation in various analytically incompatible senses and the intended meaning will be unclear. As I briefly noted in Chapter 1, although the idea of intergenerational relationships can also be used in the context of other differently composed family formations, in this study it refers to the interactions between individual children and parents and significant others within the wider social networks of the extended family environment.

In this study, I found the generational approach by Alanen and Mayall (2001) to be a useful starting point for exploring intergenerational relationships. This approach, which focuses on the everyday interactions of children and adults, proposes ‘child’ and ‘adult’ as distinctive categories and dimensions of difference. Simultaneously however, the approach views the categories as presupposing one another i.e. one cannot exist without the other. Such relational concept of ‘generation’ highlights links between separate age-based positions (Alanen, 2001) and thus provides an important insight to the routine engagement of children and adults in the process of developing their intergenerational relationships.

One of the key features of intergenerational theory is the recognition that relationships are reciprocal; each participant in the relationship is affected by the other (Vanderven, 2004). In Ethiopia, generational interdependence is a central organizing principle of family life (Abebe, 2012) where both children and adults are linked to each other by ties of interdependence (Tisdall and Punch, 2012). Based on ethnographic accounts of children’s lives in Ethiopia, Poluha (2004) argues that social relationships are deeply rooted in caring and fulfilling mutual needs within and across generations. Children have interdependent agency as they play a significant role in collective strategies (Abebe, 2012). This means,

> Agency is understood as an individual’s own capacities, competencies and activities through which they navigate the contexts and positions of their lifeworlds, fulfilling many economic, social and cultural expectations, while simultaneously charting individual/collective choices and possibilities for their daily and future lives (Robson et al., 2007:135)

Because this study is about children's relationships with parents and families, such theorizations on intergenerational interdependences and agency are highly relevant. In theorizing how interdependence plays out for intergenerational relationships in Bolivia, Punch (2001; 2002; 2015) argues that relationships between children and their families are not only constrained but that these are also negotiated both within and across generations, time and space. Within the specific social context of subsistence households in rural Bolivia, Punch (2001) discusses how children seek to exercise agency by controlling their use of time and space. She also shows ways children meet parental expectations and how they attempt to address their own interests and agendas through employing various strategies. In a social context where children are expected to contribute to family economy, parents assume that children have obligations, as well as responsibilities to fulfill. Children in turn understand their contributions as important and valuable.

This study draws from Punch's perspective of interdependent family relationships, which is useful to our understanding of child–parent (family) interactions in Ethiopia, where reciprocity shapes daily and lifelong relationships between children and parents. Child-parent relationships in this study are viewed and theorized as reciprocal or interdependent both across generations, and negotiated throughout the life course (Punch, 2002a). In the everyday practices of generationing, one can start to see patterns in which the active involvement of children and their actions can be explored (Alanen, 2001). Within the everyday relational practices of the two social positions of child and parent, children's actions are worth of investigating since they provide insight into how childing is practiced in parallel with parenting. This kind of approach is also useful in bridging the divide of 'childhood' and 'parenthood' studies as separate domains of scientific scrutiny, which in Thelen and Haukanes (2010 :11) words is 'a split that leaves their interrelation underinvestigated'.

The notion of family as practice

In order to explore ways in which family boundaries are drawn by children, and the contexts in which children perceive people who are part of their families and why, my study draws on perspectives from family sociology. David Morgan's (1996) notion of 'family practices', which reconfigured 'family' from a social institution into a set of practices, is specifically of interest to this study. According to Morgan (2011a), the 'family practices' approach seeks to 'go beyond' particular models of 'the family' and provides a term that raises new theoretical issues while also coming closer to the way in which family life is generally experienced. In my second article, I have briefly discussed Morgan's notion of family practice. This discussion is an expansion on that.

The approach to family as sets of practices recognizes that family relationships are actions 'orientated to another family member' (Morgan, 2011b: 5). Because societies are fluid and family relationships constantly change in their forms and meanings (Ansell and Van Blerk, 2004), this approach places the analysis of how people 'do family' at the heart of how people constitute and understand family (Finch, 2007; McCarthy and Edwards, 2010). Doing family is embedded in the everyday and the routine, in which individuals constitute certain actions and activities as 'family' practices (Finch, 2007). What follows from this is the idea that in carrying out everyday practicalities, social actors are reproducing the sets of relationships within which these activities are carried out and from which they derive their meaning (Morgan, 2011b: 2). Viewing family in this manner also implies that meanings attributed to and generated through interactions between family members are constructed within a given socio-cultural and economic context rather than in relation to naturalistic reproductive and/or socialization functions (Smart, 2004).

In an extensive discussion of the notion of family as practice, Morgan (2011a) outlines the following benefits of viewing family as practice. Firstly, such an approach links the perspectives of observers (researchers) to that of social actors (the researched). This means, viewing family through the lens of 'doing' allows researchers to be open to meanings and practices attached to family, without necessarily linking it to their own conceptualization and practice of family. This openness is also useful to the researched in a way that the meaning they attribute to family could be taken as it is and analyzed without forcing it to fit into a prior meaning attached to what 'family' is or what it constitutes. Secondly, the emphasis of the approach on the 'doing' aspects of familial relationships allows one to explore the sense of the everyday and the regular that unfolds in the mundane forms of the actors' everyday lives. As Morgan explains, focusing on what families do for each other gives way to emphasize on what they routinely do for each other to maintain the relationship. Thirdly, a practice approach to family offers a sense of fluidity or fuzziness to the practices being observed. The approach to family as practice, therefore, turns away from studying 'family as a thing' to studying actions that are fluid and have meanings within familial relationships to those who are performing the actions.

The multiple and overlapping meanings of family that children attribute to the everyday and routine practices can be explored through this approach. As far as my knowledge, no empirical study in the global south has applied this approach to explore meanings and practices of family. Through the findings of my study (see Article 2), I have demonstrated: (1) How useful Morgan's concept of family practice is to study meanings and practices of family from children's point of view (and, at the same time, of adults') is; and (2) How valuable applying concepts and debates that originate in one part of the globe could be to the other and also to further the development of theories.

Childrearing, Parenting and Socialization studies in Africa

In Sub-Saharan Africa, although there are few recent studies that broadly look into intergenerational relationships and children's contributions in the context of the family and community (Robson, 2000; Katz, 2004; Abebe, 2008a; Abebe, 2015; Ansell, 2014, 2016b); many works done in the last four decades are focused on the roles that parents play in raising children (Ntarangwi, 2012). The emphasis was specifically on the ideals of 'good childhood' and 'proper parenting' as well as ways childrearing practices are organized in communities in Africa. Obviously, such studies have been able to produce much knowledge. Nevertheless, much of the available knowledge is characterized as descriptive survey on the role of parents raising younger children (e.g. Gush, 2002; Hoffman, 2003; Oduaran, 2003).

Earlier socialization studies in Africa have also been largely shaped by values and interests from outside the studied communities (Ntarangwi, 2012). Because of western ideals of parenting, it was for example common to consider African biological parents as a child's only parents. This kind of viewing originated from the lack of a more nuanced understanding of the many socio-cultural contexts of raising children in Africa, which often led to the idea that communal parenting practices were sources of child abuse (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1983). Yet, in most of sub-Saharan Africa it is still common for children to grow up around relatives who share responsibilities for their care (Oni, 1995 as cited in Verhoef 2005: 369). Because of the wide acceptance of communal child raising practices (Alber, 2003; Imoh, 2012a), the African saying 'a child has many mothers' (Nhlap, 1993 cited in Verhoef 2005: 370) or the phrase 'it takes a village to raise a child' (Ntarangwi, 2012: 1) often comes in use whenever one talks about socialization of children. Generally, such traditions emanate from the collectivistic culture particularly among rural communities, which give way to complex webs of relationships children grow being an integral part of families and communities (Abebe and Ofosu-Kusi, 2016).

Still within the context of socialization studies, inaccurate constructions of childhoods have also been observed in the caring responsibilities that older siblings in Africa have towards their younger siblings. When viewed through western theoretical lenses, the delegation of the caring of younger siblings to older ones on a routine basis can be interpreted as forms of exploitative domination that prevents the caregiver child from accessing the benefits of schooling (Serpell and Adamson, 2015). Yet, researchers like Nsamenang (1992) have in many instances argued that the indigenous African ethno-theoretical perspective on socialization construes the assignment of child caring responsibilities to children as a sign of respect for their moral capability and a way of preparing for adulthood. Recently, researches in childhood studies (e.g., Boyden, 1997; Beazley et al., 2009; Imoh, 2012b; Heissler, 2013) also caution regarding the impact of exporting western conceptions of childhoods (parenthoods) to non-western cultures as they render deviant, dysfunctional or criminal the activities in these societies and are in need of 'fixing'. Nonetheless, as Punch and Tisdall (2012) point out, this is not to say there are no theories, concepts, and debates from the global north that could be applicable to studies of the global south and vice versa. Such research traditions should be encouraged because they can challenge childhood researchers to access 'bottom-up' theorizations from the majority world with more consideration of indigenous theorizations (Tisdall and Punch, 2012).

In Ethiopia, the general context of research in child-parent relationship is similar to what is discussed above. There is a scarcity of knowledge on the topic and much of what is known is on roles parents play in the upbringing of children (e.g Habtamu, 1995; Abraham, 1996). Past studies often regarded parenting or socialization as practices that happen to children through the influence from those around them with a given result. In the field of child development, for instance, Abraham (1996) studied childrearing practices among Siltigna-speaking communities in southeastern Ethiopia and analyzed the impact of the various practices on the

development of independence among children. Other studies similarly looked into ways to predict children's academic achievements and behavioral problems in relation to different parenting styles (e.g. Habtamu, 1995; Zeleke, 1998; Gidey, 2002) or changes in patterns of parenting styles (Tefera et al., 2013). In these studies, the interest is largely on documenting the parenting styles that are at work in the studied communities or on understanding how a particular style shapes child development (Tadele, 2001). Moreover, because quantitative method are often used to measure the effects of parenting styles on the development of children (Gelan, 2016), insights on the everyday interactional aspects of children with parents were limited.

In Ethiopia, ways in which different ideologies, valuations and practices of generationing play out for children in different spatial and temporal contexts are left unexplored. In this study, I examined relationships children have with parents and explored the many socio-cultural practices associated with intergenerational relationships (Article one, two and three). A comprehensive understanding of the mundane interactions between children and parents (family) and the interdependencies between the two are revealed with a specific focus on the lives of children in relation to the social, economic and cultural contexts in which their everyday life unfolds. This is done by bringing the experiences of children and parents together. The analysis of perspectives in context also helped to understand how children conceptualize and practice intergenerational relationships in the two contexts of my study (see Article 2). Overall, insights obtained reveal the fluid and complex practices of 'generationing' in Ethiopia that can help bridge the gap in our understanding of how local familial and community ideologies and expectations on childhood are encountered by children and how children navigate those expectations and intergenerational relationships. Finally, this study, by recognizing values, experiences, and views of children and parents within an indigenous

perspective, paves ways to a new research direction on the everyday interactional processes between children and parents in Ethiopia.

Values and valuations of children and childhood

Although the worth of children in any society is not a doubt, the nature and context of their value varies cross-culturally. Different societies around the world also have different notions of childhood. In western cultures, for example, as societies moved from one historical, cultural and socio-economic period to another, children gradually transformed from being valuable economically into economically worthless, but emotionally priceless beings (Zelizer, 1994). Although this is a very western perspective, due to globalization, and expansion of modern schooling, similar trends in non-western cultures can be observed (see Article one).

In order to comprehend how relationships between children and parents are shaped, as well as negotiated in a particular culture, it is important to know how children and childhoods are valued by members of that culture. In some cultures children might be desired largely for their contribution to the family economy, whereas in others the emotional wellbeing they provide to parents (families) could be more emphasized. There could be several ways of finding out aspects that come into play in viewing children more as sources of economic benefits than emotional satisfaction. One of the ways, however, could be to explore and gain insights into why married couples have children and how many.

How are children valued in Ethiopia?

In Ethiopia, intergenerational relationships and experiences of growing up are characterized by children’s work. Children’s work contributes to family economy as well as to the establishment of relationships between families (see Article three). As children work and become responsible members of society, they grow a sense of self-esteem, confidence, and independence (Bourdillon, 2015). In Ethiopia, children are considered gifts from God

(Poluha, 2007); the imperative of having them however has a decisive influence on people's reproductive behavior (Mjaaland, 2014). Large family size is the norm rather than an exception. According to current statistics (CSA, 2016), the national ideal average family size that women prefer is 4.5 children, whereas for men it is 4.6. These ideal sizes yet differ from what is reported to be the actual number of children that men and women decide to have after getting married. On average, rural women are reported to have 5.2 children, whereas their urban counterparts have 2.3 children. Also, when we look into the national Total Fertility Rate (TFR) trend over time, we can observe TFR among rural women declined from 6.0 children in 2000 to 5.2 children in 2016 whereas in urban centers it went down from 3.0 children in 2000 to 2.3 children in 2016. This decline in TFR can be associated with many factors. Nevertheless, values around having children are a contributing factor to such a decline.

In Ethiopia, community values shape understandings of what children and childhoods should be like (Abebe and Tefera, 2014), and childhood is a site for and is experienced in terms of tension between expectations and obligations (Tafere, 2015). These expectations and obligations become explicit when children grow older (Abebe and Aase, 2007; Tafere, 2015); as children get older, it is common for parents to place more responsibility on children whereas simultaneously increase the level of disciplining them. Expectations from and responsibilities on children also vary according to gender, social class and geographical location (see Article one and three). This current study demonstrates that gender expectations and obligations, in addition to social age, shape traditional child relocation arrangements in rural Ethiopia where older boys temporally or permanently live with non-biological parents (see Article 3) holding complex responsibilities and maintaining reciprocal relationships within family collectives (Poluha, 2007; Abebe, 2012). Although earlier studies (e.g. Habtamu, 1995) suggest that the dominant form of parenting in most parts of Ethiopia is ‘authoritarian’, Poluha (2004) argues that adult–child relationships resemble the one between

patrons and clients. This means, within the patron-client type of relationship, both children and adults have something to offer each other although the value of what is provided by the superordinate is usually considered to be higher than that of the subordinate. Overall, because children and adults are tied to expectations and obligations, negotiation is the dominant form of interaction and 'the mutually interdependent nature of life as opposed to the independent and separate' is emphasized (Abebe and Tefera, 2014: 53).

Finding academic work that exclusively focuses on the value of children in Ethiopia is difficult. To my knowledge, there are no published works that exclusively examine values and valuation of children particularly in the family context. In my attempt to find literature that discusses the topic, I did come across the work of Dyer (2007) who reviewed literature from infertility studies in Africa as to gain insight into how children are valued across the continent. No work from Ethiopia is included in Dyer's review but the approach used to assess the value of children in Africa caught my attention. In order to explore values married couples place on children, I applied the same method of reviewing academic literature on infertility studies in Ethiopia. As Dyer (2007) argues, since the negative repercussions of involuntary childlessness reflect the value attributed to children by parents and families, insights into the value of children can be gained from infertility studies.

In Ethiopia, across many cultures, the primary purpose of marriage is to have children. A large study conducted in 15 different regions of Ethiopia (Kifetew, 2006) shows procreation as the main objective of marriage among different ethnic groups. Because children unite families of a husband and a wife, a woman giving birth is an essential step in the continuity of marriage. Due to this strong connection between marriage and the desire to have children, the fate of marriage in many Ethiopian cultures is determined by the couple having children—or not. Couples without children are often seen as incomplete, insecure and in some cases hopeless (Poluha, 2007). As Deribe et al. (2007) highlight, these couples experience mocking,

disrespect, social exclusion and discrimination and they tend to have feelings of depression, anger and sorrow. Thus, among factors that lead to divorce, childlessness is first (Tilson and Larsen, 2000).

Moreover, in Ethiopia, the void childlessness creates in the economic life of adults is immense (see Article one and three). This is because labor assistance and economic support from children is one of the reasons that many families need children. The socioeconomic realities of families and communities necessitate children's involvement in diverse productive and reproductive activities (Abebe, 2015). According to the 2017 projection by the Central Statistics Agency, 82 percent of children in Ethiopia live in the rural areas and they are valued for their contribution to the household economy. Children's productive and domestic work constitutes the core of social reproduction (Abebe, 2007) and in the absence of external support, children and adults are the main sources of security to each other (Tafere, 2015). Work children do in the household context depends on the interplay of a range of factors including the context they grow in, the demand for child work, age and gender norms, educational opportunities, changing expectations and family circumstances, especially poverty and shocks (Pankhurst et al., 2015). In general, while living with parents, rural children assist families in both farming and domestic tasks. Such activities commonly include fetching water and firewood, minding of small children, preparation of food, cleaning, feeding and milking domestic animals, family business work as well as the sale of grain and livestock in local markets.

A qualitative study (Orkin, 2012) that relates gender and children's work in Ethiopia shows that younger boys and girls do similar work – herding smaller animals, fetching water and wood, and looking after siblings – but when children reach the age of 13, tasks are clearly divided by gender; boys more likely engage in paid and subsistence work and less likely in chores and caring for others. Overall, in the context of rural Ethiopia, no child at home means

adults are greatly troubled either by begging children of their relatives and neighbors to help out or they themselves perform child-tasks, which usually reflects negatively upon their dignity (see Article 1). In order to economically thrive, having or not having children is a crucial aspect of family life in Ethiopia.

Although for the majority of children in Ethiopia working and contributing to family livelihoods are important features of their lives (Abebe, 2012), intergenerational flow of economic resources among affluent and middle-income families in urban centers is largely unidirectional (i.e. from parents to children) and may not resemble those of rural communities. Such families invest in children's education and quality of life rather than expecting support from them. As a result, the present younger and particularly urban generation has quite different expectations towards and attitudes about having many children. Some of the factors contributing to changes in attitudes towards having many children include the increasing cost of raising children compared to what is being aspired to gain from having them and the lesser chances for grown up children to achieve better financial position to assist parents in the future. These factors are shared by low-income families in urban Ethiopia too. Although life circumstances are different for urban low-income families who live under economic stress, the desire of having many children among such families is also declining because large family size is a threat to one's financial position. Couples often think to have children within their economic capability so that they could be able to educate and take care of them. In addition, unlike in the past, social esteem is now associated with the ability to look after one's children rather than to merely having many children. Couples in urban areas who do not carefully consider their capacity might receive condemnation from people around them. Nevertheless, as having children without the capacity to raise them is frowned upon, having more children is not a problem as long as parents are able to properly care for and educate them.

Analysis of empirical data in this study also suggests that the intersection and implication of improved economic status and formal education have shifted values placed on children and are allowing new forms of child–parent interactions (see Article 2). Although children in urban and rural Ethiopia grow up with interdependent and dynamic relationships with parents (family), insights obtained from this research reveal difference in what defines a child–parent relationship and how it is negotiated. Affluent families aspire to maximize emotional satisfaction from what children achieve in school; peasant families aim to ensure children contribute most to family well-being. Nevertheless, urban couples do not contemplate being without a child either as an economic advantage or a desired option. This is shown by a large study conducted in five major Ethiopian cities namely Addis Ababa, Nazareth, Bahir Dar, Jimma and Harar (Sahleyesus et al., 2009). For marriage to be considered complete and meaningful both by couples themselves and their extended family members, having at least one child is always a chosen option. Despite the shift in attitude towards limiting the number of children one wants to have, 'having children' is still a primary condition to one's 'happiness' in marriage. Based on such general attitudes affluent and middle-income families in urban Ethiopia have towards having children, children of such families, like their rural counterparts develop multiple and dynamic relationships with adults in their extended families having expectations and obligations towards them.

Shifting traditional norms and attitudes of raising children

This section attempts to discuss challenges posed by new socioeconomic trends in the process of raising children in Ethiopia but also looks into how the lives of children are affected by those changes. Like anywhere else, Ethiopian children these days are growing in a global socio- economic environment. As the global economy provides linkages between the regions and nations of the world in a system of economic relationships; both rural and urban areas of Ethiopia continue to be impacted in so many ways. These impacts include increasing access to

technological innovations and communication networks such as television, radio, mobile phones and the Internet, all of which facilitate socioeconomic and cultural exchanges between the local and global and are bringing changes in the way children and families lead their lives. Children are particularly connected to the world outside of the family through peers, education, child rights advocates, and other socialization agents which all contribute to an increase in their negotiation power with older generations (Tafere, 2015). These overall exposures of rural and urban children and their families to the bigger world outside of them and the opening up of new avenues of information and knowledge for both has continued to challenge and minimize roles being played by parents and extended family members in raising children.

Among the factors that are re-shaping child-parent interactions, formal schooling has a powerful and continued influence on roles played by parents. As Pankhurst et al., (2015) explain, the rapid expansion of formal schooling, as well as the broader social and material changes pointed to above are bringing up sharply competing definitions of what a ‘good childhood’ should look like. Unlike traditional child-parent relationship, it is no more the case that child-parent interactions in Ethiopian communities are taking place in the household or family environment only. In order to gain insights on relationships of children and parents in Ethiopia and understand what defines their relationships, conducting a current study such as this one is necessary.

As noted above, the majority of Ethiopian children live and grow in rural areas and within extended family contexts, receiving various levels of socialization from members of those families. This situation makes parenting to often reflect the broader relationships children have; not only with biological parents but also with adults within extended family networks.

Within this social context, both children and adults perceive themselves as members of familial, kinship and livelihood systems, which are characterized by mutual support, reciprocity and trust (Stavropoulou and Gupta-Archer, 2017). It is however also the case that adult-child relationships in Ethiopia are in general hierarchical where age and gender are defining factors in a given family. Whether a family is extended or nuclear in structure, in most instances men take the top position in the hierarchy and then follow women and children. Age and gender are thus defining factors in forming the hierarchical order of members within families. Nevertheless, as Poluha (2004) and Tafere (2015) argue, the expansion of modern education and children's exposure to different experiences outside the family is resulting in many children to contest parental values, norms, and expectations, which in turn are resulting into traditional adult supremacy gradually being replaced by negotiations.

Critical analyses by researchers like Gelan (2016) show that the fast socioeconomic and technological changes brought by modernization and globalization in Ethiopia have created experiential and ideological gaps between parents and their children. The influences of the media and internet are now shaping behaviors and values of children. Each of these entail new diversities in the child population found in many particular localities in Ethiopia as processes of globalization and new technologies have increased opportunities for children to develop and maintain relationships beyond their local communities (Hanson et al., 2018). On the other hand, although many parents still use the cultural ways they were brought up with to inform their parenting, they simultaneously are struggling with the widening of the generational gap between themselves and their children. So much as there are parents who believe that all is good as long as children are getting food, clothing and shelter, it is also becoming common to find parents (regardless of rural/urban location or poor or affluent economy) who think basic

needs alone are not enough. For example, one of the greatest challenges of many contemporary parents in Ethiopia is what children would do after completing high school. It is interesting that this concern is even present in pastoralist communities in Ethiopia, and yet they have been known as resisting modern education for decades as they did not find it fit into the nature of their livelihoods. Evidence from such areas indicates that parents these days are increasingly interested in the education of both their sons and daughters (Brocklesby et al., 2010).

In contemporary Ethiopian cultures, shifts in demands or expectations from children is reported as the main source of parent-child conflict and children are increasingly reluctant to readily accept parental expectations (Tadele and Kifle, 2012; Tafere, 2015). Although similar trends can be seen in rural Ethiopia, children in urban centers particularly are increasingly materially demanding from parents rather than contributing. Most urban parents of the current adult generation were born in rural Ethiopia and raised under typical culture-based child raising methods of their time. Recognizing the fact that their past childhoods have limited relevance to their own children, most parents are increasingly willing to listen to their children (Tafere 2015). Parents now live in a life style caught up between a global and local context and are expected to raise their children differently from how they were brought up. The contemporary urban upbringing, for example, focuses mainly on education and ensuring children's success in school. Above anything, parents are primarily focused on investing in children's education so that children could become successful in securing their future. In associating to this fact, the level of expectation of parents from children's school work is increasingly becoming high and what children achieve in school is part of being a successful parent—or not (see Article 1).

The nature of children's upbringing, and relationships with parents, is shaped by the context within which children are born and grow (see Article one and two). Ethiopia is a country of many cultures and as indicated above, the majority of children in the country grow within a rural socio-cultural context. However, as there are commonalities between the so called 'rural contexts' we see variations. For example, under the general geographical category of rural Ethiopia, we have indigenous communities that socialize children only through traditional customs and values whereas the mainstream rural culture uses a combination of traditional (local) and modern (external) ways of socializing children. Among indigenous remote communities such as the Surma (Abbink, 1999), elders teach children the moral and ethical codes of behaviors and social relationships. In such cultural contexts, children are expected to respect and obey parents and elders. Nevertheless, the general changing social dynamic in Ethiopia has continued to undermine the communal philosophy of living among indigenous communities too. Rural communities are in general seen as integrating a modern way of raising children that came through the influence of schools. For example, although working from a young age is a normal part of childhood and of socialization processes, it is being challenged by current policies that emphasize the negative aspects of children's work while championing the positive aspects of schooling (Pankhurst et al. 2015). Yet, for many children and families in rural Ethiopia, work remains a defining feature of childhood and an important part of managing everyday and long-term well-being (Pankhurst et al., 2015). Similarly, the value of children's work in urban Ethiopia is also documented as highly useful in an increasingly uncertain monetized economy of the country, giving children a broader base for their future livelihood (Taye, 2019).

On the other hand, unlike 30 or 40 years ago, the process of raising children in Ethiopian cities and towns has largely become the primary responsibility of the individual household,

which consists primarily of a wife and a husband. Although the commitment and motivation of communities towards the common responsibility of raising children still exists, their previous context is continuously being altered by many external factors. For example, one cross-cutting theme that has changed in many Ethiopian communities is the act of punishing children when they do wrong. Two or three decades ago, punishing or disciplining children for doing wrong things was 'communal' in many cultures. If a neighbor sees a child doing something wrong, they were allowed to punish the child and a neighbor failing to do so would be interpreted to mean that he or she wanted only his or her biological children to be corrected or grow better. The role of neighbors in taking responsibility in disciplining children of others was significant. Today, however, things are different both in urban as well as rural part of the country. One cannot touch someone else's child for the sake of disciplining. A stranger pinching or reprimanding a child because he or she does something wrong will in most cases be demanded an explanation from parents. Communal responsibilities have become less often practiced in most Ethiopian cultures, which has never been the case before.

Roles parents play as well as children in any family or community are results of socio-cultural expectations, personal preference, as well contextual factors such as income, occupation, and family size (Ntarangwi, 2012). For instance, among many urban middle class families in Ethiopia, work demands and lifestyle changes have led to childcare being relegated to house help, maids, or nannies, who not only attend to social and physical needs of children of their employers but also educational ones including assistance with homework. On the other hand, many children have access to information about modern life in ways that are not effectively controlled by their parents. New technologies such as access to mobile phones, the internet, and cable television have allowed children access to newer information which is gradually undermining the traditional roles parents and other adults in families and communities play in

raising and guiding them. All these changes and their contribution in shaping and reshaping relationships between children and parents need thorough study. Insights obtained from this current study reveal the fluid and complex practices of generationing (here to mean, among other processes, the practices of parenting and childing) in Ethiopia and help to bridge the gap in knowledge on how local familial and community ideologies and expectations of childhood are being encountered by children and how children navigate expectations and intergenerational relationships.

Age and gender differences in parental expectations on childhood

In Ethiopia, child-parent relationships are taken for granted when children are young, but as they grow older, parental expectations and filial obligations become explicit (Tafere, 2015). Specific to rural contexts, children are involved in farming and other household activities beginning from an early age. It is also common to find rural children joining school much later than the official admission age of seven. It is also generally believed that play is a reflection of less maturity and is seen as less important than school and household work. These and similar other contexts of children's lives thus reflect on the importance of social age and maturity than biological age. As Clark-Kazak (2009: 1310) defines it,

> Social age is the socially constructed meanings applied to physical development and roles attributed to infants, children, young people, adults and elders, as well as their intra- and inter-generational relationships.

In Ethiopia, the notion of hitsan (literary meaning ‘someone immature') generally indicates a stage of a life course that one ought to grow out of (Abebe, 2019 : 3). It is common to observe parents and community members to consider children as reaching social maturity when they get to the social status of ‘in-between' a ‘child' and an ‘adult'. This ‘in-between' social status is

largely manifested by an increased level of socio-cultural and material expectations placed on children by parents and community members (see Article three). Moreover and particularly in the urban context of Ethiopia, the 'in-between' social status of children is seen as a period where children in general become increasingly keen to explore and interact with the world outside the family home. Consequently, when children reach this stage of maturity, parents often become cautious about activities children engage in, whom they associate with, as well as the level of children's engagement in school and household work responsibilities. At that time, tensions between children and parents are common.

Additionally, beginning from an early age and in various ways, the lives of children in Ethiopia are shaped by dynamics within households, socio-cultural context, institutional structures and economic pressures (Feeny and Crivello, 2015). Above all however, expectations, opportunities and constraints for children are shaped by gender and hence interconnected choices regarding education, marriage and work affect the life trajectories of girls and boys in different ways (Abebe, 2007; Chuta and Crivello, 2013; Tafere and Chuta, 2016; Stavropoulou and Gupta-Archer, 2017). As Poluha (2007) argues, whether they live in urban or rural areas, parents' level of education and work as well as their religious affixation and cultural values all contribute to the way gender is interpreted and what is considered to be good and bad behavior for boys and girls. In many parts of the country, even in increasingly changing social dynamics, gender-based parenting is still very much practiced.

Gender roles are clearly defined in Ethiopia. The country has largely an agricultural-based economy; more than 80 percent of its population depends on the agricultural sector for its livelihood. In the majority of rural areas, both men and women are involved in agricultural and livestock production; the women in addition have reproductive and caring tasks. It is

common practice for women to assist their husbands in various agricultural activities such as soil and manure preparation, weeding and harvesting, but it is not common to see women plow, a task only men are expected to do. Men engage in plowing, harvesting, and selling cattle; herding, cutting wood and building houses whereas women are in charge of household chores such as cooking, brewing drinks, buying and selling household produces, carrying water, and looking after children. Women also play vital roles in the preservation and storage of food as well as marketing the surplus locally to generate income. On the other hand, when we look at gender roles in urban cultures, we in general find it freer compared to rural cultures. Women go to work just as men do, but are still expected to get all of their household chores done. Although such an expectation is currently declining, a man cooking or doing any of the women's chores would still be largely considered effeminate.

The above discussed broader culture is where the majority of boys and girls in Ethiopia grow up in. Children develop perceptions about gender roles through their socialization processes in their respective cultures, and in every culture, they are expected to learn the differences between sexes and acquire behaviors believed to be ‘appropriate’ for their gender (Ebrie, 2015). During childhood and late in early life, gender becomes a more significant factor, affecting boys and girls in different ways. Ethiopian parents in general give boys more freedom than girls. There is a widespread belief that a boy has to grow into a man so he has to go out and experience his culture before he is able to provide for his own family in the future, whereas girls are expected to stay home with mothers and help with household chores and learn to cook for their future family. Cross-gender friendship is in general looked down on and in which case both genders can be given the derogatory epithet *balege* (literary means unruly), which in the context has a connotation of promiscuity (Poluha, 2007). Describing the gender distinction in the use of public space between girls and boys, Poluha (2007) showed

how rural girls do not frequent public spaces but mostly stay inside the house and prepare food and girls in towns spend much time working at home while boys play in the compound or in the street. Despite this however, there are some changes among communities in adjusting gender imbalances in the way boys and girls are being treated while being raised. Although they still prioritize boys due to the chores that need to be done at home by girls, current parents in many rural communities, for example, believe all children need to attend school. A national study by Young Lives Ethiopia on the impact of gender on children's school and work shows there is no particular differences in school enrolment between boys and girls, although girls complained they found it difficult to find time to study and boys tended to be absent from school more often than girls when their families needed them for subsistence work (Orkin, 2012).

In Ethiopia, despite the fact that social relations are continually progressing, children's experiences are shaped by their parents' decisions, which are based on what parents perceive to be good gender roles. There are a number of similarities in the way girls and boys all over the country are expected to behave and what tasks they should carry out (Poluha, 2007). As Camfield and Tafere (2011) argue, adult understandings of what children can and should be doing are as important as material constraints in guiding their trajectories. Schooling, work, and marriage are, for instance, the most significant areas of children's lives and are experienced very differently by boys and girls (Camfield and Tafere, 2009). Many families in rural Ethiopia still feel obliged to arrange their daughter's marriage (Abebe, 2007). According to a survey done on nearly 10 thousand youth aged 12–24 years in seven regions of Ethiopia, only 25% of girls and 29% of boys in rural areas believed their parents respected their opinions on marriage (Population Council and UNFPA, 2010). Based on another recent longitudinal study done in the rural Tigray region of northern Ethiopia (Mjaaland, 2014), due

to the female virginity ideal and the burden of sexual morality, girls are forced to shoulder early marriage decisions by parents so as to maintain the family honor. Broadly speaking, in many rural and urban cultures, to be obedient to your parents implies children should fulfil whatever duties and obligation have been assigned to them (Poluha, 2004). It is therefore important to conduct studies like this one to explore how children negotiate parental and familial expectations within the context of intergenerational relationships and see how that plays out in their everyday lives. In this study, as the above discussed broader culture in Ethiopia reflects, age and gender expectations shape activities and practice children carry out in family and community contexts. It is however in the rural setting that gender discrimination in raising children is clearly present.

Chapter summary

This chapter discussed the theoretical and empirical viewpoints that inform this study. It began by briefly discussing the current disconnections between studies of childhood and studies of parenthood and outlining the contribution of this current study in bringing the two together. The three theoretical perspectives that the study mainly draws on, namely Actor-Network Theory, interdependent child-adult relationships, and family as a practice were then presented. The usefulness of these theories in anchoring this study on the relationalities and complexities of intergenerational practices is emphasized whereas the contribution of this study in furthering the development of these theories in childhood studies, particularly that of ANT is highlighted. The chapter also provided a review of literature on past intergenerational studies in the context of childrearing, parenting, and socialization studies. The review covered specific themes on childrearing, parenting and socialization studies in Ethiopia, values, and valuations of children within family and community context, the shifting of norms and attitudes on the process of raising children, as well as the age-gender differences in parental

expectations and ways of raising children in Ethiopia. The theories and empirical materials that I discussed in this chapter guided the methodological choice I made to this study.

CHAPTER THREE

Research methodology and context

This chapter expands on the short methodological discussions I offered in each of the three published articles. It explains the work I carried out in the field to generate data and answer research questions. This chapter sheds light on (1) The nature of the study and approach used to answer research questions; (2) The research participants and contexts of the study; (3) Specific methods and procedures used to generate and analyze data; and (4) Ethical and methodological issues encountered in the research process. The fieldwork for this study was carried out over a period of seven months in two rounds; each round took place from February to June, 2012 and June to July, 2013, respectively.

Nature of the study and approach used

A study approach applied to a given research should be linked to the principles and theoretical perspective adopted by the researcher (Mason and Watson, 2014). In this study, methodological choice is guided by the nature of the study, the research questions, and the theories and empirical studies that I discussed in the previous two chapters. The ongoing methodological readings I made and the thought processes in which I carefully examined the practical assumptions behind the research questions helped me choose the right approach to conduct this study.

The overall objective of this study is to examine the social expectations placed on children and childhood, the relationships children have with parents and family members, and ways in which children's everyday life is weaved together by the nature of those relationships. For that reason, the first question I asked myself was: what approach and specific methods should I use to best capture the everyday interactional experiences of children and parents? Capturing

such kind of data requires building close relationships with study participants because it is 'only through being there, observing, listening and cross-checking interpretations of meaning with members from the studied group' (Poluha, 2007: 11) that I can get access to and generate data with them. The topic of the study, by its very nature, also requires spending long periods in the field and applying multiple methods that allow capturing the perspectives of participants. It is in light of all these various aspects of my study that I chose ethnography as the right approach to conduct this study.

Ethnography is a systematic way for anthropologists to study people and culture. Because the general goal of such kind of studies is to observe the social practices and interactions of the group being studied, participant observation and reflexivity are inherent features of ethnography (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). In ethnography, on the one hand, a researcher spends a prolonged period in the field and gets opportunities to engage in a direct interaction with the subjects of the study. On the other hand, through being part of the social world that is being studied, a researcher engages in a continuous process of thinking and learning on what questions to ask and how to ask (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

Choosing ethnography as the approach to this study is largely underpinned by the philosophical and conceptual understandings of children and childhoods. Because ethnography provides situated and contextualized data in relation to children's everyday lives as well as their social interactions, it is an approach much favored by researchers in childhood studies (Fine and Sandstrom, 1988; Christensen, 2004; Christensen and James, 2008; James and Prout, 2015). Most importantly, ethnography positions children as active informants, allowing them to participate directly in the research process and illuminating their perspectives about their everyday life (e.g. see James et al., 1998; Woodhead, 2008; James and Prout, 2015). The view that children are competent interpreters of the social world

(James, 2001) is inherent to ethnography, whereas simultaneously it has the potential to help researchers to establish closeness with children and maximize participation in their social milieu. As Christensen (2004) explains,

> Ethnography is a distinct type of research where the knowledge that is produced depends on the researcher taking part in close social interaction with informants over extensive period of time. It is because of its intensive and long character that ethnographic work provides important insights into the nature of researcher`s relationships with their informants (p. 166).

In an ethnographic study, a researcher can ask broad and flexible questions on the subject matter under study and the researched can construct meanings to their situations. A given study being focused on meaning constructions also means that there is a need to use more than one data generation method to allow the researched to participate and express their thoughts and views in various ways. In this study, a deeper understanding of children's everyday lives in the context of the relationships they have with parents is obtained by generating data through an ethnographic approach. Using ethnography helped me to have direct and sustained social contact with those being researched and document their accounts and experiences (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). In order to gain a comprehensive knowledge of the subject matter I explored, I also documented children's and parent's actions and accounts in the everyday contexts using a combination of methods that celebrate the richness and depth of meanings participants give to situations. The study methods are chosen carefully and applied in a way they could allow children to provide deeper insights into the day-to-day interactions they experience with parents and family members. The particular methods used are topics that I will return to later. Below I will introduce the two study contexts and who the study participants are.

Field preparation and entry

Field preparation is a process that demands a researcher to carry out a number of interrelated activities ahead of the actual fieldwork. In my experience, these activities included but were not limited to *choosing study sites* and *negotiating field access*. In what follows, I will discuss them one by one.

Choosing study sites

A 'study setting' is a named context in which phenomena occur that could be studied from a number of angles (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 32). As I introduced in the first chapter, this study is conducted in two contrasting settings: urban-affluent families in Addis Ababa and peasant families in rural Dangila. By the time I submitted the initial study proposal to the university, I was clear that the urban site would be Addis Ababa whereas I decided on the rural site later. It was after I obtained permission that I began the process of identifying a rural site. In this effort, I initially made a three-day visit to a place called Dangila, located in the northwest part of Ethiopia. During this visit, I was able to accomplish two things: (1) Get an overview of the two potential study kebeles[2] called Zelesa-Simalta and Zguda Gult; and (2) Establish a relationship with a contact who later became my field assistant.

In general, the following three factors played a significant role in selecting Dangila as the rural site: (1) Ease of physical access, (2) Language accessibility, and (3) Personal interest. Ease of physical access was the first factor I considered important because I had to depend on public transportation to travel from Addis Ababa to a rural site. A careful consideration of the accessibility of the site has also helped me to minimize field complications that could have arisen due to the nature of the everyday commute I was required to make between the rural village and the town of Dangila. The second factor that I considered equally important was language accessibility. In order to eliminate language barriers that might be created between

[2] lowest administrative units

the researched and the researcher, I avoided regions of Ethiopia where Amharic (the only Ethiopian language that I speak) is not the primary language. Although some people in Dangila speak a second language called 'Agew', their primary language is Amharic. Thirdly, although physical and language accessibility were central to the selection of Dangila, personal interest has played a minimum role to its selection. Dangila is my mother's birth place and it is a place that naturally came to my mind when I asked myself where the rural site would be. Since my childhood, I had been hearing stories from my mother about Dangila, which has created a deep-seated interest in me to know and experience the place. Any logistics support that I might be able to tap into relatives living nearby was also something at the back of my mind while choosing Dangila.

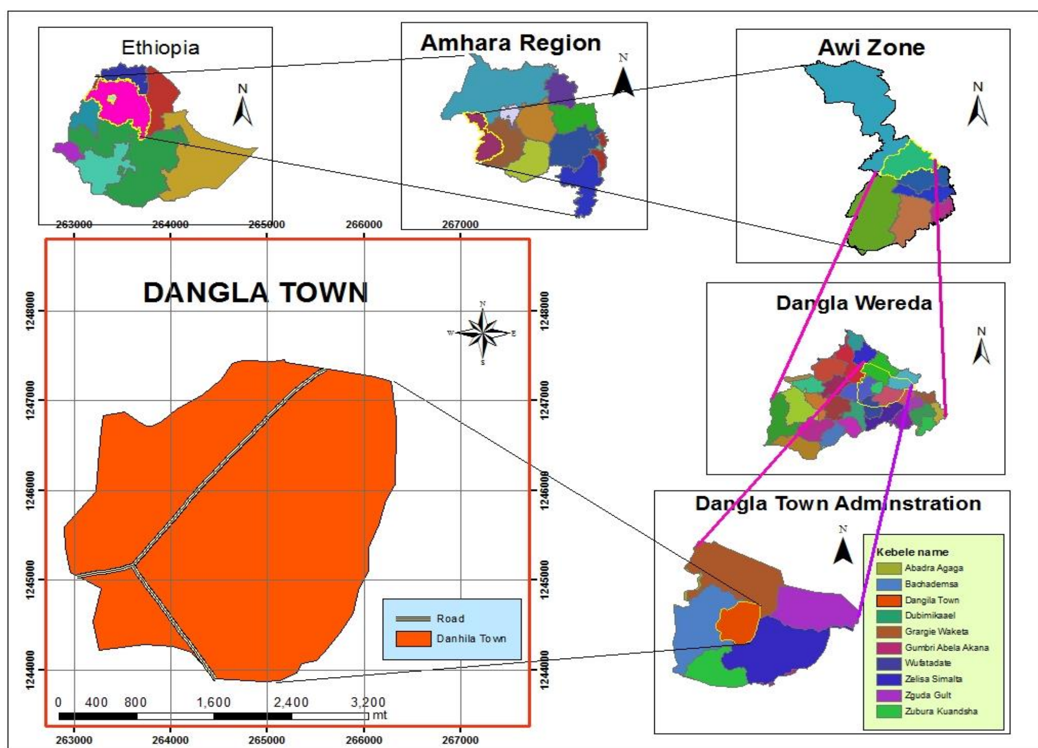

Figure 1: Dangila administration rural and urban Kebeles (Map prepared by Mesfin Cherenet).

Dangila is located in one of the nine regional states in Ethiopia called Amhara. The Amhara region is divided into 11 administrative zones (Figure 1) and one is called Awi. The District of Dangila is located in Awi Zone whereas the town of Dangila is found along the main road between the cities of Addis Ababa and Bahir Dar. It is distanced about 480km northwest of Addis Ababa and 80km southwest of the Amhara regional capital, Bahir Dar. The Dangila town administration comprises five town and five rural kebeles. The five rural kebeles are called Zelesa-Simalta, Zguda Gult, Grargi-waketa, Zubura-kuandsha and Bachademsa. Because it is the closest Kebele to the town, I chose Zelesa-Simalta kebele to be the study site. In this kebele, there are two gotes (villages) called Zelesa and Simalta, from which the kebele got its name. Again, because of its closeness to the town than Zelesa, I decided to limit my fieldwork only to the village of Simalta. Overall, the proximity of Simalta to the town of Dangila has rendered two advantages during fieldwork. First, it allowed me to arrange a place to stay in the town side, and second it made my daily commute to the study village way easier.

On the other hand, the selection of Addis Ababa as a study site was specifically tied to the socio-economic class of the families included in this study. Since the 1991 change of regime in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa has witnessed a steady increase in inequality among its residents (Spaliviero and Cheru, 2017). The larger section of the population that lives below poverty line has dramatically increased whereas on the other hand the formation of a significant number of distinguishable high income families is seen. In a clear contrast to the majority of residents of Addis Ababa, these ‘newly formed’ affluent families belong to a distinct economic class and they enjoy a high quality of life. Thus, by choosing Addis Ababa as a study site, I aimed to gain access to these children who live in such ‘affluent’ families and whose lives are ‘distinct’ from the majority of the children in the city and beyond. By focusing on the lives of this ‘distinct’ group of children, the study has also the interest of

comparing their lives with that of 'peasant families', whose lives resonate with that of the majority of children in Ethiopia.

Nevertheless, similar to Dangila, conducting fieldwork in Addis Ababa has made both the language and physical accessibility easy. As I mentioned in chapter one, Addis Ababa is my home town and conducting fieldwork in the city (1) Helped me escape any language barrier; (2) Gave me opportunity to conduct fieldwork from the comfort of staying at my parents' home; and (3) Unlike Dangila helped me to keep the support I needed from a field assistant at the minimum. In the case of Dangila, because I initially had less acquaintance with its physical and socio-cultural environment, I was required to navigate the entire field process with the help of an assistant. Overall, the two settings, i.e. rural peasant families in Dangila and affluent families in Addis Ababa were chosen to explore and conduct analytical comparisons on children's experiences of intergenerational relationships as they are dissected by social, economic and geographical dimensions. In the following section, I will provide detailed contextual descriptions of the two study settings.

Addis Ababa: the urban setting

Addis Ababa is a city located at the geographic center of the country with a total land area of 540 km2 (Figure 2). It was founded in 1887 and became the nation's capital in 1889. Being the largest city in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa is estimated to have a population size of 3.5 million with an annual growth rate of 3.0% (Central Statistics Agency, 2015; World Bank, 2015b). Forty percent of the city's population growth accounts to rural–urban migration (UN-Habitat, 2008). Combined with its political and socio-economic status, the geographic location of Addis Ababa has made it a melting pot to hundreds of thousands of people coming from all corners of the country in search of employment opportunities and services (UN-Habitat, 2008). Between 1960 and 2008, the city has experienced a substantial increase; the number of

inhabitants grew eightfold; the significant expansion took place after the fall of the socialist regime in 1991 and further accelerated in the 2000's (Nallet, 2018). Migration to Addis Ababa, however, is continuously discouraged due to the rise in living cost, housing crisis, unemployment and shortage of services (Wubneh, 2013). Currently, with an average of four members, it is estimated that there are about 830 thousand households in Addis Ababa (Central Statistics Agency, 2015).

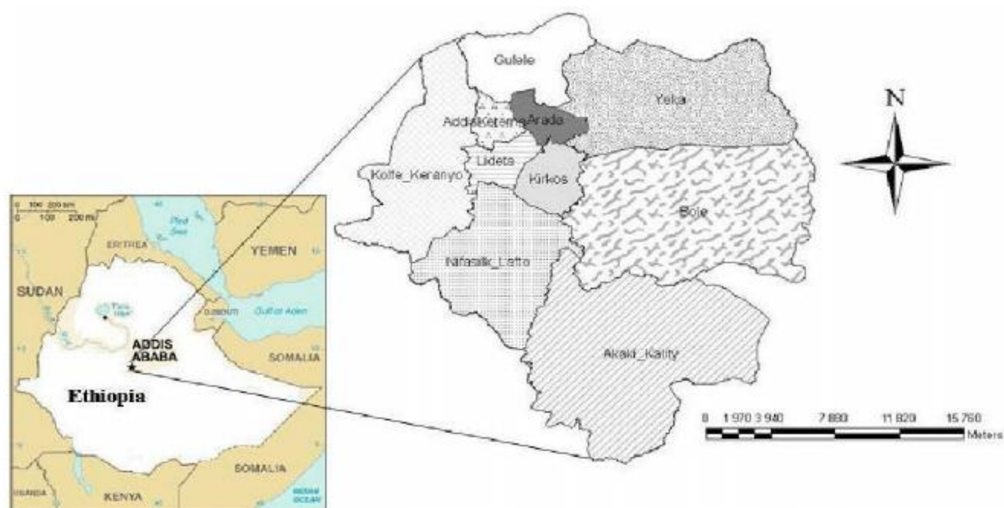

Figure 2. Map of Addis Ababa City (Desta & Tulu, 2015)

Addis Ababa has three administrative levels: the City Government, the Sub-city administration and the Woreda or District. There are 10 sub-cities (Figure 2) that are equivalent to the zonal level in the regions of Ethiopia. Being the capital of a non-colonized country in Africa, Addis Ababa has been playing a historic role in hosting organizations such as the African Union and the Economic Commission for Africa, which contributed to the decolonization of African countries (UN-Habitat, 2008). More than 90 embassies and consular representatives also exist in the city, and the city is currently asserting itself as a

center of economic growth and an international metropolis (Nallet, 2018). Because of all these features, Addis Ababa is considered the diplomatic capital of Africa in addition to being the nation's political and cultural center.

Ethiopia's current economic growth takes place mainly in urban areas. Urban areas contribute to about 80% of the economic growth and more than 58% of GDP is produced in cities (World Bank, 2012). The country's economic activities are concentrated mostly in the capital Addis Ababa; around half of the national GDP is produced here (World Bank, 2015b). Most goods and services produced in the country also end up marketed in Addis Ababa (Spaliviero and Cheru, 2017). A recent World Bank's Urbanization Review (2015b) shows that Addis Ababa is home to 68% of the country's urban jobs, particularly in real estate, information and communication, and in financial services. Trade also contributes 31% of the urban jobs, whereas the manufacturing sector accounts for 23%, community services 14%, and the construction sector 12% (Central Statistics Agency, 2015). In spite of that, more than one in four households in Addis Ababa are reported as unemployed adults compared to one in 10 households in other urban areas in the country (World Bank, 2015b).

As some studies indicate (e.g. Nallet, 2018), the social and spatial transformation of Addis Ababa over the past 15 years has not only been fast but radical in some aspects. As part of the government's ambitious plan to achieve 'middle-income country' status by 2025, the city has benefited from huge investments in infrastructure such as condominium housing, the Light Rail Transit, the international airport and industrial zone development (Spaliviero and Cheru, 2017). Compared to the country's regional capitals, Addis Ababa also enjoys superior access to Information Communication Technology services, roads, utilities and provision of basic services such as water and electricity (Nallet, 2018). Accesses to health and education services have been increasingly improved as the result of the involvement of the private

sector. Despite all this, the enormous city constructions that were and are still underway are reported to result in a mass relocation of inner-city residents to the peripheries and a fast-paced socio-economic and spatial changes in their lives (Megento, 2013).

Addis Ababa is characterized as a city where the majority poor and the minority rich live side by side. The per capita income of the residents of Addis Ababa is USD 1,364 and exceeds that of the national average of USD 680 (Spaliviero and Cheru, 2017). Yet, like many cities in the developing world and as indicated above, Addis Ababa is facing a number of problems related to population growth, lack of economic opportunities, inadequate infrastructure, shortage of housing, and informal developments (Wubneh, 2013). The city center has extremely high population density (up to 30,000 people per km) in which around 30% of the population concentrates on 8% of the land and living in precarious conditions (World Bank, 2015b). Estimated at 23.5% and 22%, respectively, unemployment and poverty rates also remain high (Nallet, 2018).

The context in which I carried out this study greatly differs from the general situation of the majority of residents of Addis Ababa live. The wealthy families in this study live in villas or real estate developed buildings in private compounds. Within and outside their residence, they have access to luxurious life styles. Hiring a helper among middle-income families is a common practice in Addis Ababa. Families in this study however hired two or three helpers for housekeeping and cooking. They also had guards to look after their safety and drivers to take children to and from school. Parents in this study either owned huge businesses or were highly paid staff in international organizations located in Addis Ababa. In order not to impinge upon the privacy of the participant families, income level was not asked directly. The capacity of the families to send children to expensive schools was nevertheless used as an indicator of household income level. During fieldwork, these families were observed to send

more than one child to a private school, paying an annual school fee of 35,000 Ethiopian birr [3] per child. In addition to attending expensive schools, the children had access to extracurricular activities both in-school and out-of-school and when school is on break, parents make arrangements for children's vacations, among which local and international travels. By the time this study was carried out, all the children who participated in the study had traveled either to Europe or North America, at least once. As I indicated above, because of the luxurious life opportunities they are being offered by their families, I consider the children in this study as groups 'distinct' from that of the majority of children living in Addis Ababa. As I further discuss below, the households' capacity to spend on children's schooling was a criterion that I initially used to include them in this study.

Dangila-Simalta: the rural setting

According to the 2012 Dangila town administration report, there were 15,471 residents living in its five rural kebeles (unpublished report obtained from the administration). Out of this total, the population of children was reported to comprise 59 percent whereas 10 to 14 year-olds accounted 16 percent. In this same year, the population of the study kebele (Zelesa-Simlta) was 4,170 with a total of 693 households (personal communication, peasant association leader). This population-household ratio indicates an average of six persons live in a given household.

The topography of the Dangila area including Simalta is largely plane and has fertile soil. Grain production (barley, wheat, tef, nug, millet, bean, pea, and chickpea) is the main source of livelihood in Simalta. With an average household land holdings of 10-13 *gemed* of land (approximately is between 2 – 3 hectares), farmers depend on seasonal rain that typically lasts from May to October. As the result, production is often for subsistence regardless of the high

[3] 35,000 Ethiopian Birr equals to approximately $2,100 USD

potential the land has for production. The local peasant association estimates that up to 98% of the households practice mixed farming where they also engage in rearing goats, cows, and chicken. During the fieldwork, I have also observed some peasants growing eucalyptus tree to sell as fuel wood and generate additional income.

For Simalta, the peasant association is the lowest administrative unit and its bureau is located in the village itself. Yet, similar to the other four rural kebeles surrounding the town of Dangila, the service giving facilities for Simalta are located in the town of Dangila. These include the health center, the first and second cycle schools (grades 1-8 and 9 and 10 respectively), and the agricultural extension office. Like the farmers in the neighboring rural kebeles, those in Simalta bring and sell their produce in the biggest market in Dangila. In return the peasants buy essential household items such as food oil, salt, kerosene for light (kuraz) and clothes. In order to facilitate the weekly commutes farmers make to the town market, a dirt road linking Zelesa-Simalta kebele to Dangila town was under construction while I was in the field.

Inhabitants of Simalta belonged to the Amhara and Awi ethnic groups, and speak Amharic, the national language, and the majority of them are followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church with conservative social values. The economic, social and emotional well-being of family members in the village depends on the geographical proximity of extended family members. Through sharing and borrowing materials and labor, kin and neighbors 'weave their lives together' (Hammond, 2004: 15). In the same way, children have high socio-economic and cultural values for parents and their community. They bear several duties and responsibilities, including house chores and agricultural activities. In terms of participating in family livelihoods, there is a strong tie between parents and children and children and their extended family members.

Similar to the larger child population in Simalta, children in this study live with extended family with parents, siblings, grandparents and other relatives. Family, distant and close relatives, neighbors and community members contribute to socializing children and child disciplining, a tradition that emanates from collectivistic culture prevailing among rural communities. Parents consider children as source of future hope and expect a lot from them in terms of economic support. Children have the obligation to work alongside of their parents and follow orders, but since parents highly depend on their children's help, the help children provide has to be negotiated.

Parents in Simalta also value sending children to school and consider it as a means for the children to get a job. Parents view school as the means to escape rural life and poverty. So, aspiring to make the children's future bright, many parents invest their limited resource in school supplies and uniforms. Doing so, however, is not generally easy for peasant families in Dangila because there are times when their living condition is affected by poor harvests. When peasants face such a situation, it will directly reflect upon their capacity to send children to school. Life is particularly challenging for children in poorer households, which at times requires boys to move to a well- to-do family and serve as Qenja and girls to engage in washing clothes for families in the town side of Dangila (see Article 3). In Simalta, no matter how economically burdensome it is to raise children, having them is seen as an overall expression of happiness and success.

Negotiating field access

Field entry is always tied to the process of negotiating access with 'gatekeepers' who are in control of key resources in the study community. In what follows, I discuss how I negotiated and gained access to the study fields in Addis Ababa and Dangila.

Negotiating access in Addis Ababa

In Addis Ababa, getting access to children of 'affluent families' was made possible through negotiating with private schools that were purposefully identified as being attended by children of such families. Following the 1991 change of government in Ethiopia, private schools mushroomed in Addis Ababa (Seboka, 2003). Particularly following the proclamation of the 1994 Education and Training Policy (Transitional Government of Ethiopia, 1994), favorable conditions for investors to open private schools were created which throughout the years has resulted in a number of private schools to exist Addis Ababa. For example, in 2014, the two sub-cities named Bole and Nefas-Silk- Lafto alone contained 293 pre-primary to secondary level private schools, each having 122 and 171 schools, respectively (Dinka, 2014). These figures are astonishing because during the former socialist government, there were only a few missionary and private schools in Addis Ababa and sending children to such schools was almost a nil opportunity for middle income families (Gosaye, 2000). Currently, private schools in Addis Ababa attract families from middle and high income sections of the community who can afford and are willing to pay for what is believed to be better quality of education.

To select a school for this study, I decided to focus on one of the sub-cities mentioned above called Bole. I also set additional criteria that will help me narrow down the selection process and ensured I get access to children of affluent families. The first criterion I set forth has to do

with school fees. As pointed above, private schools in Addis Ababa attract families from both middle and high income section of the community. I set school-fee criteria to eliminate private schools that are predominantly being attended by middle income households. In view of that, I approached schools that charge an annual school fee of above 25,000 Ethiopian Birr[4] per child. Additionally, I decided the school that I will select to be one that comprises middle and high school students. Putting this second criterion in place ensured children aged 12 to 15 years were included in the study. Nevertheless, during the actual selection of individual child participants, strict categorization of age was not made. As I further discuss in the 'research participants' section below, the interest of this study is not on the biological age of the children but their social age.

In order to select a school for the study, I negotiated access with two schools. The first school I approached was located around the airport area, also called Bole. Anticipating a chance to meet the principal, I went to this school with two letters (a letter of request and a support letter I brought from my university). As soon as I arrived at the reception, I however learned the school principal was not in office that day. I also did not succeed in booking appointment with the principal to return another day. I therefore had to leave my letter at the reception with the hope of to be contacted back.

Given the fact that I did not succeed in getting access to the first school, I decided to change the way I would approach the second school that was on my list. The strategy I used was to find someone who either works at the school or have acquaintance with a person working there. In this regard, I utilized the network my field assistant had for he has previously worked with many schools in Addis Ababa. Identifying someone was easy for my assistant and the support I received from the person he brought into the picture was significant. Once contact

[4] 25, 000 Ethiopian Birr equals to approximately $1,500 USD

was established, I found it easy to overcome the difficulty of gaining access to the principal and negotiate field entry. Because of the good relationship the contact had with my field assistant, the process of arranging a meeting with the principal and obtaining permission was completed within one week. Overall, this particular experience I had with the second school indicates how useful utilizing one's network of support is in negotiating field access.

Because of the actual context where fieldwork is carried out, the field journey in Addis Ababa was not the same as that of Dangila. First, I conducted an informal discussion with the principal of the school I chose for the study and briefed her on the purpose of the study and what methods and procedures I will be using to generate data and get access to parents and children. Following this discussion, I was referred to the vice principal that generously extended his support during the rest of the field period. The first meeting I had with the vice opened up opportunities to get introduced to some of the school staff as well as to explain and negotiate the procedure of recruiting study participants. The way I approached the children and parents who participated in the study is further discussed in the section below. In what follows, I will just focus on discussing the first phase of field entry.

Following a discussion with the vice principal, I prepared a letter that was formally delivered to parents through the school. I however first held an orientation session with the children who are chosen for the study, prior to sending letters to parents. The purpose of the orientation was to provide information to the children on what I was about to do with them and what my purpose in doing so was. All children who were randomly selected for the study consented to participate. But, since I did not want the children to participate only because they were chosen by their teachers, I chose to first re-confirm consent with each of them. Along with sending letters to parents, I also encouraged children to share what I discussed with them with their parents.

The letter I send to the parents explained the purpose of the study and how children were selected for the study. It also explained the methods that I would use to generate data. This formal way of approaching the parents in Addis Ababa was appealing to the context of the study. Based on the discussion I had with the vice principal, sending letters to parents on issues related to school activities is a common way of reaching out to parents. I, therefore, chose to follow the same route of communication to let parents know my purpose and why I am contacting them. Because of the formality of the approach I used to initially contact the parents in Addis Ababa, I did not get the chance to have informal talks with them prior to having the individual interviews.

As the fieldwork in Addis Ababa progressed, the person who facilitated field access and who happens to be the capacity building officer of the school came up with a specific request. I was asked whether I could hook the school with the pedagogy department at my University in Norway for collaborative work. During the first week of the fieldwork I was therefore engaged in communicating with a professor I know in Norway. Although I was not able to deliver a positive response to the school, this experience taught me that I should always be resourceful as a researcher to address any request that a hosting organization might bring forward.

Negotiating access in Dangila

Field negotiation in Dangila was different from that of Addis Ababa. As indicted above, Simalta village is a part of Zelesa-Simalta kebele which is under the Dangila town administration. Requesting the town administration for field permission was therefore the first activity I carried out. The process of securing field permission was facilitated by my assistant who knows persons working in the Dangila town administration. While the application was being processed, I was by the side engaged in familiarizing myself with various activities in

the town and the surrounding villages. I walked around and visited schools in the town, frequented the open market where farmers from the surrounding rural Kebeles come to sell their crops and animal products, and observed the general living conditions of the farming communities surrounding the town of Dangila. This process helped me to begin reflecting on how I should further develop the theme and direction of my research.

The study permission I received from the Dangila town administration not only gave me access to Zelesa-Simalta Kebele, but also to that of the sector offices located in Dangila town and the primary school (Grades 1-8) school where the majority of children in Simalta go to. Before commencing fieldwork in Simalta, I therefore had the opportunity to conduct key-informant interviews with the peasant association leader of Zelesa- Simalta kebele, the principal of the school closer to Simalta, and the sector heads of the education office, the health office, the youth, sport and culture office, and children and youth affair office. Before commencing the key-informant interviews with these various authorities, I explained to all the purposes of the study and its objectives. These key informant interviews were very helpful in providing contextual data ahead of immersing myself in the field and also provided me with useful insights into the topic of my study. The interviews were also helpful to obtain sector-focused reports on children and families living in Zelesa- Simalta kebele. These reports largely contained statistics on household member compositions and the health and education coverages of the study kebele. The contextual data I gathered, above all, helped me to refine the interview guides that I tentatively scribbled prior to entering the field.

During the first few weeks of fieldwork in Dangila, I was focused on familiarizing myself to the small community of Simalta village. I began to slowly dive into the everyday lives of the village people and get to know them. Although access to the field is gained through gatekeepers, I had also to negotiate and renegotiate with the children and families.

Furthermore, I had to establish relationships with the study participants and build my identity as a researcher. I did this in so many different ways. I used to walk the cattle fields, around farms and talk to people as situations allowed. In Simalta, in late afternoons, it is common to see children and sometimes adults in the fields looking after cattle. This part of the day, therefore, was particularly suitable to conduct informal talks with children, as well as adults. This setting however simultaneously introduced some challenge since it often put me in the public eye. I often experienced being easily noticed by the locals and as I reflected on it later, this was associated with two specific reasons. First, unlike the local women, I used to wear trousers, which made it easy for people to notice me from a distance. Second, some locals were thinking I was a 'ferenje' (a nick name Ethiopians use referring to a white person). This was what I discovered towards the end of the fieldwork when the study participants began to openly tell what they first thought about me. Such remarks from the local people resonate with what my own family in Addis Ababa commented on when they first saw me at the airport. The ferenje-like appearance was apparent because I flew from Norway to Ethiopia in February with minimum exposure to sunlight. This temporary appearance, nevertheless, faded away with the frequent exposure to the sun and as people familiarized themselves with my presence in their village. The random informal talks I carried out in the cattle fields and in the village eventually paved the way for a smooth transition I made to focus on the lives of the children and families that I chose to study.

Research participants

Empirical data in this study is generated in a relational framework in which the views of children and their parents are considered to be equally important. Large emphasis, however, is given to the perspectives and experiences of children because the interest of the study is on relationships children have with parents and how children's everyday lives are weaved

through those relationships. The number of participants in each site was also determined based on the nature of the qualitative methods applied and the depth and saturation of data generated.

As I broadly discussed in Chapter 2, in Ethiopia, biological age is not as such a defining factor in the socio-cultural life of children and children are largely viewed based on their social maturity. Though such characterization of children is generally true of rural areas where more than 80 percent of the country's population lives, the emphasis on children's social age also exists in urban areas. In this study, by focusing on the age of maturity and responsibility, I aimed to explore how intergenerational relationships are shaped and reshaped by values placed on children, particularly entering and transiting these social ages of responsibility. With an emphasis on their social age than their biological age, children aged 12 to 15 years participated in this study.

In Dangila, two approaches were used to select participant children and their respective parents. The first approach is a home visit where I applied age and gender as a simple criteria to recruit participant children. I conducted the home visits using a snowballing technique in which families that I had already contacted were asked to recommend families with older children. At some point however, I found the snowballing technique a time-consuming process. Besides, during the home visits, children in some families were not home. I, therefore, agreed with the parents whom I already met to allow me to meet the children by going to their school. I did this by taking the children's names and grade levels from the parents. For that reason, a school visit was the second approach I used to recruit children. As mentioned above, the majority of children in Simalta go to a school in Dangila town, which is adjacent to the village.

Once I completed the list for participant children, I conducted a one-day orientation session with them to explain the purpose of the study and what the process was going to look like. The orientation was done in two sessions because some children attend school in the morning whereas others do so in the afternoon. I also found the school compound a good location to conduct the orientation than the village where everyone's attention could be drawn to the activity. A total of 12 children participated in the study and eight of the participant children lived with birth parents; a boy and two girls lived with grandparents, and one boy lived with his uncle. The two children in the non-birth parent arrangements visited their parents frequently, and some who lived with birth parents during the study period had previously lived with relatives or non-relatives.

As I briefly discussed above, the selection of participant children in Addis Ababa was carried out by the school. Although it was not my intention for the school to take over the task of recruiting participant children, I did not want to interfere into that for two reasons: (1) I knew the principal wanted to take the task of recruiting participants to avoid any disruption that my involvement would cause to the teaching-learning process; and (2) I wanted to show appreciation of the effort from the school in assisting me in the process. The task of recruiting children took place by the respective homeroom teachers of the grades from six to nine. Using the age and gender criteria that I put in place, the homeroom teachers of the four grades gave me a list of children.

Following the recruitment done by the homeroom teachers, I held an orientation session for the children. The school has a cafeteria and I used that venue to explain to the children on the purpose of the study and how I will carry out interviews with them and their respective parents. I also made it clear to the children that they are free to withdraw from participation at any point in time. Accordingly, all children consented to participate in the study. Unlike

Dangila, I took the children's consent first before I asked the parents' to give consent for their children. Doing so, however, was not a deliberate action because it happened in such a manner only because I met the children first. In both study settings, no child participated without the consent of his/her parents and no parent declined the request I made for their children to participate. In Addis Ababa, although no parent declined the participation of a child, two parents did not consent for their own participation. These parents were not able to make it because they often travel outside of the country. In the Addis Ababa study, a total of 15 children participated in the study. Twelve children lived with both biological parents, two had divorced parents and lived at the maternal home and 1 lived with an older brother and his wife since her mother had died. Although the majority of the families comprised two generations, two included grandparents.

Table 1. Methods and number of participants

METHOD	PARTICIPANTS					
	Children		Parents		Sector Officials and School principal	
	Rural (R)	Urban (U)	R	U	R	U
Repeated semi-structured interview	**12** (5 Male,7 Females)	**15** (5 Male, 10 Females)	**12** (1 Mother, 2 Father , 6 Both parents, 1 Grandmother, 1 Grandfather, 1 uncle's wife)	**11** (1 Mother 1 Father , 8 Both parents, 1 Brother)	0	0
Field observations and Informal talk	No Count	No Count	No Count	No Count	-	-
Key informant interview	-	-	-	-	8	2
Diary writing	14	14	-	-	-	-
Story writing	10	14	-	-	-	-

In what follows, I will discuss the specific methods used in data generation as they took place in the two respective study settings. However, first I will briefly discuss the current debates on children's perspectives and what it entails for this study.

Children's perspectives

Viewing children as social actors and knowledgeable subjects is a well-established position in childhood studies and the degree to which children's perspectives are listened to in research has continuously grown (Johnson et al., 2017). In the process of repositioning children as competent social actors and experts in their own lives, childhood researchers have for years sought to do research 'with' children or facilitate research 'by' children in contrast to researching 'on' them (Christensen and James, 2008). Any focus on children's and young people's views values the importance of their unique perspectives and potential contributions to understanding social issues, problems and solutions (Johnson and West, 2018). This study explores the lives of children from their own perspectives. This means, through doing research 'with' children, it positions them at the top of the hierarchy of knowledge production about their lives (Mason and Watson, 2014).

Although the degree of focus being given to 'children's perspective' is a firm debate in childhood studies, scholars are critically arguing for the need to move from the mantra of 'children's perspectives' or 'children's voices' to a more holistic way of exploring their lives in a relational thinking. These critiques draw attention to the need to rethink, and, in fact, to decenter the child in childhood studies (e.g, see Spyrou, 2017), as well as to go beyond the recognition that children are social actors to reveal the contexts and relational processes within which their everyday agency unfolds (Abebe, 2019). Also, in the context of development work focused on improving children's lives, Johnson and West (2018) argue that

valuing and respecting children's perspectives requires going beyond tokenistic notions of voice and responding and being accountable.

In this study, the way I emphasized on 'children's perspective' is in such a way that children are the main informants of the study but not in a manner that disregards the perspectives of parents and significant others around them. As discussed earlier, empirical data is generated in a relational framework in which the views of both children and parents are considered equally important. Community members, including children and parents, are thus regarded as partners in the research process (Johnson, 2017). My study also recognizes the everyday context of children's lives and the roles they take in that particular context as an essential way of bringing their perspectives and agency at the center of the research (Johnson et al., 2017).

Taking children's perspectives seriously requires a researcher to tune the methods of research in a way to maximize their participation in the process. Boyden and Ennew (1997) argued that research methods must allow children to express their own views and experiences and help them do so in a variety of ways. Although there is no one magic method to engage children in the research process (Christensen and James, 2008), Boyden and Ennew (1997) have suggested a 'tool kit' of methods that allows researchers to choose from by considering things such as (1) The appropriateness of the methods in ensuring the competence and comfort of participant children; and (2) The appropriateness of the methods for gathering data that will illuminate the research question being explored. In order to engage children's interest and enable them to express their views in a flexible manner, it is important to use a mixture of methods and techniques (Fraser, 2004; Punch and Graham, 2017).

In this study, while doing research with children, I used multiple methods that were not only lined up to address the research questions, but also allowed children to express their views

and experiences. In the process of documenting, transcribing, analyzing and reporting data on the lives of children, I was also aware of my role in influencing the data and these thus not being an exact representation of the children's 'authentic views'. In other words, in my attempt to understand the lives of the children I studies, there is a transfer of meaning from the children's context to that of the academic context. As (James, 2007) cautions, whereas direct quotes and reports on what children have said may indeed represent accurate records of what they have said, arguing that research findings are 'authentic portrayals of children's views' is not right. As James further writes, the point of view being presented in findings is ultimately that of the adult researcher because it is the researcher who chooses words, phrases, or dialogues as part of the interpretive process to fit the final text.

Methods of obtaining empirical data

While methodology encompasses the 'principles and theoretical perspectives that underpin the research' (Bessell, 2009: 18) methods are the tools used to generate data. Ethnography is primarily concerned with field research involving a range of methods (James, 2001; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007) and the use of a multi-method approach is valuable to gain a deeper understanding of children's perspectives about their own lives (Clark and Moss, 2011). As pointed out above, in this study, by bringing together a range of methods, I was able to document detailed insights into children's and parents' experiences of their relationships. I categorized the methods I used into three groups: field observations, talk methods, and written methods. The talk methods include repeated semi-structured interviews, key-informant interviews and informal talks whereas the written methods comprise diary and story writings. These methods were carefully chosen and applied in such a way that they could allow children to provide in-depth insights into the day-to-day interactions they have with parents and other family members. But following Johnson et al. (2014: 16), the methods were not the only answer to including and engaging children in this research, but

consideration of how the methods are applied in varying contexts were part of the process of taking their perspectives seriously. In what follows, I will discuss how each of the methods I used played out in the field.

Field observations and informal talks

Field observation is a research method that allows access to events as they occur naturally. Within ethnography, it is a fundamental mode of data collection with the researcher being the prime instrument of data collection (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). In this study, due to the compatibility of the methods, field observation and informal talk are methods that I used side-by-side. Along with semi-participant observations, I conducted informal talks with members of the village community in Simalta and the school community in Addis Ababa. The methods are also places I began interacting with the study participants and the study communities at large.

During fieldwork, I assumed two observational roles. The first was what I call 'pure observation' in which I completed without taking part in the social activities being observed and with no note taking or dialoguing with those involved in the activities. It is also a task that I took without participants knowing my research role. The second was 'semi-participant observation' in which I conducted with participants knowing of my role, but where I had little or no influence on what is taking place. In both types of observations, the social situations being observed comprised three key elements: actors, activities, and place (Lambert et al., 2013). Once observations are complete, they were followed by writing notes in the different dimensions of the observations, which I already had identified prior to entering any scene. These dimensions include but were not limited to describing the physical setting, who is engaged, what activities or actions took place, and emotions involved if there were any (Robson, 2011). Structuring my note taking in such a manner helped me to quickly and easily

document what has been going on, immediately after I left the scene. Whenever situations allowed, I also combined pure observations with picture taking. This, however, was done when I was sure I was not distracting the situation being observed. The pictures I took were helpful later in reminding me of things that slipped my mind or were not observed well as they took place.

In Addis Ababa, it was typically in the first two weeks of the fieldwork and during the parental interviews conducted at the family homes that I was able to fully utilize observation method. Most of the time, I took the role of a semi-participant observer and this has made it possible to combine the informal talks I had with members of the study families with observations. Participants of the informal talks included the siblings and grandparents of the study participant children. Similarly, in the context of school, I observed and documented ongoing interactions I found relevant to the study and which took place between students and the school staff as well as the school staff and parents. Informal talks were conducted with students and the school community (this includes teachers, administrator, and guards) whom I met at the school cafeteria, the play grounds, and around offices.

Although observation and informal talk were methods used both in Dangila and Addis Ababa, in comparison, the methods were largely utilized in Dangila. The wider opportunity of meeting community members outside of the home and the school environment combined with a relatively longer field period factored in this difference. In Dangila, I was able to closely observe daily, weekly, and seasonal economic and non-economic activities of the study community. Farm fields, cattle fields, and market places are the common sites that I carried out observations. These sites were suitable for utilizing and combining the two methods because they provided opportunities to informally ask children and adults questions that arise from what I observed in the settings. I have systematically and purposefully observed various socio-cultural and gender-specific activities, captured scenes of children and parents working

in the farms, and children accompanying parents to places like the market and the church. Similarly, in the context of the school, I observed the everyday activities that took place outside of classrooms and had the opportunity of attending children's and parents' gathering at the school (as they call it parents' day). The opportunity of participating in the school gathering enabled me to gain useful insights for the general topic of my study and also helped me capture views the school community had on some aspects of parent-child relationships. One good example of this is the discussion the school had with parents on the practice of qenja and ways to address its negative effect on school attendance (Article 3). Overall, by applying informal talks and semi-participant observations, I documented the wider contexts in which children's everyday lives unfold as well as routines of their lives. The two methods were also instrumental in building relationships with the village community in Dangila and the school community in Addis Ababa, which were precursors to the rapport I built with the specific children and families that participated in the study.

Semi-structured interviews

In qualitative research, interview is a commonly used data generating method, which is useful in discovering the thoughts and feelings of research participants as well as meanings they attach to events and situations (Mears, 2009). While interviews may often seem to be the most obvious choice for research purposes, they may require special attention to make them appropriate for use with children (Johnson et al., 2017). Yet, Spending time with children and developing a trusting relationship may make a difference to how comfortable children feel and thus how open they are within the interview (Johnson et al., 2017).

In this study, empirical data is largely generated using repeated semi-structured interviews with children and one or two rounds of interviews with parents. Interviews with parents were conducted before doing the same with children. Keeping the order of the interviews in such a manner was important to first gain insights into the context of children's relationships with

parents and explore the general expectations and values placed on them. Unless a participant child was being raised by a single parent, efforts were made to include both parents of a child in the study.

Interviews with parents

In Addis Ababa, interview arrangements with parents were made through phone calls; I had asked parents to provide their numbers on the consent forms which they send back through their children. All the parents who initially consented to participate in the study were able to take part in interviews. Arranging interviews with the parents, however, was a challenging task since the majority had busy work and life schedules. The process of fixing interview schedules was further complicated since I asked both parents to be present at the interviews; there were parents who called back to reschedule interviews when one of them was not able to make it. This study is not specifically interested in exploring mothering or fathering. But, to comprehend the overall dynamics of the children's everyday lives in relation to both parents, obtaining the perspectives of both parents (whenever possible) in raising their children was important.

Because of the difficulty I had in arranging interviews with parents, I only had one round of interview with majority of the parents in Addis Ababa. It was also often necessary to conduct some of the interviews outside of the family homes (like cafes, parents' office, and in parents' cars) to meet the schedule preferences of the parents. Such variation in interview places compromised the quality of two of the recordings done at the cafes, which I had to overcome through repeatedly playing the difficult-to-hear parts of the recordings. Furthermore, it was crucial to dig deeper and take longer time during the first rounds of interviews to be able to gather as much data as possible and cover the topics of interest.

In contrast, the arrangement of interviews with parents in Dangila was done with little effort. This was because the rural setting was convenient for walk and I was able to move from one home to the other and meet parents. Besides, the parents in Dangila (unlike the urban parents) offered generous time for interviews. This allowed me to arrange more than one round of interviews as needed. All the interviews with parents were conducted outside of the homes but around the homesteads. This was done deliberately as the Ethiopia culture in general dictates a host to invite someone considered a guest into the home and serves with what the home can provide. Although I had established a good relationship with participant families that served well for the purpose of the study, throughout the fieldwork, most of the parents used to treat me as a guest to their community and often invited me to enter their homes. As someone who was born and raised in Ethiopia, I did not accept the invitations unless the families insisted. This was important to show respect to the family. I also did not find it essential to enter the homes of every family I worked with for the purpose of the study since most family activities in Simalta take place outside of the home and around the homesteads.

Overall, the interviews I carried out with parents both in Addis Ababa and Dangila generated data that pertains to the everyday interactions children have with parents and that shape the lives of the children. In order to explore broader cultural understanding of intergenerational relationship in general and parental expectations in particular, empirical data were generated mainly under three themes: schoolwork, housework and leisure. Parents in both study settings were asked open-questions on ideas and values from children and parental expectations, which in many ways relate to the central motive of having children (Appendix 2). Parents were asked to describe expectations from children in general without reference to a particular age or gender. This question was also asked about the sons or daughters who were study participants. The narrations from parents illuminated expectations from participant–children,

while framing this within parents' general expectations from children. Insights were further enriched by the normative questions I raised about being a good or bad girl or boy.

Interviews with children

Qualitative data in both study settings were generated through semi-structured interviews with 12 rural (seven girls, five boys) and 15 urban (10 girls, five boys) children. The children I chose for the study were between ages 12 and 15 and as discussed above, focus on this particular age was made because the study gave emphasis to the social age in which children's filial obligations become explicit in Ethiopia. The number of participants in each study setting was also determined based on the nature of all the qualitative methods applied in the study and the depth and saturation of data generated.

I applied the interviews with children to generate data on children's daily lives and their relationships with parents and family members. Like that of the parents' interviews, I used pre-prepared interview guides (Appendix 3) which were reworked once I was in the field. When compared with children of the rural study, majority of children in Addis Ababa were found to be easily speaking their minds when sharing their experiences. But when we come to children in Dangila, they stand out in the narration skill they had during the interviews. Most of the children seemed shy at the beginning, but once I managed to build a good relationship with them, it was easy to see most of them had extraordinary skill of storytelling. This was evident given the fact that they are growing in a culture where oral tradition is strong in documenting family and community stories. Through the children's interviews, I generally examined contemporary social values and expectations placed on them and how those values and expectations play out in their everyday lives.

Key informant interviews

The key informant interview is an ethnographic research method that originated in the field of cultural anthropology and then became a widely used method in other branches of social sciences (Marshall, 1996). The method is about conducting in-depth interviews with people who know what is going on in a given community (Rieger, 2007). As I briefly discussed above, the purpose of key informant interviews in this study was to gather information about the study communities from experts with knowledge and understanding about the general living conditions of children and families. In the case of Dangila, I interviewed the sector heads of the offices of education, health, youth, sport and culture, and children's affairs, as well as the peasant association leader and principal of the school adjacent to Simalta. Applying key-informant interviews was instrumental in obtaining a bird's eye view of the socio-cultural, economic, health, education, and demographic situations of children and families in the study community. Interviewing these key informants from a wide range of sector offices also provided varying perspectives of the issues I raised questions about prior to immersing myself into the field. Similarly, in Addis Ababa, I interviewed the school vice principal and the capacity building officer whom I thought have firsthand knowledge about the school-children-parents relationships. As I mentioned above, the contextual data I gathered both in Dangila and Addis Ababa also helped to refine the interview guides that I drafted prior to entering the field.

Diary

Diary writing is a useful method to explore children's use of time (Thomas and O'kane, 1998). In discussing the uses of diaries in social research, Alaszewski (2006) defines 'diary' as 'a document created by an individual who has maintained a regular, personal and contemporaneous record.' This definition indicates that diaries are written records kept by individuals on a regular time interval and are readily available records of daily life as it is

lived (Bytheway, 2012). In research, diaries can take many forms (written, video, audio, photo, structured) and can also be either solicited or unsolicited (Crivello, 2017). Solicited diaries are diaries that people are asked to keep for a specific reason such as a research and where they keep a regular record of thoughts, feelings, and experiences around a specific topic over a defined period of time (Milligan and Bartlett, 2019). As Milligan and Bartlett (2019) further elaborate, a key distinction between the 'unsolicited' and the 'solicited' diary is that the former consists of a diary that the individual chooses to keep voluntarily.

This study utilized diary writing as one of the methods of data generation in which it was used as a systematic tool for observing children's daily activities. Specifically, my interest in using diary lies in exploring how children spend their days at home and school and how their daily activities connect and disconnect with the values and expectations from their parents. As (Leyshon, 2002) argues, diary is a method that overcomes a researcher's detachment from the everyday experiences of children and thus captures a reflective and private view of everyday life. Because a researcher is removed physically from the context in which the accounts are produced, diary writing also has a potential to reduce the effects of unequal power relationships between children and researchers (Langevang, 2007).

As (Leyshon, 2002) points out, due to the private character of the data to be gathered and the great deal of responsibility on the researched in writing the diary, using diaries in research could sometimes be problematic. Yet, as Meth (2003) argues, in the context of research, diaries are solicited and are quite distinct in nature from personal or private diaries. When a diary is solicited, it can be adapted depending on the particular research focus and be guided by the researcher to focus on certain aspects of participants' lives. In this respect, my experience in applying this method shows that asking children to write diaries requires giving them instructions on how to write the diaries and on what areas to focus on.

Both in Dangila and Addis Ababa, children were asked to write diaries for two consecutive weeks. Initially, my plan was to ask children to write open diaries by providing them note books. But once I was in the field, I realized that it is necessary to guide the children to focus on the research topic by categorizing their daily activities into schoolwork, household work, and leisure activities. I thought doing otherwise might end up the children writing on topics outside of the study focus. Most importantly, however, I framed the diary writings in this manner because these are the major arenas of children's everyday lives in Ethiopia and the continuity and relations between and within them are important to comprehend how parental expectations and values placed on children unfold in children’s daily lives. In addition to its use for capturing situation-specific information in children’s daily activities, the diary method was useful in revealing some of the conventions in child-related everyday interactions with parents at home and peers outside of the home environment. Besides, I found the diaries valuable in providing information about individual children’s daily dynamics and differences in the routine activities they were engaged in.

To help the children complete a diary I used a semi-structured approach (Leyshon, 2002) where I prepared a diary form that takes into account the daily rhythm of children’s lives. Children were given instructions on how to complete the forms on a daily basis. Based on the children’s school shifts, two rounds of orientations were given. During the orientations, I asked children (same in Addis Ababa) to tell everyone how they spent their day yesterday. Based on what each of the children told to the group, they were then guided on how to write it down in the diary form that I provided. Children were also asked to state the places the activities took place and with whom they accomplished these activities. At the end of the diary form, I gave children extra space to write additional things they want to tell about their days.

Diary writing requires time and dedication from participants. So, in order to get the level of involvement I needed from the children, I initially thought to provide incentives to the children to keep them engaged. But later, I refrained from doing so because I thought the incentive might tempt the children to produce false diary entries just for the sake of getting it. Every third day, children were given forms for three days use. And, because maintaining regular contact with children ensures the diaries were kept up-to-date (Leyshon, 2002), I also collected the diaries every third day and asked children if they need any support or have any questions on the forms. I recognized and encouraged the effort of those who were completing the forms and gave direction to those who were off-track.

As Crivello (2017) argues, in determining whether dairies are appropriate tools to use in research or not, numerous contextual factors play a role. Using diaries in this study did not go without challenges. As there were children both in the urban and rural study who expressed liking the experience of writing diaries, there were children whom I noticed had difficulties in putting their daily activities on paper. This however had more to do with their low writing skills than not knowing what to write. On the other hand, interestingly enough, there were parents in the rural setting who were very much concerned about the children completing the diaries (which from their point of view was like school homework) and were reminding the children to complete it every day. These parents viewed the diary writing as a helpful assignment for children to improve their writing skill which was a positive thing.

Story writing

Although written methods such as story writing might be challenging, children may also feel more comfortable when writing about their experiences than being asked in an interview (Grant, 2017). Applying story writing as a method of research with children can offer children a choice of topics in which they could express their thoughts and opinions in writing (Abebe,

2008a) and this also affords them greater control over the process than many other methods (Ansell, 2001).

In this study, story writing method was employed mainly to capture the daily activities of children within and outside the home environment that are considered 'wrong' by adults and/or peers. For the purpose of gaining insights to such aspects, children were asked to write stories about other children – same age and gender as themselves – whom they consider having 'bad' behavior. I refrained from asking the children who participated in this study to write things they have done in the past that are considered 'wrong' or 'bad' by their parents. If I had asked the participant children to write about such actions and behaviors that they themselves have done, it would not have been possible to gather as much a rich data as I did.

Each participant child was asked to write two stories about two different children whom he or she knows in the community. As indicated above, I found the story writing method appropriate to generate data about the behavior of other children who are similar in age and gender as that of the children who are writing the stories. Although I told the children not to mention the names or any identifying features of the children they wrote stories about, some forgot and did so. I also did not ask children to write stories about themselves, but few children in Addis Ababa did write stories about themselves. Overall, whereas the data obtained through story-writing was about other children of the same age and gender as the participant children, it offered a general insight into children's activities outside of parental expectations.

Data recording and organizing techniques

In this study, I generated different types of data and given the nature of my data, I put a considerable amount of time and effort in capturing it all using appropriate techniques. Among the techniques I used include digital tape recording, field notes (observation notes and

field process diaries), summary forms for children's diary and story writings, and camera for picture taking.

As discussed above, interview is the method used to generate most of the data in this study. Interviews can be captured through techniques such as tape recorders and/or field notes. I used Dictaphone (a digital sound recorder), which helped me later to easily and accurately play back and forth interviews for transcription. Although there was a possibility to combine tape recording and note taking while interviewing, I did not choose to do so to avoid destructing the attention of the study participants. This, however, was not without any drawback. For example, because I depended on capturing interviews using a recorder only, I was not able to have a backup note when I go back and did not find one of the interviews I had with one parent in Addis Ababa. It all happened because I missed to properly press the recording button when I began interviewing. Since there was no chance of going back to the interview, I had to open my note book and write down the main points from the interview while it was fresh in my mind. Although the audio recording captured the tones, laughter, and silences of the participants, always and immediately after each interviews, I used to write down the most important memories from interviews including various emotional expressions. These field notes, together with the transcription of interviews that I completed while I was in the field were made available for subsequent analysis.

All the interviews with parents were made in Amharic but the interviews with children were done in English and Amharic. The children in Addis Ababa were fluent in English and Amharic so I gave them the option to choose one or mix both if they want. Most of the children chose to do it in English. All interviews were transcribed while I was in the field. I transcribed the English and Amharic interviews on paper before passing them on to someone to help with the type writing. Transcribing the interviews while I was in the field was a time consuming task but was essential to make sure data is saved in two forms i.e. in recorded

interviews and transcriptions if one is accidentally lost. Moreover, doing so helped me to conduct inventory to the data that I generated while I was still in the field and seek for additional data before leaving the field.

Field note was the other technique I used to record data. Field notes describe what is happening in the field: the researcher's observations, descriptions of places, events, people and actions (Punch, 2012: 90). In my case I took field notes to capture the data I generated through the other three methods which include field observations, informal talks, and key-informant interviews. The notes on key informant interviews were taken during the interviews because the officials are used to this kind of interviews and I did not find the note taking troublesome to the process. The field notes on observations and informal talks were however written after they were completed but not later than a maximum of two hours. This made sure that I put everything in the note while it is fresh on my mind. While doing so, I also kept separate the notes I wrote on what is observed and my understandings and reflections on the empirically observed issues.

Finally, dairy and story writing summary forms, field diaries, and photography are the three other techniques I used to capture empirical data. Firstly, the summary forms are used to bring together the contents of the children's diaries and the stories written by them, in one place. For this purpose, I prepared separate summary forms for diaries (Appendix 6) and stories (Appendix 7) while I was in the field and used the forms to capture the diaries I receive from the children every third day. Secondly, I documented useful reflections I had on the field process using my field diary notebook. Research diary writings are useful particularly to record how a researcher feels about the research process and account of reflecting on the process of the research (Robson, 2011; Punch, 2012). I used the diary mainly for keeping important aspect of fieldwork such as changes on plans or intentions, appointments made, problems or challenges faced and what was done, as well as any theoretical and empirical

thoughts I had in the whole process. Lastly, I used photography as a supporting tool to the overall ethnographic data collection and documentation process. Both in Addis Ababa and Dangila, I took pictures of activities and occasions, which I later on used as supportive sources of information for the data I generated through all the methods I applied in the study (Langevang, 2007).

Data analysis, transcription, interpretation and write-up

Generating, analyzing and interpreting qualitative data are interconnected and overlapping activities. Categories that can be used for interpreting what people say or do are however not built into the data collection process but are generated out of the process of data analysis (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). In view of that, in this section, I will exclusively focus on discussing the procedure I followed to analyze and interpret empirical data for this study.

In general, the process of analyzing qualitative data involves the development of a set of analytic categories that capture relevant aspects of the data and the assignment of particular items of data to those categories (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). There are however several options of going about on how to analyze qualitative data. The approach I chose to follow is thematic coding or otherwise called generic data analysis. According to Robson (2011), thematic coding analysis involves a number of phases that include familiarization of self with data, generating initial codes, identifying themes, and constructing thematic networks and making comparisons. Robson also notes that the first three phases shade each other and in practice are difficult to disentangle.

Data are materials to think with (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). So, before immersing myself into generating codes that will help me to create specific categories of themes, I made a thorough reading or inventory of the empirical materials I generated through the different

methods such as interviews, story-writings and diaries, as well as my field notes and field diaries. But, once I know what type of material I have at hand, I gradually began to deeply engage in the data, particularly the interview data. Since interview is the method I applied to generate most data, I was first involved in actively reading and re-reading transcriptions from the children's and parents' interviews. As I discussed above, the transcription of interviews were completed while I was in the field and doing so required listening to each of the said phrases quite repeatedly so as to write them down properly. This marked the time when the process of familiarizing self with data actually started. And at this stage of working with the transcriptions, I combined the re-reading of the transcriptions with that of listening to the recorded interviews. Whereas the re-reading of transcriptions by itself was an excellent way of familiarizing self with the data (Robson, 2011), listing to the recoded interviews helped to advance the process.

Coding is a tool to get at the themes in the data whereas codes are the most basic segments or elements of a raw data that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding phenomena (Robson, 2011). In this study, the process of analyzing data involved developing a set of analytic categories (themes) that capture relevant aspects of the data and simultaneously assigning particular items of data to those categories. This process of coding was done manually on paper by re-reading the transcripts, highlighting important sections, and by taking notes along the material. The back and forth readings that I made between the transcriptions and themes that emerged from the data categorization process greatly helped to produce sets of ordered themes. It has also revealed the important similarities and differences across the various sets of empirical data, the cross-cutting themes, as well as the emerging themes that needed to be integrated into the pre-identified themes. Categorizing and coding of data however was partially done using NVivo, a computer program useful for organizing data for analysis. The application of NVivo to my data was limited; only to code the children's

interviews that were generated in English. Although the logic of coding is similar to that of the manual coding, applying NVivo just made the process faster and less time-consuming.

As I pointed above, I did not choose to analyze only the interview transcriptions but I went through a back and forth movement between the recordings and transcriptions of interviews. Due to the volume of the interview data I had at hand, I also decided not to translate those interviews conducted in Amharic, except the excerpts that were brought into the published articles. Although this was originally intended only to save time, it has nevertheless proven to be more effective in keeping the originality of the interviews, as well as the background and context in which they were produced. In other words, keeping the language unchanged was useful in bringing back the memories (e.g. interviewee's facial/physical expressions, tones in their voices, etc.), every time I returned to the readings of the transcriptions or listening to the recorded interviews. The field notes and field diary have also proven quite useful in this regard by adding relevant context and meanings to the empirical data generated through interviews. All these contextualization facilitated the process of data analysis and made it an insightful process.

Data obtained through diaries and observations were crosslinked and analyzed with that of the interview. Once the interviews, the stories, and diaries had been coded and categorized by themes, I further sorted them out across the different levels of themes, which I pre-identified based on the direction of my research questions and also according to the newly-identified themes that emerged from the empirical data. As Robson (2011) discusses, themes that come out of a coding process can be sorted out into three levels namely basic themes, organizing themes, and global themes. The base for categorizing themes in this manner is the relationship they have with each other in terms of one serving as an organizing theme for another. Based on such a relationship, a number of different coding can be combined to create themes which

can be called basic themes. Likewise, a group of themes can be sorted out under an organizing theme whereas a number of organizing themes come under a super-ordinate theme which is a global theme that represents views on what the sub-themes (i.e. the organizing and basic themes) are all about. In view of this, I sorted out my themes based on the relationships I recognized as exiting between them and on which themes could serve as a global theme for other themes. Some of these umbrella or global themes were pre-identified themes that were meant to guide me in answering the research questions; some however emerged from the data. The activity of sorting out the themes according to their levels, therefore, positioned me to search for clear patterns and meanings whereas simultaneously helped me to write notes on ideas that emerging out of the process. In addition to helping me to identify the focus of my articles, this process also prompted me to do a second round of fieldwork by making it clear what data gaps I have in order to strengthen the analysis and write-up process. Furthermore, it guided me to put aside the material that seemed not to belong to any of the global themes.

Ethical and methodological issues

As Christensen and Prout (2002) argue, the ethical responsibility between a researcher and informant is the same whether he or she conducts research with adults or children. In any work with children, ethics includes the decision-making, practice and reflection that professionals enact as they engage with children (Dahlberg and Moss, 2005). Researchers need to consider important issues including: whether the research is necessary and should be undertaken; their readiness and capacity to conduct the research; assumptions about childhood and the children involved; the impact of both their own and children's experiences; and disparities in power and status between themselves and the child research participants (Graham, 2013: 5). But above anything else, a given research should always be voluntary, transparent, and relevant to the children's lives (Johnson et al., 2014).

Like any other social science research, children and childhood research has resources and guidance on how to conduct ethical and respectful studies with children in different cultural and social contexts (e.g. Alderson, 1995; Christensen and James, 2008; Alderson and Morrow, 2011; Powell et al., 2011; Graham, 2013). For example, a manual prepared by the Ennew et.al (2009) outlines a number of ethical rules that researchers must give attention to. These include participation on a voluntary basis, protecting participants from harm, respecting the cultures and traditions of participants, confidentiality, reciprocity, respecting privacy, establishing equal relationships whenever possible, avoiding unrealistic promises, and ensuring the researcher‘s safety. Yet, as researchers in childhood studies note (e.g. Alderson, 1995; Gallagher, 2009; Powell et al., 2012), ethical research involving children requires a much more than procedural compliance with a prescribed set of rules or code of conducts that can deliver good or safe research in any given context. Also, ethical guidelines may not always offer answers to complex issues that may emerge in the field (Sime, 2008). So, in light of all these realities, in this study, I considered the above ethical rules not only from the task of adequately addressing them but also from the desire to act appropriately in all circumstances that required my moral judgement. In what follows, I will discuss the specific circumstances I addressed in this study and the ethical rules that I found applicable to those circumstances. The issues I will discuss are ethical clearance; voluntary and informed participation; privacy, confidentiality, and conduct in dissemination; researcher-researched relationship; and reciprocity.

Ethical Clearance

Prior to commencing field work, ethical clearance (Appendix 8 and 9) was obtained on two levels. The first level of clearance is what I call ‘international clearance’ which was sought from the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD). This clearance was obtained as part of a requirement of any research being conducted under the recognition of the Norwegian

University of Science and Technology. The primary concern of this clearance was on checking the sensitivity of my research questions, the appropriateness of the methods that I chose to apply, and the safety of data storage system (in terms of confidentiality) that I will be using. The second level of clearance is a ‘local clearance’ that I obtained in Ethiopia from the Department of Sociology at the Addis Ababa University (for the Addis Ababa study) and the Dangila Town Administration (for the Dangila study). In these two clearance processes, I had to submit and discuss a detailed research plan. These clearances ensured that the research meets the standard and causes no harm to the individual participants in particular and the study communities in general. Nonetheless, because engaging only in the process of ‘ethical clearance’ does not by itself ensure that children are treated in an ethical and respectful way (Abebe and Bessell, 2014), I had to carefully deal with the actual ethical concerns that I found applicable to the specific context of my study. In what follows, I will discuss these.

Voluntary and informed participation

Consent to participate in research is a vital component of any social science research and consent of children and their parents is now a mainstream practice within research with children (Grant, 2017). As Alderson and Morrow (2011: 101) define it, informed consent is ‘the invisible act of evaluating information and making a decision, and the visible act of signifying the decision’. Although the vast majority of academic literature about children’s involvement in research is predominantly articulated in terms of informed consent (Bourke and Loveridge, 2014), there is a continuous debate on the need to attend to children’s dissent and the need to emphasize on it in much the same way as informed consent (Gallagher et al., 2010). While seeking consent from children, assent, which is an ‘agreement obtained from those who are not able to enter into a legal contract’ (Ford et al., 2007: 20) needs to be also considered. In any of the three situations (i.e. of informed consent, informed dissent, and

assent), there is the need to consider all are processes that are open for negotiation throughout the research (Dockett and Perry, 2011).

In this study, both children and parents were given ongoing opportunities to express informed consent or informed dissent (Dockett and Perry, 2011). As Gallagher et al. (2010) suggest, securing informed consent is a three-step process, where responsibility for providing information falls to the researcher, and responsibility for reflecting on that information, asking any questions, and then signaling a response falls to the participants. In order to gain voluntary consent from participants, every child and parent participant were clearly and adequately informed about the purpose of the study. I provided explanations on the type of study I intended to carry out, the techniques that I chose to apply, as well as the participants' right to withdraw from the process at any point in time. The explanations were also appropriately tailored to fit into the understanding levels of each of the participants because as Thomas and O'Kane (1998) argue, the ability to give informed consent depends on the quality of the explanation. For example, the younger the children and the less educated the parents were, the more explanation I provided to ensure they clearly understood what I was endeavoring to learn about their everyday lives.

Parents are the gatekeepers for children who participate in a study and as some researchers (e.g. Powell et al., 2012) argue, gatekeeping is particularly an issue when the children involved in a study are considered vulnerable or when the research topic is considered sensitive. In this study, I recognized the importance of parents' consent for their children but neither the children were vulnerable nor was the study of sensitive in nature. Accordingly, I first followed the ethical requirement of eliciting children's own consent for their participation in my research (Sime, 2008). With competence being defined as having enough knowledge to understand what is proposed and to be able to make a wise decision in light of

one's own interests (Alderson and Morrow, 2004), I found the children in this study competent enough to give their own consent. Because I prioritized the consent of children over that of their parents, I also made sure no child participated for the only reason that a parent gave consent. Such an approach gave children the maximum opportunity to have their interests considered. Furthermore, in the process, I was not only concerned with the aspect of gaining consent from those whom I selected to participate in the study but made sure to include those children who showed interest for participation. For example, a 13-year-old girl from Addis Ababa stepped forward and expressed an interest to be interviewed like the other children. It was with no hesitation that I made this girl part of the study. I thus avoided causing any unintended feeling of exclusion among children.

Unlike the rural parents, the parents in Addis Ababa were asked to give written consent by sending a letter that also explained the purpose of the study and what I expected from them. Parent consented first based on the written explanation but in order to confirm they clearly understood the purpose of the study, I gave them opportunities to ask questions when I first met them in person. In the rural on the other hand, I refrained from asking parents to offer written consent because following Abebe (2009), any attempt of obtaining a signature of consent from rural people might complicate a research process by making them curious about the purpose of the signature. The low literacy rate among the rural parents was also a reason for not soliciting written consent. Overall, the different approaches used to obtain consent from participants in this study ensured that both children and parents obtained enough information on the research process and participated solely based on willingness. As the field work unfolds, all the initial consents obtained from the participants were however considered open for negotiation (Heath et al., 2007).

Privacy, confidentiality, and conduct in dissemination

In research, it is important to make participants feel comfortable about the timing and location of interviews, as this influences the nature of the data generated (Punch, 2007). In this study, in order to maintain the privacy of both children and parents, separate interview times for the children as well as the parents were arranged. In the case of parents, this was combined with consulting them on where they want the interviews to take place. As I indicated above, the parents' interviews in Addis Ababa took place in different locations such as the family homes, cafes, parents' offices or a parents' car whereas for parents from Dangila was around the homesteads.

In the case of children, I decided to conduct interviews in spaces outside of the home environment. As Sime (2008) suggests, 'homes need to be considered as complex, unpredictable settings that are likely to configure the nature of the research relationships and of the data collected in every single encounter' (p. 76). In the case of my study, I made the decision of making the children's interviews outside of the home environment for two reasons. First I wanted to give children the privacy of having interviews without worrying any family member might listen to our conversation. Second, I wanted to avoid any control of space in the home by the parents which I thought might compromise the interview process. Accordingly, for the Addis Ababa study, I chose the interview place to be the children's school and found it convenient to use free classrooms. In Dangila, finding a free classroom in a school where there are two shifts in a day to accommodate students coming from five rural kebeles was unimaginable. Instead I used open fields and tree shades located not far from the children's homes. Conducting the children's interviews outside of the home environment gave them a sense of freedom to discuss any issue without worrying parents will interrupt or overhear. Nevertheless, looking back and as (Punch and Graham, 2017) suggest, it might have

been better to ask each child where they preferred interviews to be conducted to give them more freedom.

The same level of privacy was given to parents where they were allowed to entertain their thoughts and beliefs without the presence of the children. The arrangements I made to keep the privacy of the parents was however without challenges. There were instances that some children challenged the privacy of the interviews I had with their parents because the children wanted to know what their parents are telling about them. One good example was a girl from Dangila who wanted to sit next to her mother during the interview. I had to handle the situation by carefully explaining to the girls that the discussion I was going to have with her mother is not specifically about her and that should not worry her. I explained to the girl that what I am going to discuss with her mother is about the general situation children in the family are being raised. The girl, however, did not seem to be convinced because she stepped a little bit away and kept observing our discussion from a distance (the interview was taking place on the field in front of the family home). Based on my observation, the girl was concerned her mother would tell about her behavior because this was one of the issues that surfaced during the interview I had with her mother.

Privacy and confidentiality are very closely tied aspects of research ethics and sometimes incompatible, although not to the point where either of them is totally compromised (Leyshon, 2002). Privacy considerations in research include both the need to have a safe, private physical location in which the research can take place and ensuring participants' privacy through anonymity and confidentiality (Powell et al., 2012). In this study, as much as the ethics of keeping the privacy of participants was important, so was the confidentiality of data that was generated. Although the topic of research was not as such sensitive, the identity of participants was anonymized to maintain confidentiality of data. This was accomplished

through using pseudo names in all of the published articles as well as anywhere in the thesis chapters. Any personal information such as family circumstances and the name of the schools that children attended was also concealed to further protect the identity of the children and parents.

Researcher-researched relationships

Research is an engaging process hence requires a researcher to position self in a particular way in relation to the researched. And as Mayall (2008) argues, doing research with children is a case of standing in a generational position with the children, which needs critical reflection in methodology. In this study, I was aware of the inter-generational relationship I established with the participating children and the implication it has in the process of field work. Such awareness guided me to critically reflect on ethical issues related to various aspects of the research. In the rural study, for example, some parents and children initially thought I was a teacher going around the community to evaluate the performance of parents in sending children to school. It was, therefore, important to quickly fix this ‘wrong’ identity by clearly discussing with those parents and children who initially perceived me so. Correcting the teacher identity quickly, especially with the children was important because a relationship a rural teacher normally has with students (children) is of hierarchical in nature. This hierarchy is usually displayed in the high respect children normally give to someone who is a teacher. Because I found the ‘teacher label’ potentially damaging to the type of relationship I was anticipating establishing with the children, I took immediate action to correct it.

Research needs to be a positive and empowering experience for children participating (Sime, 2008). Both in Dangila and Addis Ababa, I made efforts to reduce the unequal power relationship that I as an adult had with the young informants through a strategy I called ‘downplaying’. Throughout the fieldwork, I was playing-up the power children have in

helping me learn their everyday life whereas I was simultaneously downplaying the knowledge I had on the topics I was learning from them. I deliberately and repeatedly told children the reason I was asking so many questions was because I was there to learn from them. As Corsaro (1996) advices, by practicing a less 'adult-like' role and a more student-like role, I made continuous effort to win children's acceptance of me as a student there to learn. Nevertheless, in all my efforts, I was not able to erase the context of adult power that children face daily in their lives. While accepting power hierarchies, I strove to 'manage' the effects of inequalities and invited children to let me know about their childhoods (Abebe, 2009: 459). This valuing of the views and knowledge that children have about their own lives provided an excellent platform where children felt empowered to share their views and experiences.

Reciprocity

Social research has a direct purpose of benefiting those who participate in the research. Whereas communicating findings and contributing to policies and practices that improve the lives of those being researched is something that goes beyond the immediate fieldwork context, there might be situations where a researcher could be compelled to consider an immediate compensation for participants for their time. There is no clear agreement in research whether compensating research participants is right or wrong, but some researchers compensate research participants for their time (Abebe, 2009; Robson et al., 2009; Porter et al., 2010). And based on my experience, I argue that compensating participants should be an issue that should be addressed depending on the socio-economic contexts in which the research takes place. Here, I will highlight on my experience of addressing a short-term reciprocity with the researched particularly those in the rural context of my study.

As Abebe (2009) argues, although ethical research is grounded in the expectation that participants will suffer no harm as a result of the research process or its outcomes, it can still

be exploitative, with researchers giving nothing back to participants that might help their situation. In the case of my rural study, as someone who experienced the everyday material conditions of the children and families I researched with, it was natural to think of addressing some of the material needs of the children after fieldwork was completed. I also found it a moral obligation to compensate children for their time and decided to tie the compensation to something basic in their everyday life. I also tried to provide something to the children that could simultaneously serve the purpose of compensating the generous time parents invested in the research. In view of that, I gave children school materials which they can use for their upcoming school year. I believed the gift of school material would ease the burden on parents to buy the materials whereas it lifted from the children the worry of asking parents. While doing this for the children and parents who took part in the study, I also attempted to consider other children in the study community to be part of this reciprocity. I did this through buying books and delivering them to the school where most of children in the study community go to. Because the books were given to the school library, all the children from the study community who attend the school will have access to the books. Overall, my action in providing materials might look like philanthropic than 'research oriented', but while conducting research in 'poorer' contexts, it is difficult to maintain a distinction between professional and personal actions because fieldwork is also a personal experience rather than a mere academic pursuit (Abebe, 2009).

Similarly in Addis Ababa, I compensated the time children invested in the study by giving them diaries. Although there is no material need among the children of the urban study, I found it morally necessary to express my appreciation of the time they invested in the study. At the end of the field work, I took time to ask children what they had gained from participating in the study and one of the things some children mentioned was the skill of diary writing. Children expressed how they liked the idea of writing their everyday activities in a

diary book. Because of this I chose to buy diary books to the children to encourage those who enjoyed the diary writing experience whereas simultaneously expressed my gratitude. Doing so also offered me the chance to properly say 'goodbye' to the children prior to departing the field as I did with the children in Dangila.

Chapter summary

In this chapter, I discussed the methodological approach to the study and why I chose it. Contextual discussions on the two contrasting settings of affluent families in Addis Ababa and peasant families in Dangila were provided. Seven months of ethnographic fieldwork with multiple methods approach generate data from both children and parents. Field observation and informal talk were places I began interacting with the study communities at large whereas the methods were valuable in establishing rapport with the study participants. The semi-structured interviews with parents helped to generate data that pertains to the everyday interactions children have with parents and illuminated values of and expectations placed on children. Repeated semi-structured interviews with children were applied to generate data on children's daily lives and their relationships with parents and family members. The purpose of key informant interviews was to gather information about the study communities from experts with knowledge and understanding about the community. Diary writing was utilized as a systematic tool for observing children's daily activities whereas story writing was employed to capture the daily activities of children within and outside the home environment that are considered 'wrong' by adults. These methods, altogether, brought children's perspectives at the center of the research and positioned them as the primary informants about their own lives. The chapter finally discussed the ethical dilemmas in the study and the ways they were addressed.

CHAPTER FOUR

Synthesis of articles

In this final chapter, I will first provide a short summary of each of the articles and indicate how they address the research questions in complementary manner. I will then discuss how the articles relate to each other in terms of contributing to the central theme of the thesis. Finally, I will highlight cross-cutting themes that have emerged from the research, and close the chapter with a final remark.

The general question for this thesis is:
How do Ethiopian children in urban-affluent families in Addis Ababa and peasant families in rural Dangila interact with parents/family members in everyday life? How do children navigate social expectations linked to relocation in different familial and spatial settings in Ethiopia?

The specific questions are:
Research Q. 1. How are children and childhoods valued in urban affluent families and peasant families in Ethiopia?
Research Q. 2. How do ideologies and valuations of children and childhood shape expectations and intergenerational/ familial relationships?
Research Q. 3. How do children conceptualize and practice family relationships?
Research Q. 4. How do children's negotiations of parental and familial expectations play out in their everyday lives (school, work, and leisure activities)?
Research Q. 5. What are commonalities and differences in children’s experiences of intergenerational and familial relationships in peasant and urban-affluent families in Ethiopia?

Summary of articles

Article one

Negotiating intergenerational relationships and social expectations in childhood in rural and urban Ethiopia

Sophia Chanyalew Kassa

Published in *Childhood*, A Special issue article: Beyond pluralizing African childhoods

First Published August 8, 2016

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The very idea of having children in any family context is laden with social, economic, cultural, and emotional values. In this article, I discussed how community and family ideologies and valuations of children and childhood shape expectations and intergenerational relationships in rural and urban Ethiopia. I illuminated how intergenerational relationships and the experiences of growing up in Ethiopia are diverse through revealing the less known experiences of children of affluent families in Ethiopia and juxtaposing it with the experience of their rural and poorer counterparts. I did this by shedding light on the ways in which children are socialized into complex sets of social, cultural and economic responsibilities and how the relationships children have with parents are defined by the intersecting economic and social class, gender, and geographical contexts of their lives.

In this article, I furthermore explored and analyzed what type of expectations parents place on children in the two distinct study settings and how those expectations play out in the children's everyday life. According to my analysis, I argue that intergenerational relationships in urban and rural Ethiopia are negotiated differently based on how families and communities set socio-economic and cultural expectations on the children and how the children position themselves in those relationships. Whereas being a child in urban affluent families reflects the socio-economic status of parents and the technical and material conditions in which children grow, in peasant families, childhood is inextricably shaped by the social, cultural and

economic values that are vested on children. The various strategies children employ to fulfill parental expectations as well as pursue their individual interests also demonstrate the fluidity and complexity of the mundane interactions and long term relationships of children and parents. The empirical data, furthermore, suggest that there is a general shift in values and expectations being placed on children in Ethiopia and thus an introduction of new forms of child-parent interactions. I argue that this is mainly due to the implications of improved economic status of families and the schooling of children on the mundane interactions between children and parents, where both take newer forms of expectations and obligations towards each other that continuously redefine their relationships.

Whereas contributing to the general research question of: how do Ethiopian children in urban-affluent families in Addis Ababa and peasant families in rural Dangila interact with parents/family members in everyday life, this article also addresses the specific questions I asked on how children and childhoods are valued in the two study contexts and how those valuations contribute to the nature of relationships children have with parents **(Research Q. 1 and 2.)**. The article also answers the questions I raise on how children's negotiations to parental and familial expectations play out in their everyday lives (school, work, and leisure activities) **(Research Q. 4)** and the similarities and differences that exist in the children's experiences of intergenerational relationships in the two study settings **(Research Q. 5)**.

Article Two

Drawing Family Boundaries: Children's Perspectives on Family Relationships in Rural and Urban Ethiopia

Sophia Chanyalew Kassa

Published in *Children & Society*

First published: 20 December 2016

https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12200

This article focuses on answering the two research questions about the ways in which children conceptualize and practice familial relationships and the similarities and differences observed between the children's experiences in the two study contexts (**Research Q.3 and 5**). The article draws on perspectives from family sociology and sociology of childhood in order to explore the ways in which family boundaries are drawn by children, and the contexts in which children consider people who are part of their families and why. By revealing the less known experiences of Ethiopian children on familial relationships, I discuss how children make sense of the relationships they have with members of their families and which practices they consider as contributing to those relationships. By so doing, I also documented the places, roles, and contributions of children to their families.

In order to understand the various positions children occupy within the familial relationships, I asked them what their family members do for them and what they themselves give back. The analysis of empirical data on how children draw the boundary of their family shows that urban children emphasize facets of emotional support whereas 'collaboration in making a living' was underlined by children of peasant families. In connection to this, 'togetherness' which in the context of the urban refers to the act of sharing abode and affection between household members is observed to be central to drawing family boundaries. The recognition of individuals as family members was yet grounded not only in the sense of sharing abode and blood ties but also in the frequency and intensity of interactions that cultivate emotions. On

the contrary, ‘collective living’ in which children also have significant contribution is found to be central to how family boundary is drawn by rural children. In the context of the rural, ‘togetherness’ means collectively making a living.

Within the contour of their families, both urban and rural children are expected to maintain reciprocal familial relationships. Forms of reciprocity in the rural and urban are varied and complex and so are the positions children assume within their familial relationships. In contrast to the urban context where children of affluent families economically ‘depend’ on adult members of their family but are significant in providing emotional gain to their families, children in the rural participate in productive and reproductive activities where their material contribution (in addition to their sentimental worth) is important in strengthening interdependent familial relationships. Overall, by analyzing the way urban and rural children construct families, I observed fluidity in the way children draw the contour of their family boundaries. This is so because the familial relationships children practice with those whom they consider family are in a complex way shaped by the various contexts of their lives including material resources, geographical distance, rural-urban locations and cultural traits such as patterns of marriage and child relocation practices.

Article three

***Qenja*: child fostering and relocation practices in the Amhara region, Ethiopia**

Sophia Chanyalew Kassa &Tatek Abebe

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This third article (co-authored with my thesis supervisor) specifically discusses *qenja*, a practice whereby rural boys temporarily leave their natal home to work in agricultural labor in a non-parental residence. The topic of qenja emerged during the process of interviewing children and parents on the broader contexts of the interactions they have with each other. This article builds on Articles 1 and 2 by going in depth in exploring the practice of qenja, which situates the care and upbringing of rural children as a 'shared venture' and 'collective responsibility' of the community. The article contributes to the thesis question I asked on how ideologies and valuations of children and childhood shape intergenerational and familial (community) relationships **(Research Q.1 and 2).**

The involvement of boys in qenja mirrors societal values of childhood where in contexts of unequal distribution of rural labor, their engagement in agricultural labor outside the home is a fundamental feature of social reproduction. As defined by Katz (2001: 711), social reproduction is the "material and social practices through which people reproduce themselves on a daily and generational basis". Qenja recognizes children's active contribution in bringing in income and improve the well-being of their families. It is also a culturally engrained coping strategy that co-exists alongside gendered and generational relations of household production and reproduction. Although the sending of boys to kin and non-kin members of a community is done in exchange for money or in-kind payment, it is predicated on notions of social and cultural parenthood. This article also shows that in addition to being one of the long-standing

community strategies of labor redistribution, qenja situates the care and upbringing of children as a common responsibility. Based on a detailed analysis of the social relationships that exists between the children and the fostering families, the complexity of reasons behind the practice of relocating boys to non-natal homes is discussed. Beyond recognizing the active role of boys (children) in coping with family-centered socio-economic problems, qenja is a way of shaping the social life and individual personality of children boys, is a means to fill in the intra-household gap of transferring farming skills from men to boys, a means to transit boys to adulthood, and a means of redistributing community work load and labor power needed by childless and labor-poor families.

The article highlights the importance of unpacking the beliefs and values embedded in a given practice with children and avoid short-sighted conclusions. It emphasizes the need to avoid unintended yet stigmatizing effects of child protection campaigns that are against children's valued and valuable contributions. Qenja offers opportunities that are often closed off for children because of the constraints of household poverty but poverty is not the only reason for the practice. Although empirical data suggest that the trade-off for poor families to access opportunities through children's work in well-off families can open up space for exploitation (e.g. overworking qenja boys), it is argued that the framing of qenja as mere exploitative labor that needs to be abolished puts a negative spin on the activities that benefit and are desirable for poor children and their households. Because children in the rural setting of the study view themselves and are viewed by families and communities as 'sources of support' rather than as burdens or expenses, we argued for the need to reconsider the role of the general beliefs about the values (and valuations) of children and of childhood in rural Ethiopia and beyond.

Discussing cross-cutting themes

The central purpose of this thesis is to contribute to knowledge on the values and role of children in family life, expectations on childhood as well as in the mundane interaction children have with parents and family members in Ethiopia. This section focuses on how the articles intersect each other in addressing the central themes of the thesis namely, *values and expectations from children*; *the act of being a child*; and *children's position within the family.* In what follows, I will discuss each one by one.

Values on and expectations from children

One important aspect that this thesis reveals is the values embedded in contemporary childhood in Ethiopia and how those shape familial expectations placed on children and thus intergenerational relationships. By attending to how children are valued by their parents, it becomes clear how complex and diverse childhoods in Ethiopia are in terms of bearing socio-economic and cultural meanings from parents, families, and community members. All three articles discuss values and expectations placed on children from different angles. Specifically in Article 1, rural children's instrumental value in the family economy and the active participation they have in social reproduction (in addition to their emotional value) is strong whereas the economic impact children of affluent families have as receivers of care is seen to be powerful in the urban. Urban affluent children are investments to parents in terms of time, energy and budget and parents are observed to match this investment with high expectation of schoolwork on children. Urban parents are also observed to place such expectations on children not only to prepare the children for their future but also to gain the emotional satisfaction of having children who are 'successful' in school.

Complementing Article 1, Article 3 goes deeper into discussing not only the economic value rural children have for parents but also the significant role they play in enacting cultural

practices that contribute in binding the community together. It is also observed that rural childhoods are sites of tensions, where various forms of valuations and expectations from parents, extended families, community members, as well as the school system play out. Formal schooling is a key agent of social reproduction that is rapidly becoming a universal experience of childhood (Ansell, 2014) and related to this fact, peasant families are in an ongoing interest-battel with the school system as schoolwork is increasingly consuming children's time which parents expect to be invested in household economy. This in turn is shifting the economic and cultural values placed on children and thus the nature of expectations from parents of children. This however is not found to be the case among urban childhoods because values and expectations schools places on children was clearly aligned with where parents want children to be and thus with the emotional satisfaction parents aspire to gain from having children.

When we look into the values and expectations from children and childhoods in Ethiopia, we find a stark contrast between the lives of affluent urban children who are enjoying a luxurious childhood and rural children whose childhoods are burdened with responsibilities. Yet, one thing is common with the two childhoods; how families and communities distinguish children and childhoods matters enormously in how children act in everyday life. Both urban and rural childhoods are observed to be formed by the valuations and expectations from parents and the school system, which all have implications on how children act in their everyday lives. This will take us to the discussion of the second theme of the thesis: 'the act of childing'.

The act of childing

The act of being a child is a theme that runs through all the three articles. At the core of each of the articles is an attempt to offer a nuanced discussion on the connection between expectations from parents (family) and how rural and urban children navigate those expectations and intergenerational relationships. A central concept in Article 1, namely 'negotiation', is important in bridging our understanding of how local familial and community ideologies and expectations of childhood are encountered by children in Ethiopia. Based on empirical data from the field and in Article 3, the discussion on negotiations between rural parents and children is further expanded in the context of the substantial role children play in social reproduction and the livelihood interdependence between different households.

In Ethiopia, family interdependence is valued more highly than independence; children are expected to develop intricate interdependences in order to ensure the continuity of familial relationships (Abebe and Tefera, 2014). As discussed above, the social norms around the act of being a child, which are defined by the differing valuations of children and childhoods, play a significant role in intergenerational relationships. The aspect of values and expectations are however not the only parts of the equation that contributes to how the everyday lives of children in contemporary Ethiopia unfolds. Whereas children in both rural and urban contexts experience interdependent relationships with family, I argue, based on the individual interest children have and the socio-economic and cultural context that allow or constrain children's personal desires, that the relationships children have with parents and how they are negotiated differs in urban and rural Ethiopia. The differences and similarities are in detail discussed in Article 1, so in the following few paragraphs, I will just provide a digested presentation of the relations and separations of the two childhoods in terms of the way children act in the everyday life.

In rural Ethiopia, because of the complexity of the emotional, social, economic and cultural expectation placed on children, the everyday lives of children and the way they act is likewise complex. Because household work is a matter of survival and a shared obligation, it is a main signifier of children's lifeworld. It is observed that there is no day without children contributing to household work and children clearly understand that not doing so will have a serious implication for their household. This is also seen as having a significant influence on the majority of children to conform and display the work expectations placed on them. Open resistance to household work is not a common feature that one can observe as part of the everyday action of rural children. But when resistance occurs, it takes place not without disciplinary action from parents as the action is not something children could perform in a subtle way. Yet, I further argue, in the routine nature of household and farm work that rural children engage into 'underlies the tension between individual desires and collective responsibilities' (Abebe, 2012).

Furthermore, in rural Ethiopia, family and community relationships are acknowledged and valued more than autonomy, requiring children to balance their individual aspirations with family needs (Morrow, 2013). In this study, it is observed how difficult it is for children to prioritize individual aspirations without compromising their work-dominated lifeworld. There are several examples in Articles 1 and 3 that demonstrate how difficult balancing work responsibility with that of schoolwork is for children who aspire to pave their futures through education without refusing work orders from parents. As a result, the everyday relationship between children and parents is largely characterized by children accomplishing work orders they receive from parents, where for the children, the imbalance between household work and school work is observed to compromise their school work. Largely, it is when parents compromise the help they need from children that such children could be able to do better in school positioning themselves on the track of reaching their aspirations. If not, in their

everyday actions, the majority of children are observed to maintain the values associated with the 'good child' as one who obeys parental orders.

As the act of being a child in rural Ethiopia is dominated by household work, so is the act of being a child in the urban by schoolwork. Whereas children in the rural context attend school on a half-day basis, children in the urban affluent families go to school full-time. This by itself shows that the everyday life of urban children is dominated by schoolwork. Beyond that however, the degree of compliance of children with parental expectations of performing 'good' in school depends on the individual interest children have to schoolwork. Unlike the rural children who have limited opportunities of entertaining individual interests that fall outside of household work, the children in the urban context are observed to have wider opportunities of resisting schoolwork in a subtle way and to instead entertain their own interests. The source of the 'wider opportunity' for the urban children of entertaining their own interest lies in the nature of schoolwork because incompliance to schoolwork is something that parents must put effort in and closely monitor, assisted by the school. In the rural, on the contrary, parents immediately and on a daily basis monitor whether household work is properly performed by children or not. This usually denies children much room to allow their individual aspirations by ignoring work expectations, making it sometimes hard to distinguish children's individual desires from obligations.

Children's position within the family

Positions children assumed in the intergenerational and familial relationships that are discussed so far is the third theme that all the articles are linked by. Although there are different ways of looking at positions children take in any society, this thesis in all its articles focuses on discussing various positions the study children assumed within the nature of the relationships they have with parents and family members. Any given position taken by

children is not something fixed but varies as children navigate what is expected from them in the everyday life and how they fulfill their own interests. In view of that, any particular positions children take are seen to vary depending on the context where the act of being a child in taking place.

Article 2 in particular demonstrates ways in which children in both urban and rural Ethiopia view themselves as positioned within their familial relationships in which reciprocity is a central concept that cuts across the experiences of children on family. Forms of reciprocity in the rural and urban are varied and complex and positions children assume differ accordingly. It is observed that children's everyday actions in the rural are strongly linked to what they feel obliged to do in so many terms but mainly the household economy. In contrast to the urban where children of affluent families economically 'depend' on their parents, children in the rural participate in productive activities; they are key players in establishing and strengthening family interdependencies. In view of that, children's experiences of family in the rural are argued to be more influenced by their position as part of the larger family network and the centrality of their work in family livelihoods. In line with this, whereas the children's constructions of family in the two study settings are seen to reflect the complexity of relationships children have with parents and significant others, I argue that the conceptualization and practices of family (including that of the act of being a child) in the rural is inseparable from ways of livelihood.

All three articles discuss the contribution of rural children in the household economy and the strong reciprocal positions they have with their families. Base on empirical data, Article 3 offer an in-depth discussion of the valuable position children have in tying the community together not by only fulfilling economic, social and cultural expectations from their immediate families but also from those of community members. Because the study children are in the age of responsibility, the rural children are observed to be expected to contribute

more to their families than younger siblings. This situation often positioned children as major contributors to their household economy.

In the urban, the lifeworld of children is dominated by schoolwork and through analyzing how children relate to the expectation of schoolwork and as discussed in Article 1, three empirically fluid but distinct positions were identified: ‘schoolwork-loving’, ‘schoolwork-disliking’ and ‘in-between’. How children alternatively and in varied degrees place and move themselves along these positions is discussed in detail in the article. Children’s movements within and between the positions is observed to be associated with the strategies children employ in order to accommodate parental (familial) expectations as well as their own interests in the everyday life. Overall, the way the urban children are positioned in their family is highly associated with the economic capacities of their families. Children of the affluent urban families are clearly seen to stand in socially contrasting position to that of their rural counterparts. As discussed in all the articles, rural children are both beneficiaries of and contributors to collective living, whereas their counterparts in the urban are receivers of resources. Based on empirical data, it is argued that the lives of children within families in Ethiopia can be theorized along two types of ‘ideal childhood:’ one that conceptualizes children as dependent beings who rely on their family to meet their needs, and contributing children who partake in household production and reproduction activities (Abebe and Aase, 2007: 2066). Despite the above discussed positionality differences, children of urban and rural Ethiopia are seen to continuously negotiate daily responsibilities while applying various strategies to claim social positions in the three arenas of their everyday lives: work, school, and leisure.

Concluding remarks

This study examined relationships children have with parents and the many socio-cultural practices associated with intergenerational relationships in Ethiopia. This is done by bringing the experiences of children and parents together. A comprehensive understanding of the mundane interactions between children and parents (family) and the interdependencies between the two are revealed with a specific focus on the lives of children in relation to the social, economic and cultural contexts in which their everyday life unfolds. The analysis of perspectives in context also helped to understand how children conceptualize and practice intergenerational relationships in the two contexts of the study.

This study highlights the importance of understanding the lives of children within families as situated in a complex web of relationships. The lived experiences of children in the context of family show variations as the lives are being cross-cut by the social, cultural, economic and geographical circumstances. It thus revealed how differences in valuations and practices of generationing play out for children in different socio-cultural, economic and geographic locations in Ethiopia. These socio-economic and geographic variations in the lives of children need therefore be taken into account in any policy or practical intervention targeting the lives of children living with families. As pointed out in each of the thesis articles, the findings of this research have several policy implications in considering and reconsidering the lives of children in Ethiopia. There is a strong need to rethink on the role of children and of childhood, and how that explains and is explained by the practice of generationing.

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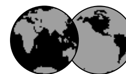

Special issue article: Beyond pluralizing African childhoods

Negotiating intergenerational relationships and social expectations in childhood in rural and urban Ethiopia

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Abstract

Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork carried out in two socio-economically and geographically contrasting settings, this article reports on (a) how ideologies and valuations on childhood shape intergenerational relationships and (b) the ways in which expectations and responsibilities for children are negotiated between children and families in Ethiopia. Analysis of empirical data suggests that the intersection and implication of improved economic status and formal education are shifting values placed on children and are allowing new forms of child–parent interactions. Although children in urban and rural Ethiopia grow experiencing interdependent and dynamic relationships with parents (family), insights obtained reveal difference in what defines child–parent relationship and how it is negotiated. Affluent families aspire to maximize emotional satisfaction from what children achieve in school, whereas peasant families aim to ensure children contribute most to household well-being. This article argues that the act of being a child in urban affluent households reflects the socio-economic status of parents and the technical and material conditions in which children grow, whereas in rural peasant households, social, cultural and economic values vested on children inextricably shape how children should act. Insights obtained from the research reveal the fluid and complex practices of 'generationing' in Ethiopia and can help bridge the gap in understanding of how local familial and community ideologies and expectations of childhood are encountered by children and how children navigate expectations and intergenerational relationships.

Keywords

Childhood, Ethiopia, expectation, intergenerational relationship, negotiation, valuation

In Ethiopia, although there is a growing body of research on the role of children in family and community life (see Abebe and Kjørholt, 2009; Heissler and Porter, 2013; Poluha, 2007), less research is done on child–parent relationships through a

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generational perspective. In addition, although it is recognized that child–parent relationships are reciprocal, many studies on intergenerational relationships tend to emphasize parenting practices and hence are one-dimensional. Yet, a focus on intergenerational relationships (i.e. children's relationships with members of the extended family and significant others) can reveal values, ideologies and expectations embedded in childhood. It can also contribute to theoretical development in childhood studies in that it moves away from mere focus on children's agency and competence to instead incorporate negotiations and relationships that shape their everyday lives (Tisdall and Punch, 2012).

Child–parent relationships are defined by expectations and obligations; they are constituted, reproduced and transformed through generational practices (Alanen, 2001) and vary depending on social, cultural and livelihood context. In conceptualizing ways in which child–adult relations are socially constructed, Alanen and Mayall (2001) use the concept of 'generationing', which signifies 'the relational processes whereby people come to be known as children, and whereby children and childhood acquire certain characteristics, linked to local contexts, and changing as the factors brought to bear change' (Mayall, 2002: 27). Practices of generationing involve childing, through which people are constructed as children, and adulting, through which adult positions are produced (Punch, 2005: 1). Such practices shape the ways in which the exercise of, and resistance to, forms of power are played out in everyday interactions (Punch, 2007). To date, research has revealed a wide range of attitudes towards children and expectations of what they can and cannot, should and should not do as well as how childhood should be structured (James and James, 2012). Yet, the ways in which different ideologies, valuations and practices of generationing play out for children in different spatial and temporal contexts are left unexplored.

This article draws on ethnographic fieldwork from two social and geographical settings in Ethiopia. Findings reveal (a) how families and communities set social and economic expectations on children that shape children's everyday lives and (b) strategies children employ to pursue individual interests amidst collective concerns. Empirical data suggest that the intersection and implication of improved economic status and formal education are shifting values placed on children and are allowing new forms of child–parent interactions. This article argues that the act of being a child in urban affluent households reflects the socio-economic status of parents and the technical and material conditions in which children grow, whereas in rural peasant households, social, cultural and economic values vested on children inextricably shape how children should act. Insights obtained reveal that intergenerational relationships in urban and rural Ethiopia are defined and negotiated differently. The paper begins by discussing literature in childhood studies that inform child–parent (family) relationships in the context of the majority world in general and Ethiopia in particular. It then outlines, methodology of the study and the socio-cultural and material environments of participants, followed by a discussion of the empirical material on ideologies and valuations of children and childhood, the translation of valuations into parental expectations and how children navigate expectations and their own interests. Finally, concluding remarks on how values and valuations of children and childhood contribute to practices of generationing are offered.

Theoretical framework

Conceptualizations of children and childhoods vary cross-culturally (James et al., 1998; James and Prout, 1990; Montgomery, 2008), and children's relationships and experiences of growing up are informed and shaped by social, cultural and economic meanings (Aitken, 2001; Poluha, 2007). In Africa, intergenerational relationships and experiences of growing up are characterized by values of work and children's work contributes to establishing relationships, learning, their growing independence, self-esteem and confidence and helping them become responsible members of society (Bourdillon and Mutambwa, 2014). The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (Organization of African Unity [OAU], 1990) in its Article 31a asserts that children have responsibilities, including duty to assist parents during childhood. In Ethiopia, community values shape understandings of what children and childhoods should be like (Abebe and Tefera, 2014), and childhood is a site for and is experienced in terms of tension between e*xpectations* and *obligations* (Tafere, 2013). These expectations and obligations become explicit when children grow older (Abebe and Aase, 2007; Messing, 1985; Tafere, 2013); an *older age – a more responsibility* approach of raising children with increased disciplining is common. Expectations from and responsibilities on children also vary according to gender, social class and location. Research demonstrates how explicit gender expectations and obligations, in addition to social age, shape traditional child relocation arrangements in rural Ethiopia, where older boys temporally or permanently reside with non-biological parents (Kassa and Abebe, 2014), holding complex responsibilities and maintaining reciprocal relationships within family collectives (Abebe, 2013; Poluha, 2007). Although earlier studies (e.g. Habtamu, 1995) suggest that the dominant form of parenting in most parts of Ethiopia is 'authoritarian', Poluha (2004) argues that adult–child relationships resemble patron–client relationship. In such a relationship, both children and adults are tied to expectations from and obligations to one another, *negotiation* is the dominant form of interaction and 'the mutually interdependent nature of life as opposed to the independent and separate' is emphasized (Abebe and Tefera, 2014: 53).

In Ethiopia, like in many parts of Africa, inter- and intragenerational relationships are noticeably woven through reciprocity – 'a sense of mutual dependence expressed in give and take over time' (Whyte et al., 2008: 6). Such interdependence underlies the tension between individual desires and collective responsibilities (Abebe, 2013). Children's actions are 'bundled', making it difficult to separate what is an 'individual' aspiration from 'collective' ones, what is personal desire from what is familial expectation (Crivello, 2010: 396). Family and community relationships are acknowledged and valued more than autonomy, requiring children to balance their individual aspirations with family needs (Morrow, 2013). In theorizing how interdependence plays out for inter- and intragenerational relationships in Bolivia, Punch (2001, 2015) argues that relations between children and their families are not only constrained but also negotiated both within and across generations as well as across time and space. This perspective is useful to our understanding of child–parent interactions in Ethiopia, where reciprocity shapes daily and lifelong relationships between children and parents. Yet, Punch's notion of 'negotiated interdependence' takes various forms and meanings in different contexts (e.g. rural or urban).

In Ethiopia, although the underlying rationale for reciprocal intergenerational relationship is economic, as Tafere (2013) and Abebe and Aase (2007) note, it encompasses the complex ways in which children and adults benefit socially and emotionally from each other's support and actions. Jirata (2015) notes that among the Guji people in southern Ethiopia parents, grandparents and relatives are responsible for raising children. In this context, boys and girls perform different productive and reproductive activities as part of their daily responsibilities (Jirata, 2015). Intergenerational flow of economic resources among upper and middle-income families in urban centres of Ethiopia may, however, largely be unidirectional (i.e. from parents to children) and may not resemble those of rural communities. Such families invest in children's education and quality of life rather than expecting support from them. As this study revealed, parents aspire to get emotional satisfaction from what children achieve at school and gain appreciation and social respect from members of their extended family for 'good' parenting. Like their rural counterparts, children of affluent or middle-income families in urban Ethiopia develop multiple and dynamic relationships with adults in extended families, having expectations and obligations *towards* them.

Study contexts

The empirical material this article draws on was generated in a 7-month ethnographic fieldwork that documents the social, material and spatial lives of children in rural and urban Ethiopia. Fieldwork was conducted in two settings, a rural village called Simalta in Dangla district in Northwest Ethiopia, and in Addis Ababa, the capital. Participants in the former were from predominantly peasant families, whereas those in the latter were from higher income households.

Simalta is located in Amhara region in *Awi* Administrative Zone (former Gojjam), 485 km north-west of Addis Ababa. In 2012, the population of *Zelesa kebele*,[1] of which Simalta is a part, was 4170 with 693 households with an average of 5 children per household (peasant association leader, 2012, personal communication). Inhabitants of *Simalta* belonged to Amhara and *Awi* ethnic groups, and speak Amharic, the national language, and the majority were followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church with conservative social values. The economic, social and emotional well-being of household members in the village depends on the geographical proximity of extended family members. Through sharing and borrowing materials and labour, kin and neighbours 'weave their lives together' (Hammond, 2004: 15).

In rural Ethiopia, arable land and labour are key means of grain production[2] – the main source of livelihood. Adult males are primarily involved in ploughing, seeding and harvesting and adult females in domestic work. The principal activities of children are not only fetching wood and water and cattle tending but also seeding, weeding and harvesting; milking cows; preparing forage for cattle; transporting goods and crops to and from house, homesteads and market; and running errands. Cooking, cleaning and minding younger siblings is mostly done by girls. As is the norm in rural Ethiopia, child participants attended school on a half-day basis, yet their engagement in household and farming activities was always central. Most child participants (eight) lived with birth parents; a boy and two girls lived with grandparents, and one boy lived with his uncle.

The two children in non-birth parent arrangements visited their parents frequently, and some who lived with birth parents during the study period had previously lived with relatives or non-relatives.

Addis Ababa has 3.2 million inhabitants (CSA, 2013). Rural–urban migration accounts for 40% of its population growth, characterizing it as a melting pot of people in search of employment and services (United Nations Human Settlements Programme [UN-Habitat], 2008). Addis Ababa is multi-ethnic. The largest ethnic groups include the Amhara (47%), Oromo (19%) and Gurage (16%) followed by Tigray (3%; CSA, 2007). Ethiopian Orthodox is the main religion (75%), while Muslims and Protestants comprised 16% and 8%, respectively (CSA, 2007). Despite being >100 years old and a seat for the African Union (AU), the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and other numerous embassies and international organizations, Addis Ababa is under massive construction. It is common to see mud-walled houses and multiple-storey palaces side by side, characterizing it as a city of contrast and inequality where majority poor and minority rich live side by side.

Participants in this study were among the few wealthy households in the city and lived either in villas or real estate developed buildings in a private compound. Parents were either owners of huge business company or employees of international organizations. At home, they hired domestic workers and guards for housework and safety, respectively. In Addis Ababa, hiring a helper among middle-income households is common, but parents in this study had two or three helpers for cooking and housekeeping. Children of these households attended a private school, with an annual fee ranging between 30,000 and 35,000 Ethiopian birr.[3] A total of 12 children lived with both biological parents, 2 had divorced parents and lived at the maternal home and 1 lived with an older brother since her mother had died. Although the majority of the households comprised two generations, two included grandparents.

Methodology

In Addis Ababa, children of high-income households were approached through a private school. Before contact was made with children and parents, a letter of request for field entry was presented to the school. Entry to *Simalta* was negotiated through Dangla town administration. In Addis Ababa, parents' consent was obtained by sending a formal letter through the school administration, whereas in Simalta, a home-to-home visit was used to gain an oral consent. Following parents' consent, children were asked whether they want to participate or not, and no child was included without confirming interest. Qualitative data in both study settings were generated through semi-structured interviews with 12 rural (7 girls, 5 boys) and 15 urban (10 girls, 5 boys) children and their parents. The children were between 12 and 15 years old as this is when filial obligations become explicit. Both in Simalta and in Addis Ababa, the children were asked to write diaries for two consecutive weeks about their daily lives including schoolwork, housework and leisure. They also wrote stories about other children – same age and gender – whom they consider having bad behaviour. This offered insight into activities of children outside parental expectations. Although few children in Addis Ababa narrated such behaviours and actions about themselves, children were not asked such questions about themselves.

Contextual data in both settings were enriched through ethnographic observations and informal talks with local residents and school community.

Parents in both study settings were asked open-questions on ideas and values from children, in order to understand parental expectations which in many ways relate to the *central* motive of having children. Specifically, parents were asked to describe expectations from children in general without reference to a particular age or gender. This question was also asked about sons or daughters who were study participants. Responses illuminated expectations from participant–children, while framing this within parents' general expectations from children. Insights were further enriched by normative questions about being a good or bad girl or boy. In order to explore parental expectations in particular and broader cultural understanding of intergenerational relationship in general, empirical data were generated and analysed by three themes: *schoolwork, housework* and *leisure*.

Ideologies and valuations of children in Simalta

Analyses of parents' interviews in Simalta revealed that emotional, social, economic and cultural expectations on children are complex. In rural Ethiopia, childbearing following marriage is highly anticipated – newly married couples are often asked about a baby and checking a woman's belly is common. Because children are valued by and of importance for the extended family – particularly the in-laws and neighbours – communication about childlessness or infertility takes place within extended families instead of in private. These common but sensitive practices are sources of stress and tension for women experiencing late conception or infertility. Usually, childless couples are encouraged to divorce and remarry because not being able to bear children is also perceived as 'curse from God'. The following quote is from an interview with Belete[4] (father):

> In our community, those without children are disadvantaged. Adults who have children are always remembered through their children. Those without are not different from the dead in a graveyard. They are burdened with expenses since they always need to hire labour to get help. They are hopeless for there is no one to announce their death to neighbours or even inherit their clothes.

In rural areas such as Simalta, 'interdependence of generations begins with children contributing to household livelihoods at young ages' (Morrow, 2013: 97). Beyond being a sign of God's blessing as well as a source of social and emotional gain, the quote stresses children's labour contribution. A child is vital for economic opportunities. Right after the period of *chekela* (up to age 4 or 5), children are expected to engage in work responsibilities, which increase as one passes through *lejnet*,[5] *kobele or koreda*[6] and *wetatenet*[7] periods. Participation is expected in common activities such as cattle tending (boys) and collecting dung and firewood (girls). Once they become *kobele or koreda*, there will be a substantial increase in their workload. Although the household division of labour among adults is gendered, children may cross gender boundaries. Girls, for example, were observed weeding and digging along with boys, whereas boys engaged in collecting water and firewood and making stew and coffee. This was also the case in households with only

boys or girls. Overall, the contributions of older children – such as the ones in this study – particularly during land preparation and harvesting seasons are highly valued.

A gradual inversion of intergenerational contract is, nevertheless, taking place, and parents are witnessing and speaking of a decline in children's work contributions. Some parents compared current childhoods with their own. Through training and assigning children in rural modes of livelihoods, parents' responsibilities in the past had been to lay the ground for children's future marriage and their own old age security. With no or little chance of schooling, children were expected to work full time in farms and develop independence from around age 10 when boys are given a piece of land and/or an animal or two to look after, whereas girls were expected to learn homemaking skills and prepare for marriage. For those who grew up without schooling, childhood was thus a period of full-time engagement and training in farm life. Currently, however, schooling is competing with work and increasingly becoming a part of childhood – it is regulated to commence at age 7. Yet, organization of children's work and the expectations out of their engagement were noticed to be framed not only by children's current living circumstances but also by those of their parents' childhoods. As Tafere (2013) notes, in Ethiopia, 'where elders and parents enjoyed a form of gerontocracy for generations, parents desire to "reproduce" their own childhood' (p. 20).

While children are expected to contribute labour to family livelihoods, adults feel obliged to support children's schooling. Parents' expectation from children's schooling is, however, significantly shaped by their interpretation of school and labour. Parents controlled children's labour in order to properly socialize them into it. This is an often-criticized situation by the school system for it denies children study time. One teacher commented, parents often say '*you have been sitting the whole day warming a chair*' to remind children to embark on housework as soon as they return from school. Yet, parents were observed making efforts to provide children space for schoolwork and accommodate school expenses, often by compromising household needs. Despite the unpredictability of children's transitions in the context of poverty, ensuring that children attend school has become a new parental obligation and is also changing children's expectations from their parents (Tafere, 2013). Nevertheless, as the following interview excerpt illustrates, sending children to school is not always the best choice for parents: 'We cannot keep children home for work and they also don't agree to stay home. Whether they benefit or not, they should go to school' (Tilahun, father). Degafe, a mother added, 'We sometimes make children miss school during harvesting so that they can help in the farm'.

Kobele and *koreda*, among the Amhara, are ages of obedience and discipline – play is often frowned upon (Molvaer, 1995). In *Simalta*, although children engage in leisure, physical play is neither encouraged nor expected to take place in the presence of adults. For girls, physical play after menarche is considered shameful. Some leniency towards children's leisure was observed among relatively well-to-do families, who could either hire labour from outside or had many children who shared the workload. As the following field note illustrates, excess leisure is considered wasteful and disrespectful:

> My field assistant and I were heading towards the home of one of my informants, when from a distance we saw a group of boys and girls (between five to 10 years) playing in a small pond.

> The boys were inside the pond while the girls were watching. As we got closer, we noticed the children were fishing, using a large piece of cloth as a net. After some time, one of the boys' (around 10 years old) mother came to fetch him. The mother was angry and told her son to immediately go inside the hut. She was furious because the boy was playing instead of doing what she ordered him before she left for the market. She then went into the hut, expecting him to follow her. Although he stopped playing, the boy stayed where he was. … I knew he was in-between going inside and staying outside. In five to six minutes, the other children left the pond, running in different directions. The boy waited until his mother called him again with a softer voice. Noticing she had calmed down, he followed her. (Field note, July 2013)

Bearing children is also associated with the cultural aspect of *areda tebaki*. Literally, *areda* means a piece of land in the homestead and *tebaki* means protector. *Areda* encompasses a wide range of notions of identity and belonging. It symbolizes intangible assets, which are associated with notable events such as birth – marked by burial of *etebt* (umbilical cord)[8] – *weg maereg* (marriage) and spiritual practices. It is also regarded as the location of *dem ena atent* (blood and bone), which symbolizes the soul and flesh of ancestors. Through all these notions and practices, adults forge meaningful relationships between themselves and their environment (Hammond, 2004). Bearing children enables them to sustain the link between ancestors and the living and protect and transfer *areda* to children – particularly to boys, for marriage in Simalta is patrilocal, allowing boys to stay in their parents' homestead after marriage.

Ideologies and valuations of children in Addis Ababa

The notion of bearing children in Addis Ababa was also laden with social and emotional values. In order to comprehend these values, parents were asked why they wanted to have children and the reason given by most was 'to see one's self through children'. Elaborating, some parents used the metaphor '*aynen be ayn mayet*', literally meaning '*to see one's eyes through one's own eyes*'. Parents also emphasized that a house is full of life when children are present and that childlessness could neither be afforded nor chosen. As Tsion – a mother – explained, children are thought of giving meaning to life in terms of the love and joy they provide, and a warm, successful and socially meaningful marriage is perceived as one in which children are born and raised: 'Life is complete and enjoyable with children and it is through children that marriage can continue'.

Children were free from chores, but high expectations regarding schoolwork were placed on them. Parents strongly believed that children's 'full-time' work is study, and to ensure the children's success, parents pursued two strategies. First, they send children to a 'good' school. Second, they tracked assignments and grades. Whenever possible, parents devoted time to help children themselves or hired tutors. Supporting education for some parents was as important as earning an income. Aida, one mother explained, 'Child care and follow up is not something you leave for maids. Every day, children have homework and it is difficult to do proper follow-up after work'. Allocating time and money in order to ensure children's 'proper' engagement and production in mental work was considered crucial. All these arrangements by parents, nevertheless, place strong obligations on children to achieve competitive school results, whereas what children produce is closely tied to parents' happiness and emotional fulfilment.

Parents found leisure to be an important aspect of children's lives. Activities ranged from indoor play to vacations abroad. Most children had opportunity to travel abroad during summer vacations, and parents organized sports activities and movies on weekends and school breaks. Eating out with family and friends and visiting relatives were also common. Children's access to leisure was, however, closely tied with academic achievement – when this was unsatisfactory, parents tended to limit leisure and ensure children studied more. Leisure was highly negotiated between children and parents and subjected to local and global media lifestyle promotions and the influence of peers – of both parents and children.

Negotiating expectations in Addis Ababa

The empirical material from children's interviews and field observations suggest difference in their choices and actions towards fulfilling parental expectations, particularly of schoolwork. As the following excerpt demonstrates, most children viewed schoolwork as an important feature of what a 'good' child is:

> A good child is one who works hard in school. But a bad child is one who does not pay attention in class and gets suspended. Being good is also about your behaviour such as the way you act and your attitude. Bad children act as if they are better than everybody. They don't care about school and instead wait for snack or lunch time to eat and play soccer or basketball. (Natan, 13-year-old boy)

Nevertheless, through analysing how children relate to the obligation of schoolwork and to the expectations of 'good grades', three empirically fluid but distinct positions were identified: '*schoolwork-loving*', '*schoolwork-disliking*' and *in-between*. School loving children have passion for schoolwork, work hard and do homework. Twelve-year-old Nardos, for instance, stated, 'School is very important for me. It guides me to find my purpose and what I'm going to be when I grow up'. There were also children who disregarded schoolwork. At home, watching movies, surfing the Internet, checking e-mails, chatting on the phone or Skype with friends and reading novels were activities these children preferred doing over schoolwork. Thirteen-year-old Samrawit said, 'I don't like to study. I really don't study at home. I sometimes try to listen in class but I hate studying'.

Children like Samrawit did not care much about education and resisted schoolwork with a range of strategies. Like Samrawit, some of these children never denied how much they enjoy friendship and social life at school and viewed school as a site for fun and developing 'family-like' relationships instead for learning. Their accounts also indicate that loving school is not always the same as loving schoolwork: 'I love my school. I consider my friends from school as my family and miss them during weekends' (Samrawit, 13-year-old girl).

Then, there were children who were neither in the position of 'schoolwork-loving' nor 'schoolwork-disliking'. These children viewed schoolwork as an imposition but not irrelevant. In order to accommodate their own and parents' interest, these children moved between the two opposing positions of 'schoolwork-loving' and 'schoolwork-disliking'.

Twelve-year-old Martha's narration about homework, for example, reveals that she alternated between the two positions, and she studied just up to the level that met her mother's satisfaction. Pretending to study and copying homework from classmates were strategies she often used. She said, 'I usually forget to do homework. I usually do it when I come to school. I just get the answers from those who do it'. Watching movies was Martha's common after school activity. She watches movies either on her laptop or on TV, particularly when her mother is not around. Referring to her mother, Martha reported, 'my mum trusts me a lot that I do my homework. She trusted me since I was eight and she barely checks'. As long as she managed to complete homework and pass examinations – even through cheating – her mother was happy. Dislike for schoolwork was, therefore, performed in a subtle way, invisible to her mother.

Similarly, 13-year-old Yared said that he studies only when examination gets closer. He also openly talked about how he likes to disturb class. Unlike Martha, Yared preferred to assume the 'schoolwork-dislike' position explicitly but always shifted to the 'schoolwork-loving' position – particularly during examinations and in situations when school reports on his low scores or bad conduct. Yared's parents run a private company and work late in the evenings, which made it difficult for them to check their children's schoolwork. They hired a tutor to fill this gap. Yet, Yared still had difficulty in completing his schoolwork, which often forced parents to impose disciplinary actions such as banning Internet, laptop and cell-phone. As Yared reported, the 'pulling of the plugs' by his parents forces him to sit and study: 'When I don't do well they [parents] punish me – I can't watch TV or play video games. Just study. And when the exam comes and I get good grades then they forgive me'.

Doing household chores was neither an obligation nor interest of most children. Although many children reported that parents encouraged them to do small tasks such as cleaning their room, organizing personal items and setting the table, many were lacking interest in chores. Martha, for example, explained, 'My mum she just warns the housemaid not to clean my room and leave it like that. So when I'm in such situation, I will do it myself'. In order to entice them to do some minor work in the house, some parents also gave children pocket money. But children like Moges (12 years old) do not agree with the idea of receiving money for doing chores, as he explained, 'There are some children who refuse to work if parents don't pay. That is not right. After all, they are helping themselves'.

Digital technology – video games, computer games, the Internet and email – is part of children's everyday lives. Due to digital-divide (i.e. the difference between those who know and those who do not know how to act in a digital environment; Holloway and Valentine, 2004), children's access to technology was strictly controlled by parents. Children were mostly expected to use the Internet for school-related work, and some parents were observed to control what children navigated on the Internet. Yet, similar to children's leisure activities, access to and use of technology is always negotiated between children and parents. Negotiation was easier for children who do well in school than otherwise, whereas some children gain access by violating rules.

Negotiating expectations in Simalta

Household work is a matter of survival and a shared obligation. As part of daily responsibilities, children routinely performed productive and reproductive work.

Although engagement in household work was not optional, children did not feel work was done only to assist adults, and they accounted two reasons for why it is necessary to contribute work. Recognizing work as a collective endeavour, children first explained how little or no participation could result in low productivity, which in turn leads to less or no access to food, clothes and school. Elaborating on this 15-year-old Degitu said, ‘Work is very useful for me. If I don’t work, I know I won’t live and no one will manage my life’. Second, work for children is a way of learning domestic skills useful for now and in the future. Most boys and girls, for example, viewed skills such as making stew and baking *enjera*[9] as essential for their future, especially for college preparation school. In Simalta and nearby rural villages, it is customary for children who pass grade 10 national examination to leave the family home and – with financial support from parents – rent a room in Dangla town to follow college preparation school. Chernet (13-year-old boy), explained, ‘Work I do now is useful later when I rent a dormitory. I can bake enjera and make stew for myself instead of begging others to do it for me’.

Domestic and farm work were thus deemed useful by children and no day passes without a child working. In addition to field observations, this was captured by the children’s daily diary entries. During the second fieldwork (June–July), since school was closed and it was the period for land preparation and seeding, children together with adults worked full time in the fields. As is the norm, they contributed to families’ and neighbours’ farms. As some also explained, oldest children in a household usually do much work: ‘I do more work than my younger siblings and do work along and equal to my parents’ (Bertukan, girl, 13 years old). Like Terefe (boy, 15 years old), some also did more work than adults: ‘I help my parents a lot. I plough and there is no work which I don’t do. My father is 60 and he only occasionally engages in ploughing’.

Under the supervision of parents, children received and accomplished different tasks, and this characterized the everyday relationship between children and parents. Usually, children prioritized work over study or leisure. As most explained, refusing parental order was unusual, and in stories they wrote, many emphasized ‘refusal of work’ as a feature of ‘bad children’. Parental discipline for an open refusal to do work can be serious, ranging from a verbal warning and physical punishment to sending children – particularly boys – to other relatives or non-relative households to learn better from others (Kassa and Abebe, 2014). Open resistance to work is not common; typically, children were observed completing daily tasks quickly and moving on to either study or leisure activities. Thus, children maintain the values associated with the ‘good child’ as one who helps the parents (Tafere, 2013).

The Amharic term *chewata* refers to all forms of leisure activities, including sitting and talking. Since their workload leaves them little free time, *chewata* is rare. However, Saturdays and Sundays are more relaxing days because during weekends and on holy days, which the Ethiopian Orthodox Church observes every month, farm work is prohibited. On Sundays, adults usually go to church while children stay behind looking after homesteads and engage in *chewata*. Some Saturdays are taken up by work if children join adults to the market. Children help carrying items to and from the market and assist adults through *holding price*.[10] Occasionally, boys also go to the market to sell items they produced themselves to cover personal expenses.

Boys in *Simalta* exercise some degree of economic independence to support themselves and their families through engaging in self-income generating activities. Older boys engage in planting and selling trees, whereas the younger breed chicken and collect eggs for sale. Helping mothers generate income through brewing *arek*i (homemade alcohol) was common among girls, who benefit from receiving cash from what is earned. For they had the freedom to go to weekly markets alone, boys were more motivated than girls to engage in income making activities. Yet, unlike their fathers and grandfathers, boys' efforts were only in petty income rather than serious marriage establishing activities. Many – if not all – considered their activities to be a temporary engagement to cover expenses for school materials and small daily items. Due to land shortage, high cost of agricultural input and mass school enrolment, children do not meaningfully connect with future livelihoods of farming. Such constraints make the process of becoming a farmer relatively simple for those who never attended school, but this is becoming increasingly difficult for youth who stay in their villages after completing high school (Gella, 2013). There is growing evidence that education is failing to provide young people with realistic employment alternatives (Jones and Chant, 2009; Morrow, 2013; Punch, 2015).

In rural Ethiopia, despite increased school enrolment, many children combine school and work (Morrow, 2013). In Simalta, variation in the way children combine household work and schoolwork was observed. Some children had an extremely compromised study time because they shouldered equal to or more workload than parents. Securing a future that requires schooling is, therefore, difficult for these children. If they manage to get land or starting capital from parents, these children wished to become farmers or traders. Other children who were similarly overburdened with housework considered schooling as a pathway to escape rural modes of livelihood through putting continuous effort into schoolwork. Diaries revealed that these children studied everyday immediately after housework, during weekends when workloads were small and during breaks at school. Whenever possible, they attempted to perform study along with work (e.g. tending cattle). Due to the routine nature of household work and the manner it was organized, these children's pathways to what they aspire were, nevertheless, highly compromised. Most saw agriculture as a last resort, which is indicative of the destiny of many children in rural communities in the country. Yet, it is evident that children are massively drawn to school – by national and global campaigns – without considering their unequal work and livelihood positions and offering them alternative livelihoods (Morrow, 2013; Punch, 2015).

Despite the variations in combining school and work, however, children in general perceived school as a sign of attaining equal social status with peers. In actual terms, school provided children opportunities for new forms of knowledge, social interaction and experience both within and outside the school space. Subsequent to these changes in children's experiences, a decline of parental power and control on the time and whereabouts of school-going children was observed. Most parents, for example, complained about the school for not 'properly' controlling children, while weakening their power to do so. Some children skip school, which is a growing phenomenon in *Simalta* and which opened up to a new form of child–parent interaction.

Concluding remarks

In this article, I explored how ideologies and valuations of childhood shape intergenerational relationships in rural and urban Ethiopia. I tried to shed light on how children are socialized into and bear complex sets of social, cultural and economic responsibilities. A number of examples revealed that being a child is shaped not only by parental values and interests but also by what children want to be. As they navigate collective responsibilities and personal desires, children make various choices and decisions. Based on the knowledge and skills they have, children continuously negotiated and renegotiated daily responsibilities and use various strategies to define, produce and claim social positions (Robson et al., 2007) in work, leisure and schooling.

The act and process of being a child varies spatially and temporarily. Through revealing the less known experiences of children of affluent families and juxtaposing it with the experience of their rural and poorer counterparts, I have illuminated how childhoods and experiences of growing up in Ethiopia are diverse. The social, cultural and economic values placed on children in the rural inextricably shape the act of being a child, whereas the example from urban Ethiopia reveals how the act of being a child reflects the socio-economic status of parents and the technical and material conditions in which children grow up. The highly pronounced economic void children fill in rural areas mirrors the livelihood context of children and their families, whereas children's sentimental value is noticeable in the urban. Children of rural peasant families do schoolwork and housework with little leisure, but their economic contribution to the household strengthens family relations of interdependence. Yet, interdependent relations between children and their families are not only constrained because of limited opportunities and material resources but are negotiated continuously (Punch, 2015). On the contrary, children of urban wealthy families attend school full time, study in the evenings and relax over the weekends. In this sense, wealthier children negotiate their role experiences of studying and leisure and less on their role as workers.

The empirical material in this study shows how the intersections and implications of improved economic status (class) and formal education are shifting the expectations imposed on children in Ethiopia, while simultaneously homogenizing their experiences globally. The economic status of parents in Addis Ababa offers children opportunities to integrate into global life styles and experiences produced through the role of media and connectivity through actual visits. Such global connections and meanings produced within the immediate locality are observed to allow new forms of child–parent interactions that are manifested through generational practices. In Simalta, on the other hand, children's schooling has opened up new forms of child–parent interactions through providing children new experiences outside the home and weakening parental control. While such shifting trends in child–parent relationships in rural and urban Ethiopia are linked to the social changes unfolding in the wider socio-cultural, economic and political transformation that the country is experiencing today (Tafere, 2013), the general situation resonates with Zelizer's (1985) argument on the values of children in different historical and economic periods, in which children are gradually transformed from being valuable economically into economically worthless but emotionally priceless beings. In the context of globalization, the findings of this study could broadly be extended to

experiences of children and childhoods in the majority of Africa. That said, by revealing the fluid and complex practices of how people are considered to be a child, by whom, why and in what circumstances, I have in this article illuminated the significance of intergenerational analysis in sociology of childhood – both in Ethiopia and beyond.

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Notes

1. Lowest administrative unit.
2. Barley, wheat, tef, niger seed, millet, bean, pea and chickpea.
3. US$1400–US$1600.
4. Pseudonyms are used to protect participants' anonymity.
5. From around age 5–12.
6. From around 12–15 age for girls and boys, respectively.
7. Above age 15.
8. Traditionally, the umbilical cord is buried around the homestead to mark the birth place.
9. Local staple prepared from *tef* (cereal).
10. Holding price is when children inform prices to buyers without actually selling items, while adults move around to assess what price other sellers give.

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ARTICLE TWO

Children & Society

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Drawing Family Boundaries: Children's Perspectives on Family Relationships in Rural and Urban Ethiopia

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This article explores how children conceptualise and practice family relationships in two social settings in Ethiopia. Based on ethnographic data, it discusses (i) how urban and rural children construct family; (ii) what family activities children do and which social positions they assume; and (iii) the convergence and divergence of meanings and practices of family relationships between urban and rural Ethiopia. The analysis demonstrates how 'normative family' and actual 'family practices' are shaped by socio-cultural, material and spatial contexts. Insights drawn also reveal the complex ways in which access to material resources, geographical distance, rural-urban locations and cultural traits such as patterns of marriage and child relocation practices shape family relationships. © 2016 John Wiley & Sons Ltd and National Children's Bureau

Keywords: children, Ethiopia, family, family practices, family relationships.

Introduction

Families and relationships are central to sociological analysis. How family as an institution is organised within and across societies and its relations with external structures are important areas of research. Such researches, however, do not attend to meanings people give to familial relationships, what family members do together, or what consequences activities have (e.g., Cheal, 2002; Finch, 2007; Morgan, 1996). A new scholarly interest in the interactions *or* meanings people give to familial relationships has therefore emerged and Morgan (1996), who reconfigured 'family' from a social institution into a set of practices, is the most influential in this regard. According to him, family practices are everyday activities that take on a particular form and meaning within a wider system of meanings. Meanings attributed to and generated through interactions between family members are constructed within a given socio-cultural and economic context rather than in relation to naturalistic reproductive and/or socialisation functions (Smart, 2004). Family 'represents a quality rather than a thing' (Morgan, 1996: 186) and is a facet of social life, not a social institution (Finch, 2007). Analysing how people 'do family' is therefore at the heart of understanding how people constitute and understand family (Finch, 2007; McCarthy and Edwards, 2010).

Family practices, which recognises family relationships as sets of practices that are reciprocally 'orientated to another family member' (Morgan, 2011b: 5) is central to the analysis to this article. Doing family is embedded in the everyday and the routine, in which individuals constitute certain actions and activities as 'family' practices (Finch, 2007). Whilst Morgan's concept of family practices is useful, it has so far been used only by studies in the global north. By applying 'family practices' in a global south context, this paper attempts to shade light on the usefulness of the perspective while simultaneously fill the literature gap in the under-studied topic of children's views on family relationships in Ethiopia. In

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Ethiopia, despite the growing body of social research on children and childhoods (Abebe, 2008a,b; Heinonen, 2011; Poluha, 2004), few studies have documented the place, role, and contributions of children in the social and cultural reproduction of families and communities (Abebe and Kjørholt, 2009). Ethnographic studies that reveal children's view on familial relationships and social positions they assume within such relationships are limited. Yet, as Poluha documents, social life in Ethiopia is complex and this triggers interest to explore children's perspectives:

> Life in Ethiopia ... is dependent on your neighbours and friends; you must live social life or mahiberawi nuro [lit. meaning collective life] and do so through membership in various social associations [e.g. solidarity groups, redistributive groups, work groups, religious groups, funeral associations]. When you yourself or a member of your family becomes sick or die, your association will help you manage socially, financially and morally ... they are your social security (Poluha, 2004: 55–59).

In order to enhance our understanding of how family is practiced and made meaningful in a given society, it is important to explore how people make sense of family. A family practice approach is useful for it recognises fluidity in family boundaries and members' perspectives (Morgan, 2011a), which in this study is that of children. When discussing family and incorporating children's perspectives, it is also important to acknowledge their social, cultural and economic context (Haugen, 2008).

In addition to Morgan's (1996, 2011a, b) concepts of 'family practice', intergenerational social contract and generational interdependence (Punch, 2015) are useful theoretical lenses for this study. As Whyte and others (2008: 6) highlight, in the wider context of Africa, 'intergenerational contract', that is, the implicit expectation parents will care for their children until they care for themselves and that children will support parents when they can no longer support themselves, is a moral obligation. In Ethiopia in particular, as family and community relationships are acknowledged and valued more than autonomy, children have to balance individual aspirations with family needs (Morrow, 2013). Children, for example, tend to view work not just in material terms, but also socially — as defining their roles within the households (Abebe, 2008a; Pankhurst and others, 2015). Although the underlying rationale for reciprocal intergenerational relationship is economic, as Tafere (2013) and Abebe and Aase (2007) note, it encompasses the complex ways in which children and adults benefit socially and emotionally from each other's support and actions.

This article explores how rural and urban children in Ethiopia view and practice family. More specifically it discusses (i) how children perceive and attribute meanings to familial relationships; (ii) activities children engage and reciprocate with those whom they consider family; and (iii) the convergence and divergence of meanings and doings of familial relationships in rural and urban Ethiopia as viewed by children. The article begins with a brief review on Ethiopian families in a socio-spatial perspective. It then provides an outline of the study settings, approaches and methods, followed by discussions on empirical material on children's conceptualisations and doings of familial relationships. Findings and implications are also discussed.

Ethiopian families in a socio-spatial perspective

Ethiopia has substantial ethnic and religious diversity with over 85 ethnic groups and most major world religions including traditional belief systems (Webb and others, 1992). This diversity in ethnicity and religion impacts how families are constructed by particular group of people. For example, studies carried out in southern Ethiopia among the Sidama (Brøgger, 1984 in Abebe, 2008b) and Gedeo (Abebe, 2008a, b) show that the ethic culture of marrying more than one wife and widow inheritance (a man takes the wife of his deceased brother),

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respectively, significantly shape the way family is constructed. The co-wives and their children work interdependently as it is advantageous to do so in farming economy, a situation which provides opportunities for the wives and their children to view each other as part of the bigger extended family. Similarly, among the Afar in Eastern Ethiopia, the nuclear household consists of a male head, his wife or co-wives and their children whereas the larger extended family consists of families up to four generations settling in one area (Kassa, 2001). Religion also shapes how family is constructed in Ethiopia and a good example for this is christening among the followers of the Orthodox Church in which individuals outside kin become Godfather/mother to a son or daughter, respectively. This is an important way of expanding and strengthening familial relationships between individuals/groups that are not blood related. Furthermore, familial relationships are closely knit with forms of livelihoods; 80 per cent of Ethiopians live in rural and farming is the main source of livelihood (Central Statistical Agency, 2012). This makes people view and weave familial relationships guided by economic interdependence. During the last decades, due to natural and man-made catastrophes, individuals and large groups throughout the country have been on the move (Ezra, 2003; Heinonen, 2011), a situation that has resulted in many families living apart but who support each other. It is therefore evident that in Ethiopia, extended family networks predominate (Abebe, 2008b; Central Statistical Agency, 2012) and function as a social security system (Abebe and Aase, 2007).

Accordingly, two general patterns of extended family networks can broadly be identified — 'front line' family members of blood and marriage, and 'fictive kinship', based on social and religious ties (Abebe and Aase, 2007). Some households may appear nuclear but have strong and continuous interactions with kin and non-kin who live apart and who may join and leave the household as required. Hosting relatives external to the family nucleus is common in exchange for work, social improvement, or to maintain alliances (Abebe, 2008b; Farina and others, 2001; Kassa and Abebe, 2014). The Amharic proverb (also common in other Ethiopian languages) 'ke eruq zemed yeqirb gorebet', literary meaning 'an intimate neighbour is better than a distant relative' also reveals how familial networks count on neighbours and friends. Families are therefore neither unitary nor closed but are intricately intertwined with the wider social networks of support (Abebe, 2008a). Various layers of familial relationships — both in rural and urban areas — could be constructed through the notion of reciprocity, which is the giving and receiving of material and social supports by members as guided by expectations and obligations placed on them. Such forms of reciprocity are deep-rooted in the everyday lives of Ethiopian communities in which the relative flow of resources (material and social) between members (including children) is embedded in mutual expectations and support (Abebe, 2008a).

Research settings and methodology

This article draws on data from a larger sociological study that documents children's experiences of intergenerational relationships in two contrasting settings. The two settings, i.e. rural peasant and urban upper class households were chosen to explore and conduct analytical comparisons on children's experiences of intergenerational relationships as they are dissected by social, economic and geographical dimensions. In the larger study, both parents and children were participants; this paper, however, draws on the perspectives of children only.

Two rounds ethnographic field-work of 7 months in total were carried out; the first from February to June 2012 and the second in July 2013. Children aged 12–15 participated in the study, with seven girls and five boys from rural households and 10 girls and five boys from urban. The number of participants in each site was determined based on the nature of the

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qualitative methods applied and the depth and saturation of data generated. The particular age group was also chosen because the larger study gave emphasis to the social age in which children's filial obligations become explicit in Ethiopia.

Different approaches in the rural (Dangla) and urban (Addis Ababa) were used to reach-out children. In the urban, children of high-income households were accessed through a private school where parents pay annual school-fee of 30–35 thousand Ethiopian birr (US$1400–1600). Before contact was made with children and parents, a letter of request for field entry was presented to the school. Field entry to the rural, on the other hand, was negotiated with Dangla town administration which the study village is a part. A home-to-home visit was then used to gain parents' oral consent whereas in the city, consent was obtained by sending a letter of request (in Amharic) through the school. Following parental consent, children in both settings were asked orally to participate; no child was included without confirming consent and assuring he/she has the right to quit anytime during fieldwork. Ethical approval for the study was obtained from Addis Ababa University.

Fieldwork for the rural study was carried out in a *gote* (village) called Simalta, which is located in Dangla district in Amhara Regional State, 485 km northwest of Addis Ababa. Simalta is located in one of the rural kebeles (lowest administrative units) in Dangla called Zelesa. Inhabitants of *Simalta* belong to Amhara and *Awi* ethnic groups, and speak Amharic, the national language. Subsistence farming is the livelihood of households that participant children come from. Eight of the children lived in the household of their biological parents, three with grandparents, and one with an uncle.

Addis Ababa is Ethiopia's capital with 3.2 million inhabitants (Central Statistical Agency, 2013). Rural-urban migration accounts 40 per cent of its population growth (United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), 2008): Mud-walled houses and multiple-story palaces sit side by side, characterising it as a city of contrast and inequality. The study children lived in villas or real estate developed buildings in a private compound where hiring two or three maids and one or two guards are common. Parents are either business owners or holders of highly paid positions in international organisations.

The methods used to generate data were semi-structured interviews (conducted by the author in two rounds, one in each field trip), diaries written by children for two consecutive weeks and field observations. The analysis developed in this paper is, however, largely based on interviews; the other two methods were employed mainly to capture the daily activities of children within and outside the home environment (e.g. schools, farms, herding fields). Amharic and English were used for interviewing children in the city (children were given the choice because they speak both), whereas in the rural Amharic was used, the only language children speak. Interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed by the author, and names were changed to maintain anonymity. Data obtained through diaries and observations were cross-linked and analysed with that of the interview. Empirical data for this particular paper were generated, categorised and analysed by three themes: *ideal family*, *actual family* and *reciprocity*. The following data analysis and discussion are organised under the three themes.

The 'ideal family'

Understanding how children define 'family' and what type of relationships count for them as family is important in understanding how they draw boundaries regarding family. When they described relationships deemed of family, children in both study settings drew mainly on two aspects. First, they mapped kinship ties, including parents, siblings, grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins. Secondly, they highlighted forms of interactions that take place between individuals and groups who consider each other family. The following quotes from Addis Ababa and Simalta, respectively, echo these interactional aspects of family:

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> Family basically means people who care about each other, worry when bad things happen, and whom one can always count on (Marry, girl, 12-year-old, Addis Ababa).

> Family is living together in teqel [collective]. Those whom one lives and cooperates with are family (Cherenet, boy, 13-year-old, Simalta).

The notion of 'family' in both settings is also perceived as fluid and extended because familial relationships are inclusive of social ties. To indicate how familial relationships could be extended and possibly embrace close social ties of friendship, Eskedar (girl, 13-year-old) from Addis Ababa used the word 'everybody'. She said:

> There is family as like father, mother, sisters, brothers, but family includes everybody. It includes cousins, aunts, uncles, family friends and school-family.

A similar view is also evident in rural children's accounts.

> Family is not only father, mother, sisters, brothers. Family could be relatives who live far in another place and help each other (Dereje 12-year-old, Simalta).

Yet, the ways children described familial relationships in the two settings differed. Children of Addis Ababa emphasised facets of emotional support such as love and care whereas collaboration in making a living was underlined by children of Simalta. As discussed in the following section, such variations in forms of familial interactions between urban and rural became further clear when children began talking about the contours (boundaries) of their family.

The contours of 'my family'

There are similarities and difference in the way rural and urban children draw the contours (boundaries) of their actual family. For clarity, the discussions are organised in two subsections i.e. family as togetherness and closeness (in Addis Ababa) and family as cooperation and unity (in Simalta).

Family as togetherness and closeness

Children in Addis Ababa defined family based on two interrelated notions, *togetherness* and *closeness*. Togetherness refers to the act of sharing abode and affection between household members. While talking about 'core family', children were largely referring to inter and intra-generational relationships in everyday life but sometimes included interactions with other individuals living with them. Some children for example acknowledged housemaids whom they are emotionally close to as family members. This is mainly because children share secrets with the maids and the maids are trustworthy secret keepers. Sharing secret is therefore found to be one way of establishing familial relationship for it creates and strengthens emotional closeness. Such intimate relationships between children and maids were, however, typical if the latter worked and lived for a relatively long period in the household. Samrawit (girl, 14-year-old) said:

> I love to sit and talk with maids but my family does not like it. I sleep with them when mum is not home. But, my sisters and brothers do not like it when I get too close to them. They [maids], however, always comfort me when I get sad and I do the same when they feel alike.

On the contrary, there were children who excluded housemaids from their family circle because they interpreted activities by maids purely as paid work. Inclusion and exclusion of maids by children therefore shows that the notion of togetherness has two dimensions. The endorsement of housemaids as family members, on the one hand, indicates togetherness has

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a temporal nature for maids soon or later could leave a given household. Their exclusion on the other suggests familial relationships do not simply grow out of the sharing of abode — meaningful interaction (e.g., sharing secrets) is required.

As part of the interview, children were asked to provide a list of their family members. Most children gave the list without much effort and in the list included blood ties such as uncles, aunts, cousins, grandparents and individuals married to these relatives. Based on the follow-up questions raised in relation to the lists children provided, it is learned that the recognition of individuals as family members was grounded not only in blood ties but also on the frequency and intensity of interactions children have with them. By excluding the inactive ones from their listings, children made sometimes blurred but often clear distinctions between groups of relatives whom they have meaningful familial interactions with from those without. Unless there is closeness expressed 'by doing family things' (Morgan, 1996), children avoided endorsing blood ties as family. Such demarcation brings us to *closeness*, the second notion used by children to draw the boundary of their family. As some children reported, the drawing of clear boundaries between family relatives and relatives is nevertheless always easy. Marry (girl, 12-year-old), for instance, explained the fuzziness of the boundary between members of her families and non-families by saying:

> If we are talking about people who live in my house, they are my mother, father, sister, brother and me. But if I talk about extended family, I can go on and on.

Seeking to comprehend further patterns, examination on variations in the number and type of relatives that children included as members of their family was made. The list by some children was long while short for others. The shortest list came from Hiwot (girl, 14-year-old), who was living with her brother after the death of her mother. Hiwot moved in with her brother since she was five and was never introduced to her paternal or maternal relatives who lived outside Addis Ababa. The relatives also had never come to visit the family she lives with. This is what she replied when asked to list her family members:

> People I consider my family. . .first is my brother and then his wife and his wife's sister who is living with us and whom I consider my sister. My brother's friend who lived with us before my brother got married is also my family. That is all. I don't have uncles or aunts. I do, but I don't know them.

Furthermore, some children included relatives from both parents' sides, whereas others did only those from one side. Also, whereas some focused on those living in Ethiopia, others did on the ones abroad. Twelve year-old Meron for example listed some relatives from her maternal side but no one from her paternal side. When she was asked about the void in familial relationships from her father's side, she explained the hostile relationship of her father with his siblings.

The cases of Hiwot and Meron above are illustrative of how children's familial relationships and boundaries are shaped by opportunities adults open-up for children to develop relationships with relatives. Children's experiences of family life broaden when frequent and meaningful familial interactions are cultivated and maintained by adults. A good example of this is the relatives living abroad whom some children endorsed as family because they have frequent phone-talks with children, send gifts to children, receive and treat children and their parents when they visit them or when the relatives come to visit. Kinship networks that children are dependent on are therefore important foundations for children to draw blood-tie-based extended family and these have implication on the size of the family that children construct.

Based on an ethnographic study carried out in the town of Jimma, in the southwest of Addis Ababa, Mains (2013) argued that the two Amharic terms most commonly used among

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young people for 'friend' are *gwadeñña* and *zemed*. *Zemed* refers to kin as determined by a shared ancestor or marriage, as well as non-kin whom one has close relationships with (Mains, 2013: 337). For children in this study, kinship and marriage ties are aspects of familial relationships, but not the only ones. Based on social ties, children included non-kin such as schoolfriends, parents' friends and the children of the parents' friends as part of their family. Debora (girl, 15-year-old), explained:

> My best friend, I considered as my family. You know, if that person is always there for you, why not he or she be your family? You don't have to share blood to be family.

Likewise, Kidist (13-year-old) explained how she views her mother's friend and the children of her mother's friend as follows:

> My mum's friend is very close to our family. I consider her children as my cousins. They are friends but are like my cousins.

Individuals whom children know and who display emotional care and concern are seen as family. Irrespective of the sharing of residence or blood relationship, children constructed family through the notion of *closeness*. From children's explanations of interactions with members of the 'big' or 'extended family', there are reciprocal activities they engage in with members of their families. The paper will return to this after discussing how children of Simalta draw their family boundaries.

Family as cooperation and unity

In Simalta, the notion of *abro menor* or collective living is central to how family is practiced. Unlike Addis Ababa, the meaning attributed to 'living together' broadly refers to the teaming-up of members to make a living. As the following interview extract with Adeferes (boy, 12-year-old) demonstrates, those living close by are expected to contribute labour and material support.

> With relatives living here [Simalta], we co-operate and help each other during work. I help and they also help. Especially, we co-operate during land preparation, weeding and harvest. We go to their farm and they come to ours.

Family boundaries are therefore drawn mainly based on the principle of 'collective living' in which children's contribution is also significant.

Similar to Addis Ababa, blood or marriage relationship is not enough for children to count relatives as of family. Marriage in Simalta is partilocal (bride moves to the groom's village) and therefore children commonly grow up among paternal relatives. Ten of the participant children, for example, reported to have grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins from their father's side who reside in the same *gote* (village). Children were asked to define the nature of relationships they have with these blood ties. Most, but not all of these relatives were reported family members and this is observed to be grounded in the strength of material and social reciprocity children are experiencing between their households and that of the relatives. Unlike Addis Ababa, emotional care is inextricably woven with material support; denying support to others either in the form of labour, oxen, household utensils or grain stocks is considered by children as a sign of weak familial relationship. Children explained that one's affection is understood when it is expressed through satisfying material needs rather than verbal expressions. A relative who refuses to contribute labour to children's household or direct material needs (e.g. school materials, clothes, meals) to children is thus seen as one refusing love. In other words, one who provides economic support most is one who loves and cares most, and not to share violates the very definition of familial relationship. As

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children reported, repeated refusal to reciprocate could result into a relationship that hardly counts as family but this is uncommon between relatives living in same village.

Geographical distance is noticed to significantly shape familial relationships. According to children, unless there are good reasons such as wedding or funeral, visitations are rare between relatives living apart. This therefore limits interactions, particularly cooperative ones. The following extract from an interview with Belete (boy, 13-year-old) reveals such circumstances:

Q What do you call your aunt and uncle who live here in Simalta?

A I call them family. Those I call relatives are those who live far like in Addis Ababa, Bahar Dar and Achefer area. There are also some in Zelesa, the village my mother comes from. But, my aunt and uncle who live here, I see them as family.

Q Why you call your uncle and aunt who live here as family?

A It is because they live close by. My mother, father and those who are close and live with us, such as my grandma and uncle, I consider my family. If anything happens, they are the ones who come for me next to my parents. But, if my grandma and uncle were living far, I would have called them just relatives.

Living apart therefore implies weak familial interaction because daily exchange of resources is not possible. Yet, some children had uncles and aunts outside Simalta whom they considered family. Although none of the participant children reported they have been to the towns the relatives live in, these relatives were reported to visit or send money during holidays and also contribute moral and material support to children's schoolwork. As the following quote illustrates, these relatives are seen as family than just relatives which indicate that children have familial ties that extend beyond the place they live:

> My aunts and uncles who come and visit us during holiday, I see them as family. Their support is like that of family. If any problem comes up, they are the ones who can help me if my parents are not able to do so (Zerfe 13-year-old).

Interestingly, Zerfe also said the following about her biological father who was living in her own neighbourhood:

> Yes there are relatives who live nearby. I have for example, sisters, a father and his wife. I see them as neighbours. We do not live in one house and they don't provide any support to me. I don't see them as family.

When they fail to practice socially meaningful familial interactions (e.g., fathering), there are situations where blood relationships as close as 'father and sisters' are seen as less important.

Like the children of Addis Ababa, children in Simalta were asked if there are persons whom they count as of family purely based on social ties. Of the 12 children only two answered 'yes' and from their explanations it is learned that schoolfriends in certain circumstances were considered family. In the case of these children, familial relationship with schoolfriends is qualified through school and farm work support children exchange with each other. Similarly, qenja boys are viewed by the study children as family members. Qenja discussed in detail elsewhere (author reference) is an informal child relocation practice whereby boys temporarily leave their natal home to work in agricultural labour in non-parental residence. Although, boys are sent to kin and non-kin members of the community in exchange for monetary or in-kind payment, the practice is also informed by notions of social

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and cultural parenthood. How the sending families control possibilities of exploitation of children in qenja is discussed in previous publication (author reference). Some of the boys interviewed in this study had experience of working as qenja and based on the principle of 'collective living', underlined that a qenja boy is an important member of their family. Similar to housemaids in Addis Ababa, the familial relationship children develop with qenja boys ends short when the latter leaves quickly. The longer boys stay in the hosting family, the stronger the familial relationships are.

Reciprocity– What 'family members' do for me and I do for them

Children's reciprocal relationships with family members are the third theme of discussion. Being a child is a social and relational process which is mediated by familial *expectations* and *obligations* children feel responsible for (Kassa, 2016). The care of children within extended family is also characterised by reciprocal relationships in care-giving and care-receiving practices (Abebe and Aase, 2007). The relationship between members of a family in terms of reciprocity, inclusion, participation and belonging is therefore significant in this discussion.

As discussed above, children of Simalta define family and draw boundaries around it in a different way than those of Addis Ababa. Accordingly, children in the two settings stand in two socially contrasting positions — Simalta's children are both beneficiaries of and contributors to the productivity gained through collective living (*abro menor*), whereas their counterparts in Addis Ababa are receivers of resources. In the case of the former, adults expect them to routinely engage in production (diaries children wrote show this) and children in return expect adults to provide them with material and moral support in schoolwork. Zerfe (13-year-old Simalta) explains:

> My aunt and grandparents send me to school and they buy me materials that I need. For example, when I run out of shoes, exercise books and pens, they buy me what is lacking. My aunt [who is the same age like Zerfe] helps me with work.

When asked what she gives back to her family members, Zerfe also said:

> I help my grandparents with work. For example, when my aunt is not at home, I do the domestic work and if it is not holiday and work is not forbidden, I help with the farm.

Children are thus valued for their socioeconomic roles and are expected to maintain reciprocal relationships within the family (Abebe, 2013: 72). As Demelash (boy, 13-years-old, Simalta) explained, they also feel obliged to contribute to the welfare of adults:

> In the future, I want to support my family. If I get a job, I want to give back . . .. I will buy them fertiliser and clothes.

Family interdependency is crucial, and failing to meet expectations either from children or adults side is likely to weaken familial relationships.

Materially, what children from Addis Ababa seek from adult family members is different from what children in Simalta do. Rural children listed specific items such as exercise books, pens, shoes, and clothes, whereas urban children noted 'everything' ranging from immediate needs to leisure activities. Such difference in children's description of 'provision' was associated with parents' economic capacity and this also relates to how children position themselves within the extended family. Because material needs are not priority, children in Addis Ababa viewed adult family members (other than parents) as providers of care and love whereas children of Simalta noted emotional care from adults is inseparable from material support.

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The very idea of having children in any family contexts is laden with social and emotional values. By examining children's interview responses in Addis Ababa, it is observed that parents and family members in return expect to get *love* and *respect* from children. Adult family members evaluate their relationship with the children in terms of the satisfaction it delivers in various terms, and children's achievement in schoolwork is of paramount importance in this regard. In their everyday effort to accomplish activities that are considered 'good' by adults, children also try to fulfil the emotional needs expected by adults. In addition to the interviews, this was revealed in the diaries children wrote on their daily activities.

Concluding thoughts

This study makes an important contribution to literature about children's experiences and representations of family in Ethiopia. The empirical material and the analysis presented provides insights into the complex ways in which family is constructed and practiced and how access to material resources, geographical distance between blood-ties, rural-urban locations and cultural traits such as patterns of marriage and child relocation shape familial expectations and practices.

Children's constructions of family in both study settings are fluid and reflect 'family collectives', which were viewed in three contexts — households, extended families and the intersection of the two, as well as in kinship and social networks of support (Abebe, 2008b). Within such contexts of constructions of family, forms of reciprocity in the rural and urban are varied and complex and positions children assume also differ significantly. In contrast with Addis Ababa where children of affluent households economically 'depend' on adult family members, children in Simalta participate in productive and reproductive activities and their material contribution through farming and housework assistance strengthens family relations of interdependence. This makes the conceptualisation and practices of family in the rural inseparable from ways of livelihood.

The sociological insights of family practices and the negotiated 'doing' of family life as opposed to family as institution (Morgan, 1996, 2011a) is found to be a helpful framework of analysis in this study. In this study, children's experiences of family were more influenced to their position as part of the 'family collective' than that of individual beings. Their everyday actions are also strongly linked to what they feel obliged to their family members. It is shown that the lives of children in families in Ethiopia can be theorised along two types of 'ideal childhood:' one that conceptualises children as dependent beings who rely on their family to meet their needs, and contributing children, who partake in household production and reproduction activities (Abebe and Aase, 2007: 2066). Yet, both types of childhoods are not void of reciprocity. Despite clear differences between the two and social positions children take on, what makes the two childhoods similar is that they are both embedded in obligations (albeit different in nature) towards adult family members. That said, this study has some policy and practical implications. First, it illustrates the need to understand the lives of children within families as situated in a complex web of relationships. Secondly, any policy or practical intervention targeted on improving the lives of children within families should avoid normative ideals of what family is and instead consider differences in children's experiences of family.

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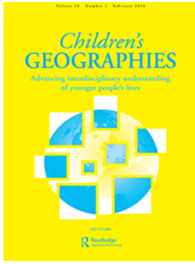
ARTICLE THREE



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Qenja: child fostering and relocation practices in the Amhara region, Ethiopia

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Appendix 1

Sample Pictures from Rural Field Setting

Appendix 1

Sample Pictures from Urban Field Setting

Appendix 2

Semi-structured Interview Guide
Parents

Introduction- self introduction, explain purpose of interview, assure confidentiality, ask permission to tape and/or make notes

Background information: Name, age, gender, educational status, family composition

- How many children do you have?
- Whom do you consider as your children?
- Is it possible to tell me their age?
- Could you tell me the reason you decided to have children?
- Who do you think are the persons responsible in raising a child in your family or community?
- Do families in your community support each other in child upbringing?
- If yes, how do they support each other? Why?
- If no, why?
- Tell me how parents (families) in your community raise children?
- What are the expectations of families in your community from older children?
- What do you expect from your own children who are older in age?
- What do you do to make sure that they meet your expectations?
- How do you treat them when they meet your expectations?
- How do you treat them when they do not meet your expectations?
- Is there a difference when it is a boy or a girl?
- Can you tell me how parents teach their children meet their expectations?
- In your case, what do you expect from your children? Particularly from those who are older?
- Is there difference in expectations from your boys and girls who are older?
- In what way do you make your children know what is expected from them?
- Do you have anything to add to our discussion?

Semi-structured Interview Guide
Children

Introduction- self introduction, explain purpose of interview, assure confidentiality, ask permission to tape and/or make notes.

Background information: Name, age, gender, birth order, family composition, educational status, child relationship to head of the family

Child family (parent) relationships

- Tell me what your family means to you?
- Who do you think belongs to your family?
- In what way is your family different from the people you consider as not your family?
- If you are living with your mother and father, do you think that they are the only ones responsible in your upbringing? Why?
- What do your parents mean to you?
- What is a good child?
- What is a bad child?
- What are the things parent in general don't expect children to be or do? Why?
- Tell me about the things your parents expect from you at your age (now)?
- Are you aware of what they want you to be now or in the future?
- How do you know their expectations? Do you discuss on this type of issues?
- What do you do to meet their expectations?

School

- How do you manage to go to school every day? Do you go alone?
- Do you like the means you go to school? Why?
- Tell me about things you do on the way to school?
- How do you spend a regular day at school?
- What do you do with your friends during school time (in and outside classroom)?
- Tell me how parents think of your school?
- How do your parents support your schooling?

Work

- Tell me about how you spend a regular day? What do you normally do every day?
- Do you have work obligation in your family?
- At what age did you start taking work obligations in your family?
- How were you made to learn the house work? And who is responsible to teach you?
- Is the work you do in your family very important to you? Why?
- What would you have preferred to do if you were not supposed to meet your family's expectations? And how?

Play

- Do you have friends of your age that you spend every day outside school?
- Tell me how you spend your time with your friends?
- Where do you usually go with your friends?
- With whom do your parents want you to play with? Why?
- What do your parents want you to play? Why?
- Where do they want you to play? Why?
- What useful things do you get from playing?
- What talents do you have in playing?
- Anything to add to our discussion?

Appendix 4

Form for writing a one day diary

Date __________________ Name __________________________________ Grade __________

Instruction

- Write dairy every day for two weeks
- Dairy should include the following three topics (school, play, work) but not necessarily should focus only on the three.

1. School related activities
    - Activities
    ____
    ____
    ____
    - Places
    ____
    _____
    - With whom
    ____
    _____
    - Anything you want to add
    ____
    ____
    ____
    ____
2. Play or recreation
    - Activities
    ____
    ____
    ____
    - Places
    ____
    _____
    - With whom
    ____
    _____
    - Anything you want to add
    ____
    ____
    ____
    ____
3. Work at home or outside home
    - Activities
    ____
    ____
    ____
    - Places
    ____
    _____

- With whom
  ____
  ______
- Anything you want to add
  ____
  ____
  ____
  ____

4. Anything else you want to write about the day
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____

Appendix 5

Form for story writing

Instruction

- Write a story about other children who are same age and gender like you
- The story should focus on what she or he does bad at school or outside school

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Appendix 6

Diary Summary Form

Name _______________ Sex _________ Age _________ Grade _______

Date	Activities			
		School	Work	Play
	Details of activities			
	Places done			
	With whom			
	Additional points			

Date	Activities			
		School	Work	Play
	Details of activities			
	Place done			
	With whom			
	Additional points			

Date	Activities			
		School	Work	Play
	Details of activities			
	Place done			
	With whom			
	Additional points			

Appendix 7

Story Writing Summary Form

Name of Informant	School related story	Work related story	Play related story

Appendix 8

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

Harald Hårfagres gate 2
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www.nsd.uib.no
Org.nr. 985 321 884

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Norsk senter for barneforskning
NTNU
Loholt Allé 87, Pavillion C
7491 TRONDHEIM

Vår dato: 16.02.2012 Vår ref:29256 / 3 / KH Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 05.01.2012. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

29256	*Children's Agency in Parenting Practices in Urban and Rural Ethiopia*
Behandlingsansvarlig	*NTNU, ved institusjonens øverste leder*
Daglig ansvarlig	*Tatek Abebe*
Student	*Sophia Kassa*

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet, og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger vil være regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. Personvernombudet tilrår at prosjektet gjennomføres.

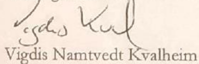
Personvernombudets tilråding forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, eventuelle kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/forsk_stud/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

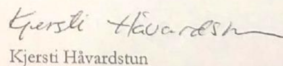
Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/prosjektoversikt.jsp.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.12.2015, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen



Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim



Kjersti Håvardstun

Kontaktperson: Kjersti Håvardstun tlf: 55 58 29 53
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering
Kopi: Sophia Kassa, Balders Veg 3 A, 7033 TRONDHEIM

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TROMSØ: NSD. SVF, Universitetet i Tromsø, 9037 Tromsø. Tel: +47-77 64 43 36. nsdmaa@sv.uit.no

Personvernombudet for forskning

Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

Prosjektnr: 29256

The purpose of the research study is to explore what the idea of parenting mean for children in Ethiopia, examine childrens actions towards parents and explore commonalities and differences in experiences in contrasting settings.

The research sample will consist of 20 children and their respective families. Children will be between 10 and 15 years old. Initial contact with the sample families will be made after going through power structures such as the local officials and school principals in the specific study sites.

Names will be registered in connection to the data collected. Data might contain indirectly identifiable background information in addition to electronically stored audio and visual recordings. Data will be deleted or anonymized by 31.12.2015.

All participants will be informed orally about the project and the handling of personal data. The Data Protection Official for Research finds it necessary to inform about the following:
- Information concerning the purpose and title of the project.
- Which methods that will be used to collect the data (interview and observation) and how these will affect the participator.
- Issues concerning confidentiality, how data will be stored, that all the material will be anonymised after the project has been completed, and that no individuals can be identified in publications.
- An estimate of the project period, date for when the project is to finish.
- Stressing that participation is voluntary, and that the consent can be withdrawn at a later stage without the need for providing an explanation as to why.
- Contact information to the project leader, supervisor and the institution responsible for the study

A valid consent will be obtained based on this information. Parents are to confirm the consent of their children under the age of 15.

Ethical/research clearance must also be sought in Ethiopia.

Appendix 9

በአማራ ብሔራዊ ክልላዊ መንግሥት
በአዊ አስተዳደር ዞን
የዳንግላ ከተማ አስተዳደር ከንቲባ ጽ/ቤት

ቁጥር ዳከባ/612/35-316

ቀን 19/06/2004 ዓ.ም

ለ ሚ መ ለ ከ ተ ው ሁ ሉ

ጉዳዩ፡- ትብብር እንዲደረግላቸው ስለመጠየቅ፣

ተማሪ ሶፊያ ጫንያለው ካሣ በኖርዌ ሃገር በኖርዊጅያን ሣንስና ቴክኖሎጅ ዩንቨርስቲ የህፃናት ምርምር ማዕከል በዶክትሬት መርሃ-ግብር ትምህርታቸውን በመከታተል ላይ ያሉና በአሁኑ ወቅት ህፃናት በወላጆች የልጆች አስተዳደግ ላይ ያላቸው አመለካከት በሚል ርዕስ በዳንግላ ከተማ ጥናት ለማካሄድ ዝግጁ መሆናቸውን እና ትብብር እንዲደረግላቸው በ19/06/2004 ዓ.ም ቀርበው አመልክተዋል፡፡

ስለሆኑም ባቀረቡት የጥናትና ምርምር ማስረጃ መሠረት አስፈላጊው ሁሉ ትብብር ይደረግላቸው ዘንድ የተለመደ ትብብራችሁን እንጠይቃለን፡፡

" ከሠላምታ ጋር "

Mekuanent Birhanu Bogale

አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ
የጥናትና ምርምር
ምክትል ፕሬዚዳንትና የድህረ-ምረቃ ትምህርት ዲን
ጽ/ቤት

Addis Ababa University
Vice President for Research and Dean of the
School of Graduate Studies

Ref. No.: CAOR/LT-090/2012
Date: 09 April 2012

W/o Sophia Chanyalew
Department of Sociology
Addis Ababa University

Subject: Your Request for Affiliation

I am pleased to inform you that your request for affiliation with the Department of Sociology, Addis Ababa University as a visiting researcher has been approved.

In connection with this, our office would like to bring to your attention that, the rules and regulations of the University for visiting scholars shall be strictly observed at all times whilst executing the research undertakings.

The Office of the VPRDSGS would like to extend its best wishes for the successful undertakings of your research.

Sincerely,

Asfawossen Asrat (Dr.)
Chief Academic Officer for Research

CC:
- Office of the Vice President for External Relations, Strategic Planning and Partnerships
- Department of Sociology
  Addis Ababa University

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