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Geographies of Global Issues: Change and Threat



Geographies of Children and Young People

Volume 8

Editor-in-Chief

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Singapore, Singapore

Geographies of Children and Young People is a Major Reference Work comprising 12 volumes that pulls together the best international reflective and innovative scholarship focusing on younger people. Volumes 1 and 2 establish and critically engage with the theoretical, conceptual, and methodological groundings of this geographical subdiscipline. Volumes 3–11 provide in depth thematic analysis of key topical areas pertinent to children's and young people's lives: space, place and environment; identities and subjectivities; families and peer groups; movement and mobilities; politics and citizenship; global issues and change; play and well-being; learning and labouring; conflict and peace. Volume 12 connects both academic, policy, and practitioner based work around protection and provision.

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Nicola Ansell • Natascha Klocker
Editors

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Geographies of Global Issues: Change and Threat

With 35 Figures and 17 Tables

 Springer Reference

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Series Preface

Geographies of Children and Young People now constitutes a major subdiscipline within Geography. This is a very exciting and influential time in its development. Hence, it is important to capture the dynamism, depth, and breadth of the subdiscipline within a Major Reference Work (MRW). Springer Major Reference Works are produced in such a way that updating and editing of the online version can be done every few years. This means that the publication does not fix the data, debates, and delivery but rather moves and evolves with the subdiscipline itself. The intention and expectation of this MRW is that this substantive collection will be *the* go-to resource for scholars, educators, and practitioners working with children and young people.

While founding scholarship was published in the 1970s and 1980s, the dramatic expansion of research and publication in the field really began in the late 1990s and has continued exponentially. The last decade has witnessed a substantive increase in graduate student research projects and a surge in university-level teaching related to children's and young people's geographies. It is therefore extremely timely that this 12-volume major reference work has been produced. Together as Editor-in-Chief, Volume Editors, and Authors, we have developed the largest single collection of geographic work focusing on children and young people in the world. Intellectually, the work reaches beyond geography to the wider social and behavioral sciences; many of the authors in the series are not geographers, and so, the collection is healthily and engagingly transdisciplinary. Anyone working with children and young people will find chapters that connect very effectively with their own interests. Specialists as well as graduate and tertiary education students will find relevant work distributed throughout the MRW or locate everything they might need within one thematic volume.

This Series was founded on certain key intellectual and political principles. Working with young people and children within the academy has not always been easy nor a straightforward pathway for academics. It has taken time for scholars to convince their colleagues of the following: that children and young people really matter; that they should not be marginalized by the academy; that they have competency and agency and play important roles in society; and that they should be taken seriously as people regardless of age or size. This 12-volume collection is material evidence of the academic importance of children and young people in our

world. The MRW is determinedly international in approach, in authorship, and in content. The huge diversity of nations and territories explored in the collection as well as the geographic locations of author contributors is a real testament to the commitment of the Editor-in-Chief and Volume Editors to be genuinely international. Children and young people are everywhere on the planet, hence it is imperative that this Series reflects that ubiquity. Drawing from scholars and scholarship from within and about the majority world has been a key achievement for each volume. Another aspect of inclusivity relates to authorship. Foundational, well-established, and early career scholars are all well represented throughout the volumes.

The 12 volumes work collectively as a series and also stand alone as single books. The volumes are lengthy and contain between 25 and 35 full chapters; each volume is an excellent resource of expertise, content, and analysis. Volume 1, *Establishing Geographies of Children and Young People*, is designed to pull together some of the foundational work in the sub discipline; demonstrate the emergence and establishment of particular philosophical, theoretical, and conceptual themes; and capture the diversity of geographic work on children and young people as it connects with other sub- and disciplinary approaches. This volume presents the key founding elements of the sub discipline. Volume 2, *Methodological Approaches*, explores the grand array of methodological approaches and tools that children's and young people's geographers, and other social and behavioral scientists, have worked with, adapted, and invented. Chapters explore research practices, techniques, data analysis, and/or interpretation. Working with younger people in research demands different ways of doing research and hence addressing the complexities of power relations. Methodologically, innovation and experimentation have been very important. *Space, Place, and Environment* (Vol. 3) takes these three central geographic concepts and debates and extends them. The volume is structured around five subsections: Indigenous Youth – Space and Place; Children, Nature, and Environmental Education; Urban Spaces; Home Spaces and Homeless Spaces; and Border Spaces. Several of these themes are explored in fuller depth in subsequent specialized volumes. Volumes 1 and 3 will be particularly useful starting points for readers less familiar with geography as a discipline. Volume 4, *Identities and Subjectivities*, is designed to focus on the stuff of life and living for younger people. The chapters examine who young people and children are and what their social identities and subjectivities mean in the context of their spatial experiences. The volume explores identity formation and the spatial meaning of identities and subjectivities in relation to a broad range of social relations. The chapters explore how young people's senses of selfhood and belonging emerge through complex processes of inclusion, exclusion, and marginalization and the important role played by representation, discourse, and creativity. In Vol. 5, *Families, Intergenerationality, and Peer Group Relations*, the focus is on the ways in which children and young people are relationally connected with others. Section I demonstrates that familial relationships and the spatiality of the home are extremely important in all children's and young people's lives, even though the patterns and structures of families and the spaces/places of home vary geographically and temporally geographically and temporally. Section II innovatively

examines the complexities and spatialities of extrafamilial intergenerational relationships and the complex meanings of age relationality. Section III emphasizes children's and young people's relationships with one another. This includes work on geographies of emotion and affect, bodies and embodiment.

The mobility turn in geography has been highly influential in the social sciences. Children's and young people's geographers have been significant in the paradigmatic shift around mobilities and immobilities. In Vol. 6, *Movement, Mobilities, and Journeys*, contributors examine the role children and young people play in these "travels" in a range of diverse global contexts. The chapters collectively provide theoretical, empirical, and methodological insights and examples of actual movement combined with analysis of a range of complex contexts, spatialities, and temporalities that facilitate or hamper mobility. Volume 7 takes us into the realm of children and young people as political beings. *Politics, Citizenship and Rights* explores the political geographies of younger people in order to bring analytical attention to intricacies of the *policies* that specifically affect young people and children, alongside the *politics* at play in their everyday lives. Divided into four sections, the volume interrogates the spatialities of the rights of the child, children and young people's agency in politics, youthful practices and political resistance, and active youth citizenship. Volume 8, *Geographies of Global Issues: Change and Threat*, unites three broad research themes that are often examined separately: economic globalization and cultural change; international development; and children and young people's connections with climate change, natural hazards, and environmental issues. What pulls these themes together is the recognition that younger people are important actors and agents within these processes and that their engagement/disengagement is crucial for the planet's future. In Vol. 9, *Play and Recreation, Health and Wellbeing*, important, well-established, but often contentious foci of children's and young people's lives are examined conceptually, temporally, spatially, in practice, and through representation. Many of the debates about children's embodiment revolving around obesity, unfitness, wellness, and neglect are relatively new in the social sciences, and geographers have played important roles in their closer scrutiny. Volume 10, *Labouring and Learning*, provides an integrated and multidimensional approach to understanding what learning and laboring mean to children and young people. The two concepts are explored in depth and breadth in order to capture the variance of what work and education mean and how they are practiced in different places and at different times through childhood and youth. Key thematic areas for this volume include social reproduction, transitions, aspirations, and social and cultural capital. In *Conflict, Violence and Peace* (Vol. 11), the emphasis is on the ways in which children are impacted and affected by, and involved with, highly problematic and fragile conditions of war, violence, conflict, and peace. As more and more younger people experience a range of conflicts and social, economic, and political violence, it is essential to examine what happens to them and what roles they play in processes such as asylum, child soldiering, terrorism, counterterrorism, ending conflict, and building peace. Volume 12, *Risk, Protection, Provision and Policy*, serves to connect academic research and policy and planning that affects children and young people. Policy, planning, and provision

are often purportedly about reducing risk and offering protection but are also associated with the control and containment of younger people, particularly spatially. The chapters explore the ways in which policies at different scales affect children and young people in terms of their access to space and their life chances.

This Series is an extremely rich, varied, and vibrant collection of work centered on geographies of children and young people. Just as children and young people bring vibrancy, diversity, and complexity to our worlds, so this MRW is designed to showcase, deepen, and develop the geographic scholarship that captures, albeit partially, the fascinating social heterogeneity and diverse spatialities of children's and young people's lives.

National University of Singapore, Singapore
May 20, 2015

Tracey Skelton
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Editor-in-Chief

Preface

Children and youth everywhere are experiencing change. Their lives differ from those of previous generations across all spheres of human activity – social, cultural, and economic. This change is wrought through social, cultural, and economic processes, interwoven with unprecedented changes in the physical environment, and is manifest in different ways in different places. Moreover, not only do young people experience change, they also contribute to it. Young people’s activities, both those that are intended to provoke change and those that are more routine and less reflected upon, contribute to ongoing transformations, both positive and negative.

This volume brings together 57 authors from six continents to explore how global change is expressed in and through the lives of young people, and how young people themselves confront and contribute to change and threat at global and at more local levels. The volume’s spatial spread highlights both the widespread nature and also the specific local expressions of global and environmental processes. It also reveals the remarkable geographical breadth of current research into young people’s lives. The authors are concerned with young people of different ages (from infants to those approaching adulthood), living in vastly different situations and from different backgrounds. They are interested in young people’s own lives and perspectives, but also the roles that childhood and youth play in society more broadly as it responds to new situations. The chapters divide in equal number across two main sections.

Section I “Globalization: Processes and Impacts” examines processes of globalization and the ways in which they incorporate and impact upon the lives of young people. The global economy draws young people into work and entrepreneurialism in a variety of ways. While some forms of work (notably “child labor”) appear to conflict with prevailing global discourses, others (such as entrepreneurialism) are hailed by many international institutions. Where many young people invest in their own football skills or educational credentials, a growing minority are finding new ways to accumulate wealth by procuring and selling footballing talent or competing as providers in the private education market. Childcare itself is increasingly bound into global economic circuits; new forms of employment require parents to devise complex childcare arrangements, in some instances involving the global migration of domestic workers.

Other chapters in this section explore how global processes are shaping young people's identities as global citizens. These are in some respects facilitated by new technologies, and also new opportunities for global travel. International agreements such as the Millennium Development Goals and the spread of development programs and policies are also transforming the ways in which childhood and youth are thought about and addressed through both global and more localized practices and interventions.

Section II "Environmental Knowledge, Change, and Issues" examines young people's interactions with environmental change. The authors describe how various forms of environmental change ranging from localized air pollution to global climate change, as well as environmental hazards, pose a threat to children's health and wellbeing. There are distinct inequalities in the ways in which young people are affected, with differential exposure linked to gender and poverty highlighted in several chapters.

Environmental change is not always an entirely negative element in young people's lives. Young people's own perspectives do not necessarily accord with those of older generations. Consciousness of environmental change is leading to changes in lifestyle among some families, as well as more far-reaching forms of policy change. Such adaptations to a changing environment might offer benefits across a range of aspects of children's lives. This is particularly the case where young people are themselves involved in seeking solutions and fomenting transformation, although it is noteworthy that not all young people respond to their environment in productive ways.

Overall, this collection of chapters reveals not simply why global and environmental processes play a crucial part in the lives of today's young people. They also demonstrate why it is important for geographers interested in global change and threats to be attentive to the experiences, perspectives, and roles of children and youth.

Nicola Ansell
Natascha Klocker

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About the Editors



Dr. Nicola Ansell is Reader in Human Geography at Brunel University London where she runs a Masters program on Children, Youth and International Development. Her research interests focus on social and cultural change in the lives of young people in the Global South. Dr. Ansell is particularly interested in the ways in which global social and economic processes play out in young people's lives, and in how young people respond to and remake these processes. These themes are explored in her book *Children, Youth and Development*, the second edition of which is due to be published by Routledge in 2016.

Empirically, Dr. Ansell's research has explored the impacts of education and of the AIDS pandemic in southern African countries, notably Lesotho, Malawi, and Zimbabwe. Her research on schooling has demonstrated the limited value of secondary education for many rural girls. Findings are reported in journals including *Geoforum* ("Of course we must be equal, but . . .': imagining gendered futures in two rural Southern African secondary schools") and *Youth and Society* ("Secondary schooling and rural youth transitions in Lesotho and Zimbabwe"). She has drawn attention to the ways in which AIDS has led to children's migration, and the impacts of such migration on children's lives, in articles published in *Environment and Planning D* ("Children's experiences of migration in Southern Africa: moving in the wake of AIDS") and *The Professional Geographer* ("Fluid households, complex families: the impacts of children's migration as a response to HIV/AIDS in southern Africa"). She has also revealed the (limited) impacts of AIDS on young people's rural livelihoods in articles in *Transitions of the Institute of British Geographers* ("Reconceptualising temporality in young lives: exploring young people's current and future livelihoods in AIDS-affected southern Africa") and *Environment and Planning A* ("Spaces, times and critical moments: a relational time-space analysis of the impacts of AIDS on rural youth in Malawi and Lesotho"). This research has not only mapped young people's experiences in contemporary southern Africa, but has sought to theorize both spatial and temporal aspects of these experiences.

Dr. Ansell is currently running two collaborative research projects. The first explores the impacts of social cash transfers (such as child grants and old age pensions) on young people in Malawi and Lesotho. Such transfers are likely to shape relations of age, gender, and generation, and as a consequence to affect young people's experiences of poverty. The second project investigates the relationship between schooling and aspiration in remote rural areas of India, Laos, and Lesotho. Organizations such as the World Bank increasingly see raising aspiration as a means of encouraging young people to engage more effectively with schooling. Yet there is widespread evidence that young people globally have high aspirations that cannot be fulfilled. The research seeks to develop a more nuanced understanding of aspiration.



Dr. Natascha Klocker is a Senior Lecturer in Human Geography in the School of Geography and Sustainable Communities at the University of Wollongong, Australia. Dr. Klocker has published widely in the field of children and young people's geographies, particularly on the topic of child domestic work. Her research has sought to question Western assumptions that childhoods should appropriately be work-free. This work has been published in international journals including *Children's Geographies* (including papers titled: "Struggling with child domestic work: what can a postcolonial perspective offer?" and "Negotiating change: working with children and their employers to transform child domestic work in Iringa, Tanzania") and *Geoforum* ("Conducting sensitive research in the present and past tense: recounting the stories of *current* and *former* child domestic workers").

Dr. Klocker's research has also sought to prompt reflection on research methodologies, and the involvement of children and young people in participatory action research. Through this work she has aimed to encourage dialogue around the challenges of participatory action research, particularly when it is conducted with marginalized and disadvantaged children and young people. Most recently, Dr. Klocker has encouraged reflection on the potential burdens that participatory action research can place on children and young people, and the importance of approaching such research with sensitivity in order to avoid further traumatizing the children and young people involved. This work has also been published in international journals including *Emotion, Space and Society* ("Participatory action research: The distress of (not) making a difference") and the *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* ("Doing participatory action research and doing a PhD: words of encouragement for prospective students").

Dr. Klocker's ongoing research activities are based in the Australian Centre for Cultural Environmental Research (AUSCCER) at the University of Wollongong, Australia. Her more recent publications in the field of children and young people's geographies have focused on children and young people as agents of environmental change. Dr. Klocker and her coauthors (Elyse Stanes and Professor

Chris Gibson) have argued that the complexity of children and young people's engagements with sustainability and environmentalism needs to be better understood, and that children and young people have the capacity to be agents of environmental change – for better or worse. In addition to their chapter in Vol. 8 of the Springer Major Reference Work, *Geographies of Children and Young People* (Geographies of Global Issues: Change and Threat), this research has been published in *Geoforum* (“Young adult households and domestic sustainabilities”).

In addition to her current teaching and research, Dr. Klocker is Associate Editor of the journal *Australian Geographer*.

Editor-in-Chief



Tracey Skelton is Associate Professor of Human Geography in the Department of Geography at the National University of Singapore. She was previously Professor of Critical Geographies at the University of Loughborough in the UK. The essential elements of her research career focus on people who are socially, politically, and intellectually excluded. Her early work focused on the Caribbean and issues of gender and racial inequality, feminist geographies, and methodological analysis. She has contributed to culture and development debates, particularly through her longitudinal research on the island of Montserrat. Recently, A/P Skelton returned to this field of scholarship through research with volunteers and host organizations in Cambodia as part of a major comparative and collaborative project on development partnerships. She was the principal investigator of a major comparative urbanism research project on the livability, sustainability, and diversity of four Asian cities: Busan in South Korea, Hyderabad in India, Kunming in China, and Singapore.

A/P Skelton is a recognized international leader in the subdiscipline of children's and young people's geographies. In particular, her work has served to challenge the invisibility and marginalization of young people from geographic academic research at the same time as it has demonstrated the rich and varied ways in which young people live their lives both spatially and temporally alongside, but differently from, adults. Her research work has been funded by key research institutions such as the Economic and Social Research Council and the Arts and Humanities Research Council of the UK; the Faculty of Arts and Social Science Academic Research Fund and the Global Asia Institute, both of the National University of Singapore; the Australian Research Council; and the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

A/P Skelton was a founding editorial board member of the international journal *Children's Geographies* and has been the Viewpoints Editor since 2005 and became the Commissioning Editor for Asia in 2010. She is on the editorial boards of the following journals: *Geoforum*, the *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*,

Geography Compass, and *ACME: International Journal of Critical Geographies* (open access). She has coauthored 2 books, edited 3 collections, guest-edited 2 special journal issues, and published more than 70 journal articles and chapters. She is a passionate teacher and graduate supervisor. She is committed to the politics of research dissemination in accessible formats, in particular to enable the participants in her research projects to understand and recognize their coproduction of knowledge whether through specialized small-scale workshops, translation of reports into local languages, or production of audiovisual materials.

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Geographies of Global Issues: Change and Threat in Young People's Lives

1

Natascha Klocker and Nicola Ansell

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Abstract

Children and young people, throughout the world, are experiencing a time of immense and rapid change – environmental, social, political, economic, and cultural. This chapter introduces readers to a volume entitled *Geographies of Global Issues: Change and Threat*, which is part of the *Geographies of Children and Young People* series. It provides an overview of the chapters contained in that volume and outlines four key themes that run across those chapters. First, children's geographies are also – fundamentally – about adults. It does not make sense to *do* children's geographies, without taking the perspectives of adult decision-makers into account. Second, children and young people are agents of change – but their lives are also powerfully influenced by broader structures and processes over which they have little say. Children's geographers need to balance their attentiveness to the microscale of children's everyday lives, with a careful and sustained focus on the bigger picture. Third, change is not just

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an external force that impacts on children and young people's lives. Children and young people contribute to diverse global, regional, and local changes and threats. It is important to bear in mind that their contributions to change are not always benign or beneficial. Fourth, while change can threaten or undermine children and young people's wellbeing, it can also engender opportunities. Children's geographers have an important role to play in scratching beneath the surface, to uncover sources of possibility and optimism amidst upheaval.

Keywords

Climate Change • Development • Environment • Globalization • Global North • Global South

1 Introduction

Children and young people's lives are profoundly shaped by diverse global processes including economic globalization, cultural change, international development, and environmental degradation and upheaval. In 2015, the world's population included 1.9 billion children below 15 years of age, constituting 26 % of the total population. Nine percent of the world's population was under 5 years of age (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2015). The world's youthful populations are unevenly distributed, in ways that do not reflect the distribution of the global adult population. In Africa, for instance, children under 15 accounted for 41 % of the population in 2015, and young people (aged 15–24) accounted for a further 19 % (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2015). Children and young people thus make up 60 % of the population of the African continent. Three geographical regions alone (Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and Asia) accounted for 1.7 billion of the world's 1.9 billion children in 2015 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2015). These are also the places where many of the global issues, changes, and threats discussed in this volume intersect in complex and challenging ways with existing patterns of socio-economic vulnerability on the ground.

Today's children and young people are growing up in a world of rapid and profound change. The volume on *Geographies of Global Issues: Change and Threat* explores this world of change through two broad categories. The first section on *Globalization: Processes and Impacts* focuses on globalization as a set of related processes – economic, political, social, and cultural – and the impacts these are having on children and youth, as well as the ways in which they involve young people as actors. Recent decades have witnessed an unprecedented speed of technological change, enabling a large part of the world's population to engage in instantaneous global communication. Global connections extend beyond simple communication, however, as the world becomes increasingly “connected by flexible capital, mobile labour and transnational families” (Aitken et al. 2008, p. 3). Distance and political borders are losing their relevance to the operation of firms, as millions

of dollars can be transferred to distant countries in seconds. While globalization is enabled by technology, it is driven by powerful actors. Global corporations seek out access to resources, labor, and markets around the world, drawing on and bolstering the neoliberal ideology that pervades most international institutions and national governments. And as a product of economic change, the movement of labor, of goods, and of ideas in turn produces social change. These processes are assisted and stimulated by the Internet and diversifying forms of media which facilitate near-instant responses to happenings worldwide. Not all is directly driven by global markets: governments, nongovernmental organizations, and international agencies still seek to make change in the interests of the poor, but global development agendas are becoming progressively more intertwined with those of capital and markets (Ansell [forthcoming](#), 2016). All of these processes of change are transforming the contexts of children's lives, the work patterns, consumption, lifestyles, and values of their families and their own roles as economic and social actors.

The second section, *Environmental Knowledge, Change and Issues*, foregrounds environmental change and upheaval. While environmental issues other than climate change are given consideration, the threat posed by global climate change looms large over children and young people's lives, and over these chapters. In their lifetimes, today's children and young people will witness profound – perhaps catastrophic – changes to the global climate. Many scientists already think it will be impossible to avoid global warming of 2 °C above preindustrial levels, which has been identified as the threshold between “dangerous and extremely dangerous climate change” (Anderson and Bows 2011, p. 41; Head 2016). If current rates of greenhouse gas emissions persist, then 4–6 °C of warming is a possibility. While this temperature difference sounds minimal, it is equivalent to that between now and the last ice age, but in the opposite direction (Head 2016). The challenges posed by a changing climate are wide-reaching. More intense disasters (storms, floods, cyclones) and prolonged and frequent droughts, sea-level rise, declining food and water security, and changing geographical distributions of disease will shape children and young people's lives and wellbeing over the coming decades. Transformational changes to everyday life will be required (Head 2016; Park et al. 2012; Stafford Smith et al. 2011; Toole et al. 2016). Climatic changes will also interact with a range of other harmful anthropogenic impacts on environments and species throughout the world: pollution, land and water degradation, and biodiversity loss.

For all of these reasons, children and young people's everyday lives throughout the twenty-first century are – and will be – manifestly different from those lived by their parents and grandparents. Contemporary social, economic, and environmental challenges make children and young people vulnerable and expose them to harm. Equally, they compel children and young people to become instigators of change across geographical scales, from the household to the globe. Children and young people need to be adaptive and resourceful: economically, socially, and emotionally.

2 Overview – Geographies of Global Issues: Change and Threat

The chapters in this volume are diverse in their content and geographical scope. Topics covered include: childcare, coffee production, migrant workers, youth entrepreneurship, football, skateboarding, education, HIV/AIDS, Internet use, household environmental sustainability, more-than-human encounters, indigenous knowledge, energy futures, intergenerational responsibilities, agriculture, health, earthquakes, peak oil, gender, pollution, and emotional responses to a changing climate. The geographical scope of these works covers all continents (except Antarctica) and 16 countries. Notwithstanding this diversity, four over-arching themes are carried through the volume.

First, children's geographies are also – *fundamentally* – about adults (Hopkins and Pain 2007). The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN 1989) has enshrined participation as fundamental to the best interests of the child. Article 12(1) specifies:

States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.

Over the ensuing decades, academic research – including a body of work known as the “new social studies of childhood,” alongside children's geographies – has emphasized and prioritized children and young people's participation rights and agency (Aitken 2001; Alanen 1988; James et al. 1998; Matthews and Limb 1999; Percy-Smith and Thomas 2010; Prout and James 1990). While the chapters in this volume agree that children and young people are generally capable of expressing informed opinions about their own lives – and of contributing in diverse ways to social, economic, and environmental change – adults remain important informants for children's geographers. This is not least because adults retain a great deal of decision-making power over children and young people's lives and – at a broader scale – are responsible for many of the actions (and inactions) that jeopardize children's wellbeing. A clear example here relates to the incapacity of global leaders, up until the COP21 agreement in Paris in 2015, to adopt a comprehensive and adequate global agreement on reducing greenhouse gas emissions. At a more intimate scale, the organization of childcare is most often the responsibility of adults, who are increasingly required to make complex arrangements for their children in contexts of transnational migration. Children and young people's wellbeing now (and into the future) is directly tied to the actions of present-day adults. A number of chapters of the volume *Geographies of Global Issues: Change and Threat* reflect on the circumstances confronting children and young people, primarily through the eyes of adult informants, in particular parents. They also make links to the broader structures that circumscribe children and young people's agency (Klocker 2007), as discussed further below.

A second – and related – theme that emerges throughout the chapters in this volume is that children's geographers need to pay careful attention to the broad

structures and processes (economic, social, political, environmental) that impact on children and young people's lives. Over the last two decades, children's geographers have arguably emphasized children and young people's agency, to the neglect of the "big picture" (Ansell 2009; Holt and Holloway 2006). Yet children and young people's agency is often limited to the microscale – to everyday interventions in households, families, and communities. These interventions are important, as noted in a number of chapters in this volume (e.g., Langevang 2016; Esson 2016; Malone 2016; Stratford 2016; Stanes and Klocker 2016). However, several other chapters in the volume join a growing call within children's geographies to think and research *beyond* the dominant emphasis on children and young people's agency and to look to the global scale (Aitken et al. 2008; Ansell 2009; Hopkins and Alexander 2010). These include Abebe (2016), Wells (2016), Ansell (2016), Davies et al. (2016), and Tranter and Sharpe (2016). Opportunities for children and young people to intervene in broad, structural processes, (such as decision-making concerning public spending or the development of laws and policies by national governments or international institutions) are often minimal. This means that efforts to advance children's interests and rights should not (indeed, cannot) depend solely on children and young people enacting youthful agency. Related to the first point above, children's geographers ought to pay greater heed to actors other than children and to macroscale processes (over which children and young people still have very little say), in order to effect the deep changes to global systems that are needed to respond to contemporary global issues and threats. Children's geographers need to take care not to let adults (and the global corporations and organizations that they lead) "off the hook" through a dominant focus on children and young people's agency. Evidence of children and young people's agency should not excuse adult decision-makers from taking action, now.

Third, change is not just an external force that impacts on children and young people's lives. Children and young people contribute to the changes and threats outlined above – for better and for worse. Several chapters in this volume highlight important contributions that children have made to improve social, economic, or environmental outcomes – for instance, through carefully planning an urban neighborhood that is encompassing of nonhumans (Malone 2016) or by driving community adaptive responses to climate change (Towers et al. 2016). It is often through necessity that young people play active roles in responding to change, substituting for adult workers in the home or in agriculture when faced with economic hardships due to falling global coffee prices (Abebe 2016), or seeking out opportunities for entrepreneurship as formal sector employment fails to materialize (Langevang 2016). Yet, children and young people's agency is not always a benign or beneficial force. This is evident, for instance, in the contributions that children and young people in the Global North make to unsustainable and wasteful patterns of resource consumption, associated with a desire to keep up with the latest trends in technology and fashion (see Stanes and Klocker 2016); or the ways in which some young entrepreneurs exploit their peers in order to achieve economic gain (Young and Kumar 2016).

The fourth and final theme that runs across this volume recognizes that contemporary global changes present profound challenges to children's wellbeing. But they may also engender opportunities. Thus, for instance, the disruption posed by "peak oil" may create possibilities for children to live healthier lives – characterized by greater use of active transport and improved freedom of movement in urban spaces (see Tranter and Sharpe 2016). So too, efforts to mitigate the worst effects of climate change may come with important health cobenefits for children and young people (see Towers et al. 2016). Moreover, some global processes, like the communications afforded via the Internet, are enabling some young people to engage politically and socially in positive ways in relation to people and events in distant places (see Rye 2016).

2.1 Globalization: Processes and Impacts

Young people's lives are increasingly subject to a range of global processes operating in the economic, cultural, political, and social realms. Through these processes, children and youth are incorporated in diverse ways into the economic and social life of nations, communities, and households. Global processes impinge on young people in ways that range from the arrangements of childcare and education, and development interventions to assist those deemed particularly in need, to young people's involvement in economic and entrepreneurial activities and even the construction of their subjectivities. Global processes are, however, expressed differently in the very diverse contexts, in which young people live, and elicit varying responses from young people themselves.

The chapters gathered in the section on *Globalization: Processes and Impacts* explore a range of global processes and their impacts on children and youth of different ages, from infancy to young adulthood. They draw on sources of empirical research conducted in settings across the world to consider how global processes play out in particular contexts, shaping young lives and incorporating them into global change. The section begins with six chapters that specifically address the outcomes of neoliberal economic transformation and in particular the ways in which this shapes young people's livelihood activities (Abebe 2016; Young and Kumar 2016; Langevang 2016), rights (Rodriguez et al 2016) and the organization of childcare (Kusakabe and Pearson 2016; Cox 2016). A second group of chapters (Esson 2016; Rye 2016; Baillie Smith et al 2016) picks up a theme that has been touched on in relation to the impacts of neoliberal economic change: the ways in which various processes of globalization (including Internet technology, education, and opportunities for travel) shape young people's subjectivities. The final four chapters in this section (Riley and Salie Hara 2016; Norman 2016; Wells 2016; Ansell 2016) examine the ways in which the subject of the "global child" is constructed through the practices in particular of international development, the ways in which this abstract construct fails to engage with the lived lives of young people, and the extent to which it serves particular global agendas.

In focusing on *neoliberal economic change and its impacts on young people's livelihoods, rights and care*, six of the chapters in the first section (described below) recognize that most nation states have, in recent decades, become progressively more closely dependent on the global economy. Production is increasingly geared to export, services are provided for consumers and clients overseas, and a high proportion of formal employment is in sectors dominated by international investment. Moreover, in their quest for inward investment and an expanding global role, nations adopt heightened forms of securitization. Several authors in this section of the volume engage directly with the outcomes of such processes for young people.

Tatek Abebe, in his ► [Chap. 2, "Political Economy of Children's Work: Economic Restructuring, the Coffee Trade, and Social Reproduction in Post-socialist Ethiopia,"](#) argues that political economy is a crucial determinant of young people's wellbeing. His chapter focuses on Ethiopia, where rural life has become more dominated by cash crop production, and particularly coffee, since the fall of the socialist regime in 1991. Unstable prices on global markets have had serious consequences for family livelihoods. Coffee growing took land away from women's food crop growing, making households more dependent on the market. However, with coffee prices inadequate to support households, both men and women have needed to seek other sources of income, a situation that has relied on children performing key household responsibilities and an extension in the scope, duration, and intensity of their work.

By contrast, Stephen Young and Satendra Kumar in their ► [Chap. 3, "College Entrepreneurs in India: The Fortune at the Bottom of a Pyramid Scheme,"](#) and Thilde Langevang in her ► [Chap. 4, "Youth Entrepreneurship and Socioeconomic Change in Urban Ghana"](#) note that in India and Ghana, respectively, neoliberal economic restructuring of urban labor markets has reduced young people's opportunities to find work. In both countries, relatively high economic growth has been largely jobless and, under neoliberal policies, opportunities for employment by the state are vanishing. With few prospects of formal sector employment, some of the Indian youth that Young and Kumar discuss persist in acquiring more education. For many, however, as with their peers in Ghana, there is little alternative but to pursue entrepreneurial activities: a course of action actively promoted by the Ghanaian government, albeit often with limited success.

Many of the "emerging powers" of the global economy view Mega-Sporting Events as a lucrative means of attracting economic investment, stimulating growth, and taking a more prominent role on the global stage. Global security concerns, however, have led to a range of interventions that have prejudicial outcomes for the rights of poor children, as Andrea Rodriguez, Lorraine van Blerk, Fernando Fernandes, Jon Mendel, Irene Rizzini, Peter McEleavy, and Nicholas Fyfe describe in their ► [Chap. 5, "Mega-Sporting Events, Rights, and Children's Everyday Lives: Exploring the Impact of the Brazil 2014 FIFA World Cup."](#) Their research around the impacts of the staging of the World Cup in Brazil points to a range of problematic outcomes for young people.

Economic globalization is expressed not only in economic restructuring within national boundaries, but also in new economic patterns between nation states. Where

there are significant economic inequalities between neighboring countries, border regions become areas of intense economic activity. In Thailand, factories established close to the border with Burma attract Burmese workers willing to accept lower wages than their Thai counterparts. In their ► [Chap. 6, “Childcare Arrangements of Burmese Migrant Workers in Thailand,”](#) Kyoko Kusakabe and Ruth Pearson explore how these largely female factory workers determine where and how to raise their children, drawn by free and better education in Thailand, but deterred by their precarious immigrant status and the absence of family networks.

The care of children is itself a growing focus of the global economy. The concept of Global Value Chains that is used by Kusakabe and Pearson to illuminate the links between Burmese workers, Thai factories, and the global marketplace has been extended to analyze how a care economy has emerged in which workers from one society undertake international migration in order to care for the children of another, leaving their own children in the care of yet others. These Global Care Chains, discussed by Rosie Cox in her ► [Chap. 7, “Migrant Domestic Workers and the Globalization of Childcare,”](#) operate in part to allow parents in wealthier countries to fully participate in the global economy, but also to ensure that their children are intensively parented in a way that maximizes the children’s future prospects of economic success. As with many of the chapters in this volume, it is clear that economic, cultural and social processes are intimately tied together, with economic change driving cultural change that in turn drives other forms of economic change, all impacting in different ways on children in different places.

In addition to its practical impacts on their lives, *globalization reconstructs young people’s subjectivities*, as outlined in the next three chapters. Beyond trade in goods and services that takes place through Global Value Chains and Global Care Chains, an emerging aspect of economic globalization is speculative financial investment, with investors seeking out potential sources of profit in the global economy. James Esson, writing on ► [Chap. 8, “Football as a Vehicle for Development: lessons from Male Ghanaian Youth,”](#) considers the lives of young Ghanaian footballers, many of whom are effectively commodities in a global market. Talented youth league players are recruited by local amateur clubs that hope to sell them to European professional clubs. The European clubs in turn also see African youth as a speculative investment; once trained they might fetch a high resale value. In this context, Ghanaian youth are clearly a commodity being traded; however, Esson also emphasizes the role of youth as entrepreneurs in this process, owning amateur football clubs and trading young players on the international market. This has strong resonances with Young and Kumar’s (2016) examination of the new market in higher education in India, where some young people invest their time in studying, while others give up their pursuit of qualifications and paid employment, instead becoming entrepreneurs in the education market, establishing their own colleges to profit from the educational desires of other youth.

The chapters by Esson, Langevang and Young and Kumar all clearly emphasize the opportunities for young people to construct new subjectivities as entrepreneurs in the global economy. Esson (2016) draws on Foucault to consider how, in Ghana,

those who pursue a career as a professional footballer represent the “entrepreneurs of the self” that neoliberalism desires, investing in their own bodies to take advantage of the opportunities the global market place affords. There are other global processes, too, through which young people’s subjectivities, and not merely their livelihoods and care arrangements, are shaped. Ståle Rye in his ► [Chap. 9, “Young People’s Construction of Global Citizenship Through Internet Use,”](#) examines how the Internet enables young people to interact with others around the world and may enable them to construct themselves as global citizens. However, for young people to be active global citizens – members of a global political community – Rye argues that Internet access alone is insufficient but needs to be developed through education.

In their ► [Chap. 10, “Education, International Volunteering, and Citizenship: Young People’s Subjectivities and Geographies of Development,”](#) Matt Baillie Smith, Nina Laurie, Eleanor Brown, Mark Griffiths, and Darryl Humble also consider young people’s construction of themselves as global citizens. They explore in particular the role of a number of practices through which British youth encounter the Global South, notably opportunities for volunteering overseas and development education. These practices need to be understood in context. International volunteering, for instance, is often organized by faith-based organizations. However, a key motivator behind the construction of global subjectivities is, according to Baillie Smith et al., their functional role in the neoliberal economy. Those promoting development education and volunteering often see it as enabling young people to build skills and competencies for an interconnected world. The Global South (as constructed through education, media, and tourism) is a convenient setting against which to develop desirable attributes. As with the young Ghanaian footballers, Western youth are, through these practices, at least in part investing in their own identities for a competitive world. Not all are fully complicit in this form of subjectification, however, but choose to contest and redefine the ways in which they are positioned.

The last set of chapters in the section on *Globalization: Processes and Impacts* focus on *the construction of the subject of the “global child” through the purposive practices of international development*. The subjectification of young people is not simply an outcome of young people’s interactions with global processes but is produced through the discourse of international media and institutions and through international development. The Millennium Development Goals, for instance, draw on the abstract discursive construct of a global child. In impoverished Malawi, as Liam Riley and Chimwemwe Salie Hara explain in their chapter (► [Chap. 11, “Africa’s Vulnerable Children and the Millennium Development Goals: Experiences and Interventions in Malawi”](#)), this abstract construct fails to illuminate or engage with the material realities of children’s lives. Such discrepancies between the imaginaries of the global scale and local contextual challenges can lead to ambiguous outcomes for children. Amy Norman, writing on ► [Chap. 12, “Childhood in “Crisis” in the Era of AIDS: Risk, Orphanhood, and Policy in Southern Africa,”](#) likewise critiques the way in which the globalized notions of childhood that pervade international media, development policy, and donor agendas lay at the basis of a discourse of “crisis in childhood” that shaped interventions towards southern African children deemed to

be orphaned by AIDS. It enabled – or required – such children to be understood as victims “at risk” and in the process unhelpfully denied their agency and the competence of their families to provide and care for them.

In her ► [Chap. 13, “Governing the Global Child: Biopolitics and Liberal Subjectivities,”](#) Karen Wells examines the origins of these global discourses of the child, arguing that liberalism and capitalism play important roles in their production and circulation. Drawing on governmentality theory, she traces the continuity between the child saving discourses that dominated relations between the global North and South in the twentieth century, and the increasingly prevalent child rights discourses promulgated by organizations such as UNICEF today. Both, she argues, have been put into place by non-state agents, are enacted through programs, reports, and statistics, and construct the child as a liberal subject in ways that fail to illuminate the role of political economy in shaping their material wellbeing or the capacity of their families to care for them.

Lastly, in her ► [Chap. 14, “Globalizing Education from Christian Missionaries to Corporate Finance: Global Actors, Global Agendas, and the Shaping of Global Childhoods,”](#) Nicola Ansell considers how global childhoods have been produced and shaped through the spread of one particular institution – education – over the past two centuries. Ansell identifies a broad transition from missionary activity and colonialism to the growing roles of “development” and increasingly corporate capitalism in determining the education that children receive. Through these processes, children and childhood serve global agendas and are, in the process, continually reconstructed.

2.2 Environmental Knowledge, Change, and Issues

The second section of the volume on *Geographies of Global Issues: Change and Threat* focuses on environmental change. Specifically, it focuses on children and young people’s exposure to climate change and other forms of environmental upheaval, and their engagement with environmental issues. It considers how environmental issues affect children and young people and how children and young people – in turn – affect their environments (for better or worse). The chapters in this section pay particular attention to three key topics. The first five chapters explore children and young people’s experiences of risk, vulnerability, and resilience in the face of environmental hazards, pollution, and climate change (Babugura 2016; Freeman et al. 2016; London et al. 2016; Ojala 2016; Towers et al. 2016). The next four chapters foreground issues of intergenerational injustice and adults’ responsibilities for ensuring a viable environmental future for children and young people (Davies et al. 2016; McNamara and Westoby 2016; Shirani et al. 2016; Tranter and Sharpe 2016). The section closes with four chapters that emphasize children and young people’s knowledge of environmental problems and their concerns and engagement with environmental issues as part-and-parcel of their everyday lives (Malone 2016; Stanes and Klocker 2016; Stratford 2016; Sugden and Punch 2016). Importantly, while climate change is a specific focus of the first set of

chapters on risk, vulnerability, and resilience, it is also discussed in a number of other chapters. Climate change permeates so many aspects of children and young people's lives today and also their environmental futures.

As noted above, there are five chapters (described in the following paragraphs) that consider *children and young people's experiences of risk, vulnerability and resilience in the face of environmental hazards, pollution and climate change*. Briony Towers, Kevin Ronan, and Mayeda Rashid (► [Chap. 15, "Child Health and Survival in a Changing Climate: Vulnerability, Mitigation, and Adaptation"](#)), provide an overview of the substantial health implications that climate change has for children and young people. They deploy a range of evidence to make a case that children are among the most vulnerable groups to climate change. Thus, children and young people's needs must be placed at the front and center of climate change mitigation and adaptation efforts. At the same time, Towers et al. recognize that children and young people must be included as stakeholders in these processes, to help ensure that actions taken meet their unique needs. In her chapter, "Children, Young People and Climate Change: A Gender Perspective," Agnes Babugura reviews evidence from a range of African countries to make a case that the impacts of climate change on children and young people are gendered. Many of these impacts are not direct effects of climate change, but occur as a result of increased pressure on livelihoods – for instance, increased school dropout amongst girls at times of drought, the increased burden of water collection (with implications for schooling, health and safety), harmful coping practices (such as prostitution), impacts on human dignity (relating to hygiene and sanitation), early and forced marriage, and poor nutrition. Intersections between gender and age make girls and young women particularly vulnerable to climate change. Babugura argues that girls and young women's unique experiences, concerns, and capacities for enacting change need to be mainstreamed in climate change policy and interventions.

Writing on ► [Chap. 17, "Young People and Global Climate Change: Emotions, Coping, and Engagement in Everyday Life,"](#) Maria Ojala also foregrounds climate change, but shifts the geographical focus to Northern Europe. Her chapter argues that children and young people experience a range of complicated emotions relating to the threat of climate change. Ojala finds that many young people are worried about climate change and that they develop a range of coping strategies in response to their concerns: problem-focused coping, emotion-focused coping, and meaning-focused coping. Meaning-focused coping is particularly beneficial as it supports children and young people's sense of efficacy and engagement and also their wellbeing. Trust in powerful societal actors (i.e., adults) is also shown to be important in children and young people's capacity to cope with the threat of climate change.

The next two chapters of this volume shift the focus away from climate change, to consider different types of environmental hazards. In their ► [Chap. 18, "Environmental Ascription: Industrial Pollution, Place, and Children's Health and Learning in the USA,"](#) Bruce London, Cristina Lucier, Anna Rosofsky, and Helen Scharber draw attention to children and young people's exposure to pollution in the USA. They present empirical data to make a case that marginalized children and young people (specifically those from ethnic/racial minority backgrounds) carry a disproportionate

burden of environmental pollution. London et al. also make a case that *place* intersects with race and class to limit the life chances of children and young people who live and/or go to school in polluted neighborhoods. Exposure to specific chemicals increases childhood illnesses and undermines children's school performance scores. Their chapter thus draws attention to the challenges that minority children and young people face in breaking out of cycles of familial poverty – due to the polluted nature of their neighborhoods.

The final chapter in the opening part of the section on *Environmental Knowledge, Change and Issues* by Claire Freeman, Megan Gollop, and Karen Nairn (► [Chap. 19, “Disasters, Displacement, and Disruption: Children and Young People’s Experience of Spatial Change Following Disasters”](#)) discusses children and young people’s experiences in the wake of the 2010/2011 earthquakes in Christchurch, New Zealand. As a result of the earthquakes, some families moved away from Christchurch permanently, while others left for a period of time. Freeman et al. emphasize the importance of including children and young people’s voices in postdisaster recovery processes, which necessitates moving beyond a view of children as passive victims of disasters. They make a case that children and young people can be active participants in the recovery process and that the impacts of disasters on their sense of place needs to be better understood.

The next group of chapters focuses on *issues of intergenerational injustice and adults’ responsibilities for ensuring a viable environmental future for children and young people*. In their ► [Chap. 20, “Children, Climate Change, and the Intergenerational Right to a Viable Future,”](#) Kirsten Davies, Gil Tabucanon, and Pamela Box make a strong case for children’s intergenerational right to a viable future. They argue that climate change poses a threat to this right and that children, young people, and (as yet) unborn generations will bear the brunt of climate change over the coming decades. In addition to the rights of today’s children and young people, Davies et al. demonstrate that future generations have rights and that these need to be given greater consideration by present-day adults. Doing everything possible to prevent catastrophic climate change, then, is an issue of intergenerational justice and equity.

Paul Tranter and Scott Sharpe (► [Chap. 21, “Global Energy Stress: Challenges and Opportunities for Child-Friendly Cities”](#)) begin by making a clear argument that children and young people’s lives are profoundly influenced by the decisions made by adults – often without their consent. They note that these decisions are shaped by broader global forces, including around energy provision. Their chapter is framed around the end of cheaply available oil. However, in an important twist, Tranter and Sharpe argue that the implications of global energy stress will not be all bad. Children and young people’s everyday lives will – in some respects – improve as a result of fuel scarcity. Tranter and Sharpe link the reduced availability and affordability of fuel to the creation of more child-friendly, walkable cities – in which children and young people’s freedom of movement can be safely reasserted.

The ► [Chap. 22, “Living in the Future: Environmental Concerns, Parenting, and Low-Impact Lifestyles,”](#) by Fiona Shirani, Chris Groves, Catherine Butler, Karen

Parkhill, Karen Henwood and Nick Pidgeon, also focuses on adults as key decision-makers in relation to children and young people's present-day lives and environmental futures. Using the case of families living in eco-villages, the chapter explains that the presence of children in families helps adults to make "imaginative connections" to environmental futures. While parents in their study made the decision to move to an eco-village, they often did so *for* their children. They saw eco-village life as a way of enhancing their children's wellbeing in the present (as per the rural idyll) and of contributing to positive environmental futures through low-impact living. Further, by inculcating their children in off-the-grid, eco-village life, some parents also hoped to provide them with the "survival skills" that may be necessary in an increasingly chaotic environmental future. Thus, parents' perceptions of future catastrophe shaped the decisions that they made for their own children in the present-day.

The need for older generations to inculcate children and young people with knowledge of how to recognize and respond to environmental change is also a key concern in the chapter by Karen McNamara and Ross Westoby (► [Chap. 23, "Intergenerational Sharing of Indigenous Environmental Knowledge in the Torres Strait"](#)). McNamara and Westoby describe a project undertaken with Indigenous Elders and school children in the Torres Strait Islands, off the north coast of mainland Australia. The project gave Indigenous Elders an opportunity to record their environmental knowledge and lifetime experiences of environmental change – and to share their ways of reading environmental signals with younger generations. Although contemporary climate change presents new and different challenges, McNamara and Westoby argue that having access to a record of traditional knowledge, passed down by Elders, will provide a crucial resource for children and young people in the Torres Strait. While children's geographers have often foregrounded the importance of ensuring that children and young people have opportunities to express their views and knowledge, this chapter shows that children and young people also benefit from efforts to support intergenerational knowledge transfer. This may be particularly important in Indigenous communities – as the environmental knowledge held by Elders has rarely been formally recorded and is not part of standard school curricula relating to climate change. This set of chapters shares in common a focus on the important role of today's adults in safeguarding children and young people's environmental futures. They make it clear that children and young people's wellbeing now (and into the future) is directly tied to the actions and knowledge of present-day adults.

The final section of this volume emphasizes *children and young people's knowledge of environmental problems, and their concerns and engagement with environmental issues as part-and-parcel of their everyday lives*. First, Fraser Sugden and Samantha Punch, writing on ► [Chap. 24, "Changing Aspirations, Education, and Migration: Young People's Declining Agroecological Knowledge in Rural Asia,"](#) explore the pressures placed on children and young people's agroecological knowledge in rural Asia, as a result of broader structural issues relating to economic change, development, education, and employment opportunities. Case studies from rural Vietnam, India, and China show that many young people are

moving to urban areas, due to changed aspirations, as well as ecological and economic stressors. When young people move to cities in search of formal education and nonagrarian careers, the implications for rural communities are profound. Importantly, migration undermines the intergenerational transfer of agro-ecological knowledge.

The next two chapters shift the geographical focus to Australia. Karen Malone (► Chap. 25, “Children’s Place Encounters: Place-Based Participatory Research to Design a Child-Friendly and Sustainable Urban Development”) explores the capacity of children and young people to be engaged in the design and development of a child-friendly and sustainable urban development. Malone makes a case that children and young people learn through their engagement with local environments and that the unique local environmental knowledge held by children and young people can provide important insights for urban planning and development processes. Through a participatory design process, children and young people in one community showed great responsiveness and openness to nonhuman affordances and encounters in their neighborhood. When given the opportunity to participate in planning an urban development, they sought to ensure that these environmental qualities would be brought into the design. Malone concludes that children and young people who are given opportunities to participate in “real life” projects, *in place*, can play important roles as environmental change agents. Elaine Stratford, in her ► Chap. 26, “Skateboarding as Social and Environmental Praxis: Navigating a Sustainable Future,” also focuses on children and young people’s engagements with their local places, in this case through the example of skateboarding. Skateboarding, as a transport option, has not been recognized as a viable alternative in broader planning processes in Australia. Yet Stratford argues that young people who skateboard are enacting a particular type of political agency – they are at once making a claim for their right to public space and engaging in a unique, youthful, and unheralded form of environmental praxis – as part of their everyday lives.

The final chapter of this volume, by Elyse Stanes and Natascha Klocker (► Chap. 27, “Young People in the Global North: Environmental Heroes or Pleasure-Seeking Consumers”), provides a broad overview of children and young people’s environmental knowledge and capacities, as well as their environmental “weaknesses.” The chapter focuses on young people in the Global North, whose environmental credentials have been cast in paradoxical ways. On the one hand, they are considered more knowledgeable and concerned about the environment and climate change than older generations, but on the other hand they are frequently identified as reckless and wasteful consumers of resources (see also Collins and Hitchings 2012). Stanes and Klocker critically review literature on young people, consumption and environmentalism – foregrounding their roles in homes, schools, and communities. The authors conclude that young people’s environmental identities are complex. They call for greater attentiveness to the unique environmental sustainabilities of young people, which may open opportunities for thinking differently about consumption and environmentalism.

3 Conclusion

This introductory chapter has provided an overview of the volume on *Geographies of Global Issues: Change and Threat* (from the *Geographies of Children and Young People* series). It has also outlined the key themes that run across the chapters contained in the volume. Children and young people face profound challenges – from global climate change to shifts in the global coffee trade and from eroding formal employment opportunities to the dangers of natural hazards and the health effects of pollution. This introductory chapter – and the other 26 chapters contained in the volume – has shown that children's geographers can provide important insights into a changing world by being attentive to children and young people, to adult decision-makers, to everyday life, to macroscale structures and processes, to upheaval and threats, and, crucially, to opportunities amidst change.

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Part I

Globalization: Processes and Impacts

Political Economy of Children's Work: Economic Restructuring, the Coffee Trade, and Social Reproduction in Post-socialist Ethiopia

2

Tatek Abebe

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Abstract

This chapter views children's work in the context of coffee production in Ethiopia through the lens of global political economy. It develops insights into the ways in which structural inequalities and declining terms of trade for coffee in international markets play out in the working lives of children. The chapter contextualizes how livelihood displacement involving a shift from subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture has increased the scope, duration, and intensity of children's labor and how – in contexts of systemic poverty – familial livelihood strategies depend largely upon the contributions of their young members. It is argued that children's work and exploitation cannot be detached from “political

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economy” that not only informs societal values of “work” but also creates material conditions and transforms family and community livelihood strategies. The chapter discusses how crisis in international trade for coffee contributes to the reallocation of household responsibilities from men and women to children and, in the process, amplifies children’s (economic) exploitation. In addition, it examines how the deeper transmission of capitalism and neoliberal reforms involving privatization and cuts in public expenditure lead to hidden ruptures in social reproduction. It is suggested that understanding the lives of working children needs to move beyond the view of their childhood as apolitical to incorporate the material dimensions of childhood.

Keywords

Child labor • Cash crops • Coffee trade • Economic restructuring • Rural development • Political economy • Social reproduction • Ethiopia

1 Introduction

The socioeconomic realities of families and communities in most parts of the world necessitate children’s involvement in diverse productive and reproductive activities. Yet, research with children about their everyday life experiences in non-Western contexts is relatively limited. This is especially true for rural children. Research in and outside academia “has primarily focused on urban children and young people, despite most people living in rural areas” (Panelli et al. 2007, p. 4). There has been a growth in the social studies of childhood, which has shown the myriad ways in which children in Africa attend formal school, work in family businesses, and participate in leisure activities (Robson 2004a; Schildkrout 2002; Spittler and Bourdillon 2012). A number of studies have also looked at the relational and contextual aspects of children’s work in household chores, paid domestic work, agricultural activities, enterprises, and rural and urban informal economic sectors (Bass 2004; Kielland and Tovo 2006; Klocker 2014).

In Ethiopia, children have received limited attention in social science research. A few studies have highlighted the geographical contexts of work, exploring the capacities and meaningful contributions of children who live amidst social and economic change (Abebe 2007, 2008; Boyden 2009). Research has also documented the pathways through which poor children develop resilience as they engage in marginal livelihood activities like begging (Abebe 2009) and commercial sexual work (Hoot et al. 2009). These studies highlight the importance of framing children’s lives within development contexts – urbanization, livelihood transitions, and economic exploitation – that amplify or contextualize childhood poverty and vulnerability.

Ethiopian children’s perspectives on their working lives reveal that the significance of the work they do is grounded in reciprocal inter- and intra-household relations (Abebe 2013). Their work is integral to wider economic, social, and

environmental transformations. In rural Ethiopia, where nearly 80 % of the population lives – and where poverty, drought, and crop failure are common – the view of children as social security in old age has intensified the work they perform. Families facing strained livelihoods due to environmental degradation have transferred more arduous household chores to children when adults engage in seasonal labor migration (Sørensen and Bekele 2009). Children's contribution is crucial not only to mitigate household poverty but also to sustain households in difficult periods (Camfield and Tafere 2011). These studies have improved our understandings of the specific social, economic, and cultural contexts in which the work of children takes place and have highlighted how work is a main signifier of children's life worlds, providing them a sense of worth and self-respect.

Outside Ethiopia, researchers have underscored how – in contexts where socio-economic inequality is pervasive – children have multiple roles and responsibilities (Bass 2004; Spittler and Bourdillon 2012) and that children's ability to contribute to the family's livelihood is a source of empowerment, which helps them cope with hardship and poverty (Jennings et al. 2006). However, whereas the importance of locating children in ecological, livelihood, and political-economic contexts has long been recognized, the ways in which children may come to embody the crisis of social reproduction and at the same time become actors who bear the responsibility of meeting the challenge of social reproduction are not fully elucidated (Huijsmans et al. 2014). Furthermore, studies that show how “forces in the global political economy contribute to a crisis of social reproduction” (Bakker 2007, p. 547), in particular to the transformations of children's labor, are scarce.

This chapter contributes to the limited but growing body of literature within human geography that locates children's work at the heart of, or views children through the lens of, global political economy (see Katz 2004; Ansell 2005; Aitken et al. 2008). Drawing on research in Ethiopia, it examines how understandings of children's work need to be extended to incorporate its geographical and material dimensions (i.e., how children get by and how this is hindered by structural and political-economic processes). It is argued that children's work in commercially oriented agriculture cannot be detached from the political economy of trade that deeply impacts children's material lives. In so doing, the chapter responds to a recent call made by Huijsmans et al. (2014, p. 1) for “generating development” – to look at the centrality of children in social reproduction and explore how children's engagement “shapes and is shaped by the changing terms of social reproduction brought about by development.”

The empirical material revisited in this chapter is found in a doctoral dissertation that explores the time-space of children's work in Ethiopia (Abebe 2008) followed up through a postdoctoral research project that documents the complex ways in which family collectives set moral, social, cultural, and economic expectations on children and the knowledge and skills children need and use as they go about fulfilling those expectations (Abebe 2013). The research sought to integrate political economy with children's personal, interdependent agency, showing how macro-level structures and processes of production and reproduction provide the context within which children's agency at work plays out (Abebe 2007, 2008, 2013).

The chapter begins by briefly highlighting key perspectives on children's work. Second, it provides examples from the literature that show how economic restructuring associated with privatization and cuts in social spending have led to an increase in the scope, range, and duration of children's work. Third, the chapter presents a contextual analysis of how the integration of a locality in southern Ethiopia into the cash economy of coffee has transformed children's work patterns, revealing hidden ruptures in social reproduction. The conclusion section reflects on the significance of engaging more fully with processes that amplify children's exploitation in settings characterized by systemic poverty and socioeconomic inequality.

2 Perspectives on Children's Work

The growing body of research on children's work reveals how work is valued by – and is valuable for – families and communities but is also given multiple sociocultural meanings (Schildkrout 2002; Bass 2004). The literature explains the familial, economic, and sociocultural realities through which children are deployed into labor as well as the contexts in which work may turn into exploitative labor (Schlemmer 2000; Kielland and Tovo 2006). This “sociocultural paradigm” (Abebe and Bessell 2011, p. 770) suggests that child labor can be understood in the light of specific material and cultural contexts and that it is determined by a range of intersecting factors, including age, gender, maturity, capability, birth order, and sibling composition. Involvement in work “provides children with opportunities to demonstrate personal agency, take responsibility...and contribute to their family's economic needs” (Jennings et al. 2006, p. 237). In this view, childhood is seen as continuous with the adult world, with children gradually moving into the activities of adults as their competencies develop and as opportunities arise (Bourdillon et al. 2010).

A key feature of earlier debates on children's work is how children's involvement in productive and reproductive activities is pivotal to develop their capacities and foster values of reciprocity that are necessary to reproduce households. Nieuwenhuys (2000) documents the reciprocal relationships between women and children's work in Keralan fishing communities in India and draws attention to the need to account for how general cultural (and gendered) assumptions enter into the evaluation of work. Nieuwenhuys suggests that social reproduction needs to be redefined in terms of systems of reciprocal obligations that span across generations and take into consideration how the interplay between “culture” and unequal forms of power and exchange within the realm of “economics” contextualize child labor. Katz (1991), on the other hand, underscores the invisibility of political economy in her analysis of children's role in social reproduction. She argues how, all too often, a narrative of socioeconomic change points to but glosses over the material social practices of children in everyday life focusing only on their temporal and spatial outcomes without locating these in a mutually determining socio-spatial and political-economic field. As Ansell (2009, p. 193) notes further, in most “child-centered”

studies, structural processes and abstract themes (for instance, “social justice”), on which working children may not speak directly, are generally neglected.

Recent analysis of children's work has called for children's contribution to be viewed in a holistic manner and as a continuum, having multiple advantages and potential risks (Bourdillon et al. 2010). It has, for example, been argued that children have the right to benefit from work appropriate to their age (Liebel 2013) and that preventing children from working not only endangers their livelihoods but also denies them agency and opportunities in life (O'Neill 2013; Pankhurst et al. 2015). These perspectives are useful not only to reveal the diversity of children's capacities and experiences of work but also to decenter Eurocentric values around what constitutes “work,” “exploitation,” and “proper” childhood. They move away from narrow discourses that put a negative spin on children's meaningful contributions to explore the interdependent realities associated with work including learning, socialization, skill acquisition, and social transitions (Abebe and Bessell 2011; Spittler and Bourdillon 2012).

Moreover, research on children's work tends to mirror the paradigm of *social constructivism* – it analyzes work as culturally constructed (i.e., how children's work reflects local values, ideas, and conventional practices) often at the expense of the reasons *why* children labor, as well as *how* children's work might be structurally highly circumscribed (Abebe 2013; Klocker 2014). Schildkrout (2002) remarks on the irony of how exploring children's work in Africa helped western researchers to *recognize* that children are social actors; yet today child labor is seen in predominantly negative ways. Although intersectionality – how children's work is intersected and dissected by poverty, livelihood circumstances, gender, culture, and social and economic contexts – has become central in the literature (Bourdillon et al. 2010; Levine 2011; Klocker 2014), in global discourses of children's rights, children's participation in material social practices is deemed “inferior” to, for example, their civic and political participation. Ideals of work-free childhood are also invoked to portray the lives of working children in terms of pity and exploitation (Abebe and Bessell 2011).

Thus, in order to “close the gap between global knowledge about children (from above) and children's knowledge and agency in their own environments (from below),” there is a need to “present a relational account of children's work within the context of their daily geographies” (Jennings et al. 2006, p. 231). Scholars have noted how extended forms of capitalist production have intensified children's responsibilities as well as the way they “learn to labor” (Katz 2004). Traditional socialization of children through domestic roles, vocational training, and work settings has been transformed through economic restructuring. This makes it necessary to view children's material contributions in a manner that does not decouple the economic conditions of the young from questions about the workings of “politics” and “power.”

3 Embedding Children's Work in Political Economy

This chapter uses political economy in order to explain the significant, unexpected, and often changing nature of children's work in the cash economy in rural Ethiopia. Political economy reveals contexts that shape the dynamics of children's work. It is

about the material practices and cultural ideas – including political ideologies and religious and cultural beliefs – shaping people’s activities, relations, and interaction in families, communities, and beyond (Bakker 2007). Although political economy has traditionally given priority to examining *social change* and *historical transformation*, as McChesney (2012, p. 24) argues, it is increasingly used to understand “social relations, particularly the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources.” Yet, access to and utilization of resources for sustenance is not only a site of power struggle but also affects the social and economic lives of people, including children. As the subsequent sections demonstrate, the *material* contexts that shape children’s work and the political-economic processes that create material conditions and transform familial and community livelihood strategies are inseparable.

Children have always worked for their families and communities. Initial interest in the political economy of child labor focused on historical and cultural forces that underpin children’s reproductive activities. Grier (2006, p. 175) observes that children in colonial Zimbabwe were seen as a reserve labor force, “sought after in their own rights because they had qualities that adults did not appear to have.” In many places in Africa, children still are considered cheaper, easier to control, and – with their “nimble fingers” – better suited to handling cash crops such as tea, tobacco, and cotton (Grier 2006; Levine 2011). As a result, children are often drawn into work in commercial plantations whenever they are needed and easily dismissed when markets retreat and opportunities for their labor decline.

Robson (2004b) highlights how the reproductive burdens of children who work both independently and alongside adults in the rural Hausa economy sustain agricultural production (on farms), domestic reproduction (in homesteads), and trade (within markets). Despite the low esteem generally given to children’s work, Robson argues, children’s contribution to household livelihoods is pivotal.

many sectors of African and developing countries’ economies (especially the informal sector, peasant subsistence agriculture and petty commodity production, as well as daily, generational and social reproduction within the domestic sphere) simply would not function without children’s labour. (Robson 2004a, 241)

Robson further reveals that children’s involvements in the work of trading in real markets are embedded in spatial, gender, and age relations, “not least because circulation and commodity exchange involve social relations operating through power mechanisms exemplified in children’s involvement in secluded women’s trading” (Robson 2004a, p. 196). Thus, children are not only a link between the domestic economy (sphere of production) and market economy (sphere of circulation) but also play an important role as consumers, hawkers, porters, traders, and brokers of different products in periodic markets (Schildkrout 2002).

Local political economy ties to and changes with relations of production outside the local context, thereby influencing the dynamics of labor relations, including children’s labor and the value it generates. This is an important point because understanding the prioritization of, for example, cash crops over subsistence

economy explains and is explained by important power relations. Cropping patterns or marketing choices are not the result of a single economic calculus but are the outcomes of negotiation between husbands and wives, between co-wives and between them and their children as well as other actors inside the community and beyond (Scoones et al. 2005).

Analysis of the political economy calls for exploring decision making and the influence on decisions of formal institutions (e.g., trade, welfare, and educational) and informal institutions (e.g., traditional leaders, family collectives) that not only have a stake in childhood but also influence children's lives and experiences of work. Bachman (2000) shows the link between child labor and international business, arguing how, although following the international minimum age of work standard (set by ILO Convention 138) may be the sensible thing to do for companies that sell products to consumers in developed countries, careless enforcement of those standards could make life worse for child workers. Bachman (2000) uses the example of Bangladesh from where, in the 1990s, the United States banned all imports of goods made by children. Garment manufacturers panicked and started to fire child workers without making provisions for an alternative income source for them to survive. Similarly, O'Neill (2013) reveals how – following pressure from the international community – the Nepalese government's program of certification of child labor-free carpets for export endangered the livelihoods of carpet weavers. Yet, product boycotts and the imposition of international labor standards to reduce child labor often result in children working in far worse working conditions and on lower salaries. Product certification may assure western consumers that the products they purchase had not been made by impoverished child laborers. However, once the tag is viewed, "any further thoughts about the structural injustices of global commerce, or the continuing plight of many children who continued to labour, unnoticed" in other sectors of the economy is extinguished (O'Neill 2013, p. 99).

Boyden (2009) notes that, although poverty is often recognized as a direct cause of exploitation among children, "a close association between poverty and other forms of adversity has also been established, due very often to factors of political economy. . . impacting whole populations and to personal tragedies which affect only some households" (p. 112). Levine (2011) documents the ways in which child labor legislation in post-apartheid South Africa has had the unintended consequences of deepening chronic hunger and childhood poverty on food-rich farms where children formerly participated as seasonal or part-time workers. She argues:

Evidence of children's increased hunger on farms, increased risk of HIV exposure as they enter illegal work in the sex industry and increased exposure to illegal and dangerous forms of employment raises serious questions about. . .the political economy of the region. (Levine 2011, p. 272)

The following section explores how two key aspects of neoliberal economic reforms – privatization and cuts in social spending – have deepened household poverty and increased the burden of work on the young in the Global South.

3.1 Privatization and Cuts in Public Expenditure

In the 1980s and 1990s, countries indebted to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank were obliged to implement Economic Structural Adjustment Programs (ESAP) which aligned with the neoliberal economic orthodoxy of the “Washington Consensus” as a precondition for rescheduling their increasingly unserviceable debts. From 2000 onward, these were replaced with Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP), boasting a higher degree of country ownership but little substantive change in approach. Through ESAP and PRSP, countries have been required to follow a set of prescribed neoliberal economic policies that include, among other measures, privatization, deregulation, cuts in public spending, and trade liberalization. Subsequently governments sold state-run companies for water, electricity, transportation, and telecommunications. “The privatisation of previously socialised institutions associated with provisioning for social reproduction” (Bakker 2007, p. 545) led to an increase in prices that have put basic services beyond the reach of many poor people. For example, in Bolivia, privatization of the state-run water company in 1999 led to rise in water bills of up to 50 % (Finnegan 2002). Similar drive to privatize water provision in Nicaragua in 2001 resulted in a 30 % increase in water prices, while privatization in the Mauritanian capital, Nouakchott, has meant that low-income families have to spend up to a fifth of household spending on water alone (Grusky 2001). In Ghana, IMF and World Bank policies mandated a 95 % increase in consumer water fees in 2000 (Grusky 2001). When privatization has pushed prices of water up, households have needed more income and hence increased children’s workload. In addition, when water becomes less accessible as private companies fail to extend provision into poor neighborhoods or remote areas, more pressure is placed upon women and children who have to travel further to collect water. They are often forced to collect water from polluted streams and rivers as they have limited options. In some cases, families are even forced to make trade-offs between water, food, schooling, and health care (Grusky 2001).

A related element of neoliberal reform imposed upon indebted governments has been significant restriction of spending in areas that directly affect children’s well-being. Robson (2004b, p. 231) has argued that in Zimbabwe “ESAP meant poor households had reduced access to healthcare, education, income, food and work with detrimental effects for children.” Poor countries are often bound to pass on the costs of education in order to free up their limited resources for the servicing of debt. According to a study published by the World Bank in 2005, in 97 % of the 79 countries surveyed, families were obliged to pay some form of fees in order for children to have access to primary education (Hart 2008). The reduction of budget spending on social services has resulted in marked increases in the price of food, housing, transport, education, and health care. Following ESAP, real education spending per capita fell by over 60 % in Nigeria, Tanzania, and Zambia (Stewart 2005). Falling health expenditure per head led many debtor countries to have a poor record in child nutrition and child survival (Ansell 2005). Furthermore, although enrollment in primary and secondary schools across the global South has expanded significantly under the influence of the MDGs, the growth in

private schools has created differentiation in access to quality education. The effects of enforced neoliberal reforms are acute, particularly in rural areas which received very little of the initial government investments for services that affect children's well-being.

3.2 Expanded Effects of Economic Restructuring on Social Reproduction

The consequences of neoliberal economic reforms are consistent with processes that increase women's poverty and unpaid work in both the home and the community (Stewart 2005). Yet "feminization of poverty" (Chant 2006) is not only about lack of income for women but also entails human development frameworks like education, health, livelihoods, and welfare of the family. Although social reproduction is about "the processes involved in maintaining and reproducing people, specifically the laboring population, and their labour power on a daily and generational basis" (Beazanson and Luxon 2006, p. 3), more recent interest in the concept shows how the privatization of social provisioning affect the lives of the poor, in particular the ways in which the neoliberal moment in the global political economy and the "deeper transmission of capitalism into the structures of everyday life" may affect children (Bakker 2007, p. 552). In addition, how economic restructuring leads to "the progressive detachment of individuals from social networks and supports, while at the same time, [how] responsibility for systemic problems is being downloaded onto the individual" reconfigures processes of daily and generational reproduction is a key concern (Bakker 2007, p. 551).

Research indicates that the incidence of child labor in the informal economy has increased in economies that underwent economic restructuring (Bass 2004; Kielland and Tovo 2006). In Zimbabwe, children's domestic care work in the context of AIDS in 2000s has increased due to reductions in spending for hospital-based care for ailing adults (Robson 2004b). In Ethiopia, children spend a great deal of their income from informal work to cover the direct cost of family health care, in addition to covering their own school-related expenses (Pankhurst et al. 2015). This means children's work in local places needs to be understood in the context of how market forces render them vulnerable to hidden forms of exploitation. This is because, as Hart (2008, p. 15) argues, "capital accumulation in its early stages commonly makes particular use of child labour, replacing skilled labourers by less skilled, mature labourers by immature, male by female."

Bakker (2007) points out that at the macroeconomic level, it is assumed that wage labor is considered to be an unproduced resource that leads to assumptions about the infinite flexibility of women's labor. These assumptions in turn lead to women's labor "taking up the slack" of reduced public service provisioning like health care but also intensifying the work and subordination of women and other marginal groups (Bakker 2007). When previously paid work is shifted from a formal part of the economy to the family, it not only becomes informal but also unpaid (Chant 2007). In addition all "informal" work shifted to women tends to

be either shared with or done by children under women's supervision (Robson 2004b). Thus, as Chant (2007, p. 333) argues, the "feminization of responsibility and/or obligation" – or the trend that women take on an increasing responsibility for meeting household needs – is entwined with processes that place household responsibilities on children. In locations where the imposition of macroeconomic policies and the privatization of services have led to a greatly increased workload for women, children have found themselves with additional responsibilities which include caring for younger siblings, housework, cooking, and taking care of crops and animals intended for domestic consumption (Hart 2008).

Chant (2006, p. 179) suggests that under the shadow of price liberalization and reduced subsidies on basic staples from the state, women are "diversifying their activities in household survival." "Diversification strategies" involve children, because women tend to control the household division of labor, including the labor power of children. This means more time-consuming domestic labor, greater efforts in self-provisioning, and more care when it comes to budgeting and expenditure (Chant 2006). As noted above, neoliberal reforms meant a growing tendency for formal actors of development to shift responsibility of poverty reduction onto individual families. In Ethiopia, Pankhurst et al. (2015) document how children's contributions are essential for "managing shocks" linked to parental illness and injury, particularly in the light of low levels of social protection in the country. Further, as argued by Abebe (2007, p. 83), "When families live in economically precarious situations, adults must engage in alternative livelihood strategies, partly by transferring the burden of domestic work to children." Such shifts underpin how the "the intimate and the global intertwine" (Pratt and Rosner 2006, p. 15), but they also reveal ideologies of development, in particular assumptions about how, where, and by whom the burden of social reproduction is to be borne, under what circumstances, and with what consequences.

4 Rural Development and Children's Work in Ethiopia

4.1 Ethiopia After Socialism

The research revisited in this chapter was undertaken with children who were born and raised in post-socialist Ethiopia. The fall of socialism in Ethiopia in 1991 was accompanied by opening to the free market and the gradual liberalization of the national economy (Donham et al. 2002; Watson 2004). Post-socialist Ethiopia incorporated many dimensions of the global neoliberal agenda that created profound restructuring in, among other things, the formal economy, access to land, approaches to governance, and modes of production and circulation of agricultural products.

With 93 million people, Ethiopia is the second most populous country in Africa. Young people below the age of 25 years account for over 60 % of the population (UNDP 2014). The country has one of the fastest, non-oil-producing economies in Africa and sustained double-digit economic growth over the past decade (African

Development Bank (ADB 2013). Although the *Growth and Transformation Plan* (MoFED 2010) outlines strategies to maintain the current level of economic growth and translate it into good indicators of human well-being, in general, the poorest of the poor are being left behind by underlying real problems of inequality. Ethiopia ranks 173 out of 186 countries in the Human Development Index (HDI) for 2013 (UNDP 2014). Youth unemployment is high, estimated at 50 %, and “improvements in labour market opportunities for youth appear to lag behind economic growth” (Wellbeing III-Being Dynamics in Ethiopia (WIDE) 2014, p. 2).

Although agricultural production has improved considerably, millions of children grow up in households that are food insecure (Sørensen and Bekele 2009). Arable land – the basic means of subsistence production and source of rural livelihood – is scarce. Land degradation, over cultivation, unemployment, and limited livelihood options often cause generational tensions and conflicts between youth and the elderly. The production of cereals by peasants meets the need for staple food; but Ethiopia relies heavily on small-scale production of coffee and other types of commercial crops for national revenue. Leasing rural land to large-scale, foreign investors who engage in horticulture and production of crops for export – otherwise termed “land grabbing” – has become a key strategy in Ethiopia’s effort to attract foreign direct investment (FDI) (Lavers 2012). Yet, this process of dispossession of the means of subsistence for local communities “created the conditions for a workforce dependent upon the sale of their labour power in return for a wage in the market – that is, a condition for the capitalist system of accumulation” (Bakker 2007, p. 544).

4.2 Rural Livelihoods in Gedeo Zone

Gedeo Zone lies within the multiethnic Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples’ Regional State (SNNPRS). It has an estimated total population of close to one million, of whom 15 % are urban dwellers (CSA and ICF International 2012). The data provided by the Central Statistics Authority (2009) indicates that for a total area of 1,330 km², Gedeo has one of the highest agricultural population densities in Africa – 618 people per km². This figure is higher in the highland countryside which is more suitable for mixed farming of *enset* (local staple) and cereals compared to the lowlands. The average rural household has 0.3 ha of land, compared to the national average of 1 ha of land and an average of 0.89 ha for the Southern Regional State, making Gedeo one of the most chronic land-shortage Zones in Ethiopia (Kippe 2002).

Class relations in Gedeo Zone are defined through ownership of land and assets. Land holdings are becoming increasingly fragmented. This is due to rapid population growth and the fact that a significant numbers of boys, who traditionally inherit land from their patrilineage, have come of age and entered into adulthood (Abebe 2007). Shortage of land has also forced many rural men to engage in share-cropping contracts with wealthier households who own large farms as well as in nonfarm-related jobs including off-farm migrant labor in urban areas (Abebe and Kjørholt 2009).

For generations, rural livelihoods in Gedeo Zone have been built on a delicate balance of cash crops and food crop production (Kippe 2002). This balance involves mixed subsistence farming of *enset*, maize, and commercial crops such as coffee, *khat* (a mild stimulant leaf), and a variety of fruits and vegetables. Animal husbandry only complements cash crop production but is vital as animal products supplement the low-protein *enset* diet. Conversely, *enset* requires huge amounts of animal manure. *Enset*, also known as the “false banana,” produces nonedible fruit, but the trunk and root are processed as food. It takes 4–6 years for the plant to build up a sufficient store of carbohydrates before it is suitable for use as food. Compared to other food crops, *enset* is drought resistant and gives high yields per unit of land, and hence, it can support a high population density (Kippe 2002). Peasants also grow sugarcane, avocado, guava, banana, and maize in their backyards both for household consumption and sale (Abebe 2007). *Khat* has recently become a lucrative source of income for peasant households and is dominating the agricultural landscape of the region. Coffee and *khat* are destined for local and international markets, and more significantly, children’s labor is very crucial in the process of production and circulation (Abebe 2007).

4.3 Infiltration of Commercial Agriculture

The political economy of coffee production can be seen as the historical outcome of adverse incorporation of coffee-producing regions into global capitalism. Until the introduction of decentralized governance in 1991, the Gedeo people were dominated by rulers from northern Ethiopia and were one of the many subjugated ethnic groups under what Merera (2006, p. 119) calls the Ethiopian “nation-building project.” The state played a large part in this process, but, as Watson (2004) points out, it has always been seen as an external colonizing force. State-peasant relations have been characterized by the power asymmetry of patron – client relationships in which local inhabitants benefited very little in return (Abebe 2007). Cash crops which permeated livelihood practices became a drive in the interest of the state whose agenda is allegedly one of creaming off resources to boost national revenue.

The livelihood transition which began taking shape in the early 1960s involved a considerable reorientation of the local economy toward the production of coffee (and recently *khat*) at the expense of staple food crops, namely, *enset*. This transition is based on the ideal that generating foreign revenue via international trade is the right path to rapid economic development. *Enset* production was subsequently marginalized, even though its shade provides coffee beans with the most conducive environment for their gradual ripening (Kippe 2002). At the same time, farmers who formerly produced both food and cash crops were tactically made to concentrate on the production of coffee alone. This state of affairs was sustained during the socialist regime (1974–1991) through its centrally planned economic system that also involved the “villagization” (forced collectivization) of the rural population. The “agriculture first, industry later” strategy of economic development is still paramount today:

One of the building blocks of ...the long-term strategy of 'Agriculture Development Led Industrialization' (ADLI) pursued by the government since 1991, [is] the development of agriculture ... to support industrialization by providing a market and a source of raw materials and capital accumulation. In particular, the ADLI strategy underlines the potential scope of the domestic market and the important role it could play for growth of both agriculture and industry. It also gives recognition to the critical role of exports in terms of growth of both income and foreign exchange. (Petit 2007, p. 255)

The ADLI is based on three premises. First, enhancement of smallholder peasant agriculture remains the main source of livelihood for the majority of the country's population. Second, since agriculture both provides raw materials to domestic industries and serves as a source of foreign exchange earnings, it is the only area in which Ethiopia has an obvious "comparative advantage." Third, the government's commitment in development endeavors is rural based and pro-poor. Furthermore, the ADLI strategy views commercial agriculture as expanding the livelihood options for the rural population, and as a way of generating employment for rural youth (Orkin 2010).

Within this framework, the production of crops like coffee, *khat*, oilseeds, and flowers – collectively regarded as Ethiopia's "green gold" – is key to development as well as a way of mitigating risk from recurrent famine and food shortage. In recent years, horticulture and flower production have been promoted in several parts of the country. The Ethiopian government subsidized foreign investments in agriculture for export including reduced tax for the import of machinery and smooth leasing of rural land (Lavers 2012). Commercial farming has also been seen as a strategy for poverty alleviation among international bilateral agencies (donors) that have built irrigation infrastructure for small-scale farmers in the country (Orkin 2010).

Ethiopia is the leading producer and exporter of coffee in Africa. Coffee is the "backbone of the national economy" contributing 45 % of total foreign exchange earnings in 2009 (ADB 2013). It is an important source of employment – close to 20 million Ethiopians depend on coffee as their source of livelihood (MoFED 2010). The Coffee Development and Marketing Plan seeks not only to transform household farming from "subsistence" to "market oriented," stimulating productivity, growth, and international competitiveness (MoFED 2003), but also improvement in coffee quality and processing and a major shift to washed coffee to realize significant premium prices in the world market (Petit 2007). The conducive agroclimatic conditions make Gedeo Zone the epicenter for the production of coffee. However, as discussed below, the terms of trade for coffee in international markets have been declining continuously.

4.4 Livelihoods Displacement and the Coffee Crisis

In Gedeo, coffee and *khat* replaced subsistence crops like *enset* in terms of land use, yet price fluctuation for them resulted in what Petit (2007, p. 228) calls the "boom and bust" effect. Due to overreliance on a single main farm output, or "monoculture," peasants become extremely vulnerable when their produce faces unstable and

ever-declining prospects in national and international markets. This is the case especially when the monoculture has replaced crops that peasants and their families can eat.

There are three interrelated shifts in the global coffee trade that have had profound impacts on livelihoods of coffee farmers in Ethiopia. First, after the end of “managed market” in 1989, following US withdrawal from and collapse of the International Coffee Association (ICA), coffee roasting companies began to dictate the price and supply of coffee in the world market. These companies make no distinction between high-quality sun-dried organic beans produced by small-scale peasants such as those in Ethiopia and cheap blends produced using chemical fertilizers and steam washing. The problem was compounded by the fact that international financial institutions were encouraging countries around the world to invest in coffee growing in order to generate revenue to pay off their debt. New entrants into the market, like Vietnam, further destabilized the supply of coffee in the global market.

Second, ESAP increased land tax, withdrew subsidies, and increased the cost of fertilizers, insecticides, and pesticides, which had initially been subsidized in order to stimulate cash crop production during the socialist period. The discontinuation of fertilizer subsidies and credit had the immediate effect of increasing costs of production and reducing access to finance. In other instances, the increased prices put fertilizer beyond the reach of many poorer households, with the result that some became indebted. In addition poor and seasonal internal roads and bridges restricted access to markets, leaving farmers to sell their coffee beans to wealthy traders at low farm gate prices (WIDE 2014).

Third, import tariffs on processed goods that prevent coffee producers from adding value before export (e.g., roasted coffee) prevent countries like Ethiopia from exporting anything but the raw materials at very low prices. This reflects the “coffee paradox” in the value chain whereby there is a growing difference between coffee sold on world markets as a “commodity” and coffee sold as a final product to consumers (NRI 2006). While producers from farms can add value to a certain degree by improving the “material” quality of coffee, they have much less control over other (“symbolic” and “in-service”) attributes dominated by actors downstream where most value is added in the chain (NRI 2006).

Petit (2007) discusses how the Ethiopian coffee sector is highly dependent on international prices and affected by the structure and workings of the world coffee market. The asymmetrical character of power in the “coffee value chain” has increasingly “narrowed the opportunities for vulnerable economies to secure the benefits from coffee trade needed for economic development and poverty reduction” (Petit 2007, p. 225). Thus, although the global coffee trade has a turnover of 80 billion dollars, making it the most valuable trading commodity in the world after oil (Black Gold Movie 2008; Global Exchange 2015), the income of small-scale producers has declined dramatically over the past decade. In 2002, when the “coffee crisis” took the already volatile market to a record 100 year low, Ethiopia’s coffee revenue dropped by almost 60 % (OXFAM 2002).

These interrelated problems led coffee-producing peasants to sink into a livelihood insecurity trap. Gedeo Zone is considered to be the “basket” of one

of the high-quality, sun-dried organic Arabica beans favored by consumers across the world, yet small-scale coffee producers earn very little in return (Abebe 2007). The coffee crisis entailed that farmers experienced livelihood displacement, a point of no return to the production of the local staple in order to meet the need for subsistence. This is simply because *enset* takes several years for the trunk and root to produce sufficient amount of starch that can be processed as food. Subsequently many coffee producers have ripped up their coffee bushes to plant other cash crops like *khat*, or maize simply to survive (Abebe 2007). Problems of food insecurity and increasing incidence of child malnutrition have also been documented in this region which is otherwise considered “food secure” (OXFAM 2002). As Petit (2007, p. 228) notes:

Many farming households dependent on coffee were pulling their children out of school; they could no longer afford basic medicines and were cutting back on food consumption. Some coffee traders were going out of business while many seasonal workers – among the poorest and most vulnerable participants in the coffee chain – lost their jobs. Moreover, government funds ... were being squeezed, putting pressure on health and education provision and forcing [households] further into debt.

The ruptures in livelihood strategies are visible in the proliferation of charitable NGOs that provide daily food and relief services in Gedeo. Brodie (2003, p. 60) refers to this trend as “the paradox of necessity”: neoliberalism has stripped away mechanisms and institutional supports and the capabilities of states and families, while simultaneously maximizing the need for social intervention because of the socially destabilizing effects of unfettered markets.

4.5 Consequences of the Cash Economy

Export-oriented agriculture has had several unforeseen repercussions. It intensified economic differentiation and social inequalities. Although the marketing of cash crops and diversification of livelihoods have created opportunities for entrepreneurial activities, they have inadvertently excluded the poor, women, and, to some extent, youth and have led to elite formation (WIDE 2014). The fallout implications of commercially oriented agriculture are therefore that it brought new processes of economic production and social reproduction that peasants and their families had not anticipated. Commercial agriculture led to the entrenchment of new forms of patriarchy in which economic control of household assets from sale of cash crops by men resulted in the increased subordination of women. Coffee production took land away from the production of staple *enset* which is considered “women’s crop” (Abebe and Kjørholt 2009). In this sense, the process of capital accumulation disempowered women and introduced changes in their social position.

Following the intensification cash crop production, Gedeo people’s material desires have altered and, paradoxically, poverty has deepened. As men have begun to migrate in search of employment, girls and boys in their rural villages have had to

struggle to maintain the household. This includes paid work in markets and the informal economy to purchase food items. Further, the cash economy disrupted complementary gender roles and household divisions of labor. This was revealed by increases in the amount of agricultural work that women undertake that was previously performed by men (e.g., growing seedlings of *enset* and working in nurseries). In circumstances in which the returns from the sale of coffee have been declining, children's work has also come to be characterized by an intensification of the jobs they already did in order to increase their households' capacity to earn a living. Due to the increasing involvement of women in alternative livelihood strategies, the burden of household reproduction becomes transferred to children especially girls.

4.6 Reallocating Household Responsibilities to Children

The reallocation of household responsibilities refers to a situation where children act as "shock absorbers," putting in more hours in unpaid or low-paid activities such as producing food or caring for their siblings when adult men and women take on more arduous and specialty chores. It involves the transference to children of the burden of daily and generational reproduction. Reallocation of household responsibilities is characterized by a general increase in the range, depth, and scope of children's work in which their involvement in livelihood activities helps to buffer against household poverty. Among other things, this includes different practical and mundane tasks which children perform as part of everyday life – such as running errands, tending cattle, collecting and splitting fuel wood, harvesting grass, weeding, chopping *enset*, fetching water, milking, cooking, sweeping floors, washing, making and serving food, child care, and so on. Yet, it also entails the expanded field of children's work (e.g., through daily mobility) as well as increases in the duration and intensity of these daily tasks.

With reorientation toward commercial agriculture, children's work has shown remarkable shifts in time use – their work became structured and restructured as a result of the temporality of income secured from cash crops (Abebe 2007). Children's productive work entails what is known as agricultural entrepreneurship – skills and knowledge of tapping resources from the physical environment, along with participation in the production and circulation of commercial crops in order to earn money. Agricultural entrepreneurship requires children's participation in subsistence farming involving food crops and cash crops, combined with their off-farm income-generating activities working as farmhands in the informal rural economy and/or nearby towns. In Gedeo, peasant households collect coffee berries in two different stages. In the first, deep-red berries are selectively picked, leaving behind the greenish ones to mature. After a few weeks, children and their families pool their labor both to pick the remaining berries and to carefully work on the coffee bushes to ensure future productivity. Children's labor in coffee production is particularly important because selectively picking only the mature coffee beans from the tops of trees is a tedious, labor-intensive job, in which children are considered to be more adept at than adults.

The growth to prominence of coffee production over subsistence agriculture has altered the traditional socialization of children for work and use of work for socialization that involved imparting community-oriented values and practices. With infiltration of the cash economy, children's work has been increasingly linked to "value" generation through their employment in paid work. Moreover, such work becomes gendered because household labor tied to wealth creation is traditionally the domain of men. In Gedeo this is evident in, for example, more boys than girls being drawn into paid work of production (e.g., picking coffee beans), processing (washing, drying, sorting the damaged beans from the clean ones), and circulation (e.g., carrying coffee to cooperative shops). In this sense the ascendance of the cash economy and the proliferation of the desire for money and what it can buy explain gendered and other changes in the children's livelihood activities.

Children's work is also entwined with the intensive labor contribution they make during different agricultural work cycles beyond coffee harvesting, including preparing land, tending food crops, and marketing. In order to improve family livelihoods, children must adapt to the seasonal nature of community livelihoods by engaging in other income-generating activities when agricultural activities are restricted. This includes among other things working in local markets as packers, hawkers, brokers, porters, loaders, and so on. Furthermore, commercially oriented agriculture has created a paradox for children: on the one hand, it created opportunities for them to generate income and support family livelihoods; on the other, it resulted in them juggling multiple and often competing responsibilities with implications for their time, including time needed for schooling.

The reallocation of household tasks from adults to children cannot be detached from complex material realities produced by livelihoods displacement and "cash cropping." In this sense, reframing children's work from the vantage point of household livelihoods makes it possible to contextualize the meaningful contributions of children as well as how they change as a result of wider community livelihood trajectories. This is useful in order to demonstrate both how household livelihoods are inextricably tied to the local political economy but also how global capital is entrenched and shapes local livelihoods, often in unforeseen ways.

5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the ways in which children's involvement in familial livelihoods sustains themselves and their households in the face of often extreme deprivation. Although many of the activities that children perform might be perceived as ordinary "contributions" that are part of growing up, economic restructuring has repositioned children's role in social reproduction. That children are involved as producers, carers, homemakers, and decision makers in their own right not only reveals the expansion of their roles but also calls for the need for incorporation of forces of political economy in the analysis of how their lives are reproduced. Rural communities' insertion into the market economic system has implications for the contexts in which their children learn to labor. The increasing

importance placed on export-oriented crops competes with food production, with direct consequence for the work rural boys and girls perform. In this context, the agency and choices available to children are entwined with and tempered by processes of rural development, and their exploitation needs to be understood in the light of an increasingly exploitative system of global trade.

The analysis presented reveals that whereas there is an overlap between children's work, exploitation, and the generational contexts in which it takes place, drawing a boundary between what constitutes "children's work" and "adult work" or viewing the former separately from the latter can be problematic. The chapter concurs with Nieuwenhuys (2000) who argues that children's material exploitation is the outcome of unequal relations of power with adults and market forces, yet this exploitation has multiple and interconnected spatial scales that span from the local to the global. In Ethiopia, opening up to global economy and the shift toward production of cash crops – accompanied by unfair terms of trade – not only reveals the deeply entrenched nature of international trade but also the monetization of children's contributions. The niche market for coffee has also facilitated exploitation of small-scale farmers by local money lenders, who purchase products prior to harvest, at unfavorable prices.

The transfer of household responsibilities from men and women to children reflects three key issues. First, it reveals that children's work is inextricably linked to family and community livelihood trajectories. Second, it shows how the material social practices of children are in fact responses to the uneven social impacts of development prompted by market-led strategies. Third, unequal terms of trade and the niche market for coffee indicate the spatial context of children's exploitation. Although commercialization of agriculture has created structures of opportunity for children's paid work, it has also accelerated their exploitation through international trade that disadvantages them disproportionately. This means on the one hand "capitalist 'development' has brought about an intensification and expansion of children's work" (Katz 2004, p. 143), and on the other, it determines the value their work accrues locally. In this way, children's work is embedded in local contexts while simultaneously subordinated to the global political economy (Abebe and Kjørholt 2009).

The chapter suggests that understandings of the lives of working children need to move beyond hegemonic notions of childhood as apolitical to incorporate the material dimensions of childhood, as well as the growing intensification of children's roles in daily and generational reproduction. Children's working lives continue to be "conditioned" by cultural and social values, power structures, and inequality, and their labor cannot be detached from questions of political economy. This implies the need for engaging more fully with how development policies that reflect particular ideologies produce and reproduce the material conditions of families and communities within which children's work is structurally circumscribed.

In analyzing children's work – and the reallocation of household responsibilities from adults to children – the primary questions need not center on children's competency as social actors or whether they can and do exercise agency. Indeed, these questions are rendered at least partially redundant because children's multiple

contributions to their families and communities are so palpable (see Spittler and Bourdillon 2012). An important but under-theorized set of questions relates to the spatial, political, and economic factors that shape the lives that children live, the “choices” they might confront, and the types of childhood they might expect, experience, negotiate, and navigate. How does the interplay between different and deeply unequal forms of power and exchange in international trade affect working children’s lives? How does global entrenchment of capital into local places translate into and amplify the monetization of child labor? In what ways are economic restructuring shaping and shaped by the lives of working children and the livelihoods they must draw on? How does societal exploitation perpetuate children’s exploitation?

The perspective that macro-political structures define the lives of working children as keenly as do social structures leads to a broader theoretical approach to issues of labor. It invokes the significance of place-specific interdependence and linkages between economic production and social reproduction. A political-economic analysis draws attention to social contexts through which exploitation of children becomes naturalized. This is crucial because in order to improve children’s lives – including reducing their workload – it is not enough to amend or reform working conditions for them or even legalize child labor. In fact, a mere focus on children’s “right to work” not only opens space for exploitation but also inadvertently legitimizes “capital by enabling poor children to care for themselves without any radical restructuring of the economy by means of redistributive justice” (Levine 2011, p. 272). This is a useful argument because it allows identification of appropriate arenas for social action that are grounded both in children’s lived experiences and within the material social practices of interconnected histories and geographies within which their livelihoods continue to unfold.

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College Entrepreneurs in India: The Fortune at the Bottom of a Pyramid Scheme

3

Stephen Young and Satendra Kumar

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Abstract

This chapter explores a key paradox in contemporary India and many other parts of the global South. While the number of young people enrolled in degree programs has spiraled upward over the last 15 years, job creation in the formal sector has been comparatively weak. This poses the question as to whether the expansion of higher education institutions is really supporting a process of upward mobility for young people from poorer social backgrounds. This question is explored through an analysis of the lives of a cohort of educated young men struggling to make a living in the north Indian city of Meerut. The study shows that many young men persist with their studies, enrolling in new education and training courses, while working intermittent jobs to support themselves and hoping that something more befitting of their aspirations will materialize. Others, however, have taken a different approach. Having failed to obtain good jobs themselves, they have actually become entrepreneurs in the private education

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sector, finding creative ways to use their resources to open colleges. In the process, these “bottom of the pyramid” entrepreneurs are effectively turning higher education into a kind of pyramid scheme.

Keywords

Youth • Education • Enterprise • Masculinities • India • Interviews

1 Introduction

Founded by a confectionary entrepreneur in 2001, Lovely Professional University in Punjab has already grown to become the largest single-site university in India. More than 25,000 students are currently pursuing a degree at its 600-acre campus in north India and thousands more are enrolled in its many distance-learning programs (Neelakantan 2012). According to the university’s website, it has established links with over fifty foreign universities and placed its graduates in more than three hundred national and global “super brands.” There are plans for further expansion in the near future.

The rapid growth of Lovely Professional University is testament to the surging demand for degrees and other academic credentials among young people in contemporary India. It also highlights just how much of this demand is being met by relatively new, private sector institutions. While rising levels of formal education are generally seen as a positive indicator of economic development, there are also concerns about the quality of the institutions that are emerging, particularly when students are being charged steep fees (Altbach 2009; Kamat 2011). Is the expansion of higher education really enhancing young people’s chances of finding good jobs? Or is it leading them down an economic dead end?

This chapter tries to answer those questions by examining the struggles of a cohort of young, male students living in the city of Meerut, in north India. Over the last decade, Meerut has become one of India’s main hubs for private universities and affiliated colleges, the latter of which also grant degrees but tend to be smaller in size and focus on vocational courses. These institutions attract students from across the region. Drawing on qualitative fieldwork, this study sheds light on the tortuous trajectories of young people who leave college, acquire a job and then, in many cases, return to begin new degrees. It also shows how some students have gone on to build successful business careers by actually further expanding the market for private education in Meerut.

The analysis presented contributes to wider literatures on global economic restructuring, higher education, and emerging forms of youth enterprise. By looking at the lives of young people studying at non-elite institutions in the global South, this chapter shows how for those at the “bottom of the pyramid” (Prahalad 2004) higher education can become a kind of pyramid scheme. A group of university graduates who struggled to find white-collar jobs themselves subsequently worked to draw a new generation of aspirational youth, most of them first-generation students, into the

same system. The central argument is that some educated young men succeeded as entrepreneurs but only by reproducing and even expanding the same education market that had initially failed them.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of the restructuring of higher education globally and, more specifically, within north India. It also reviews recent research on the everyday practices of educated, unemployed young people in different parts of the world. Section 3 looks at the lives of young men in Meerut who are working intermittent service sector jobs while also studying to try and become eligible for government jobs. Section 4 focuses on a section of youth who have been able to make money by establishing private colleges in the hinterlands of Meerut. The conclusion identifies key insights from the study and proposes future directions for research on youth enterprise in the global South.

2 Youth, Education, and Work

Demand for college degrees is on the rise. Globally, the percentage of the college-age population enrolled in tertiary education – the Gross Enrollment Rate (GER) – increased from 19 % in 2000 to 26 % in 2007 (Altbach et al. 2009). Much of this increase has come from Asia, particularly China and, more recently, India. Accelerating economic growth rates have encouraged young people from middle and poorer sections of those societies to pursue higher education in the hope that this will enable them to acquire secure, salaried work.

Most work on the expansion of higher education has focused on the international mobility of students and efforts by elite institutions to open branch campuses overseas or create transnational partnerships (Olds 2007; Wilkins and Huisman 2011). Yet, it is important to note that the vast majority of young people in Asia are unable to break into top-tier public universities, for which competition is extremely fierce. Consequently, they usually have to enroll in private sector colleges, which have proliferated in recent years. The private market used to represent a relatively small component of most higher education systems. Today, it is the fastest growing sector worldwide (Altbach et al. 2009).

India provides a compelling illustration of these trends. In the years immediately following Independence in 1947, a small elite, less than 1 % of the population, was able to acquire a university degree (Agarwal 2009). That began to change in the 1980s, as India shifted toward a more pro-business model of development that saw annual growth rates increase from an average of 2–3 % to around 6–7 % per year (Kohli 2006). Many households that saw their incomes rise subsequently invested this money in the education of their children, particularly sons (Jeffrey et al. 2008).

As university enrollment rates began to rise, government investment started to lag. Between 1993 and 2003, there was a decline in per student public expenditure on higher education of almost 20 % (Thorat 2011). As a result, state governments across India started to pass legislation allowing for the creation of private institutions to absorb the demand. Often referred to as “self-financing colleges,” these institutions were supposed to operate on a nonprofit basis. They were also required to

obtain a certificate of affiliation from a public university in order to try and ensure quality control (Agarwal 2009).

It is estimated that there are now around eighteen thousand private colleges in India (Ernst and Young 2011). Most of them are quite small institutions enrolling a few hundred students in engineering, nursing, teacher training, hotel management, IT, and other professional courses. In a few cases, they grew so quickly that they were granted the right to operate as independent universities rather than having to affiliate with a public university. This growth shows no sign of abating. The number of seats for degree courses is projected to continue increasing at a compound annual rate of 18 % until 2020, and, barring a dramatic shift in government policy, the vast majority of this growth will be in the private sector (Ibid 2011).

In the north Indian city of Meerut, which has a population of 1.4 million, this transformation of higher education is visibly etched in the landscape. During the period of British colonial rule, Meerut was an important military garrison. In the second half of the twentieth century, the city became known as a center for manufacturing, while the surrounding area supported a large agricultural economy. Today, almost every major road is strewn with billboards advertising courses at one of the many private colleges that have sprung up in the city and its hinterlands. In the last decade alone, more than one hundred new, self-financing colleges have been established in Meerut.

The city also bears the marks of another phenomenon that can be seen across India and in many other parts of the world. While national growth rates have accelerated, the number of new jobs created in the economy increased at a rate of just 2.2 % a year between 2000 and 2012 (Varma 2014). Add to this the transformation in north India's population structure, which has seen a significant rise in the proportion of young people (aged 18–35), and it is not difficult to understand why Meerut's many tea stalls are often packed with educated young men sharing stories of unemployment and social inertia (Jeffrey and Young 2012). Like the so-called ant tribes who live in cramped apartments in urban China (Lian 2009), the taxi cab professors in Latin America (Rhoads et al. 2005), or even the boomerang kids in parts of the global North (Silva 2014), many college graduates in Meerut have found that a degree does not necessarily provide a straightforward path to a good job.

A number of studies have explored how educated young people are responding to experiences of unemployment and increasing indebtedness by simply redoubling their efforts to acquire the credentials that they hope will unlock good jobs. This often means investing more time polishing their CVs by adding internships, extra tutorials, and other credentials (Davidson 2011; Mitchell 2003). But this requires time and economic resources that are beyond the reach of many young people, particularly in the global South. So, how are young people in provincial cities like Meerut responding to this situation?

One possibility is that they are moving in search of better opportunities. This includes international migration to another country (Poros 2001), internal migration to larger cities (Kundu and Sarangi 2007), or even circular migration between urban and rural spaces (Gidwani and Sivaramkrishnan 2003). However, class, caste, and

gender stratify young people's opportunities for migration, which depend on being plugged into social networks that are a key source of information and financial support (Osella and Osella 2000). For many young people in provincial India, the prospect of moving abroad, or even to a larger city within India, is impractical or at least fraught with uncertainty (Young and Jeffrey 2012).

A second possibility is that young people are organizing politically to try and transform the structural conditions that have left so many of them feeling adrift. This prospect has received renewed attention in the wake of the "Arab Spring" (Honwana 2013), the Occupy protests (Graeber 2013), and various other uprisings in Greece, Brazil, Spain, and beyond (Singer 2014). However, other studies have shown that young people's political practices can actually be quite conservative, working to entrench rather than challenge existing ideologies (Hansen 2001; Ryter 2014). As Chatterjee (2008) has argued, political mobilization in India is also frequently fragmented along axes of social difference.

Another possibility is that educated young people are engaging in various forms of what can be broadly described as "entrepreneurship." This term has come to be seen as one of the core tenets of neoliberalism. To be sure, in many parts of the world, there has been a proliferation of programs operated by governments, development institutions, and NGOs, explicitly aimed at training aspirational young people to become more entrepreneurial (Elyachar 2005). However, emerging forms of youth enterprise cannot simply be attributed to the expansion of such formal training programs. Educated young people are engaged in a wide variety of economic practices, many of which do not necessarily correspond with the vision of entrepreneurship peddled by institutions such as the World Bank.

A few examples help to illustrate this point. In southern Africa, Ferguson (2015) has noted that many people are engaged in forms of "survivalist improvisation" (p. 111) that do not involve the production goods or services but are instead aimed at capturing a share of the money earned by those who do have a salary. This includes windscreen washers, panhandlers, and pickpockets, among others. In Latin America, scholars have examined the activities of those who earn a living by mediating illicit economies connected to the drug trade and other commodities (Galemba 2008; Rodgers 2009). In South Asia, there is a rich literature documenting the role of political entrepreneurs who make money by shoring up so-called vote banks and skimming off some of the public money that is designated for development projects (Gupta 2012). All of these economies have evolved in conjunction with economic liberalization but they are not the kinds of enterprise that development institutions are seeking to cultivate.

In Meerut itself, Jeffrey's (2010) ethnographic work has drawn attention to the multiple ways in which educated, unemployed young men attempt to make a living. In some cases, they acted as informal brokers between college administrators, students, and private contractors, extorting significant sums of money in the process. However, Jeffrey's work also demonstrated that opportunities to engage in such practices were tightly restricted. It was young men from rural, middle-class families who possessed the necessary social connections and economic capital to position themselves as intermediaries (Jeffrey and Young 2014). By contrast, young women,

as well men from poorer backgrounds, were effectively excluded from such networks.

What remains unknown is whether young men are able to sustain these kinds of opportunistic, improvised, and in this case semi-criminal, livelihoods or whether they eventually transition into more durable forms of employment. The material that follows addresses this question by exploring the current situation in Meerut. It draws from fieldwork that took place over the course of 3 months during 2012. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 28 men [aged 18–35] from poor and middle caste backgrounds, who were attending or had graduated from Chaudhary Charan Singh University [CCSU], or an affiliated private college, in Meerut. Interviews were conducted in a mix of Hindi and English, depending on the language skills and preference of the interviewees. The authors took extensive notes during the conversations, which were then typed-up and coded thematically. The personal narratives presented are not “ideal types,” meaning composites of multiple interviewees. Rather, they are individual stories that are representative of broader social group dynamics.

3 Going Round in Circles

It was late July 2012, when Stephen and Satendra went to Chaudhary Charan Singh [CCS] University campus in Meerut to speak with Vinay. He had been studying in the library but looked grateful for the opportunity to close his books and talk outside. He walked to the campus canteen flanked by two of his friends, Ajay and Yogesh. Vinay is from a lower middle-class family based in a village close to Meerut and was in his mid-20s at the time. He was studying for the Staff Selection Commission (SSC) exam. The results will determine whether he is eligible for certain government jobs.

The story that Vinay told, of cycling through various educational programs and intermittent jobs, was typical of many young men from similar backgrounds. After completing his schooling, Vinay had taken the Management Aptitude Test [MAT], which is a prerequisite for studying in a management college. In the meantime, he tried to identify colleges and courses that would be a good fit for him. He searched on the Internet, made a list of fifteen suitable colleges, and talked with some of his friends about which one they thought was better. His first choice was a college in Maharashtra in south India but the fees were too high. Instead, in 2008, he accepted a place at a private college in Noida, close to Delhi.

Vinay's initial plan was to study for a course that would help him acquire a government job. Eventually, he elected to study for an MBA instead because some of his seniors told him that the market for business degrees was expanding (*MBA ka jamana hai*). When asked why he did not originally select one of the many colleges in Meerut, Vinay smiled and said, “I suppose something in the distance looks better (*door se har cheez aachee lagati hai*).”

Vinay's first stint at college did not last long. When the course started, he discovered the total cost of the program would be around INR 4.5 lakhs or close to \$7000. This was well beyond his means and significantly more than the fees he had

originally been quoted. Like many of his peers, Vinay found that there were all kinds of hidden costs that were being charged by “nonprofit” private colleges. “There are *so* many fees,” he complained, a point confirmed by his friends and by many other interviewees. Colleges were charging students extra money for mandatory field trips, personal development training, and even for sitting exams. The prevalence of these illegal add-ons was a source of tremendous frustration among young people across the region (see Jeffrey 2010).

Vinay initially tried to get a loan to cover the costs but when this failed he had to drop out. Having been forced to quit college, he returned to Meerut to look into other credentials that would help him find work in the service sector. He enrolled in a course on hotel management, which he completed in 2010. He also paid to take a “personality development” course through a local center called the American Institute. These kinds of courses enroll large numbers of students, particularly from rural areas. Vinay said the course mostly involved learning how to talk properly in front of people in a job interview. You also learn how to shake hands with someone and how to sit properly, he added. At this point, he stood up to give a demonstration. Vinay straightened his back and then slowly sat back in his chair, hitching his trousers at the thighs and maintaining eye contact as he did so. His friends chuckled at the spectacle but Vinay was resolute. “This is how you sit properly in an interview!” he said.

With limited options for work in Meerut, Vinay decided to apply for jobs in Delhi. He eventually found a position cleaning rooms at an expensive hotel, where he hoped his hard work and credentials would eventually see him promoted up the company. He talked at some length about the softness and quality of the pillows and mattresses in the hotel rooms. By contrast, he was renting a tiny room with an uncomfortable mattress, which was also consuming much of his paycheck. Vinay rummaged in his wallet and pulled out an old pay slip. His weekly salary, after deductions, was only IRs. 2600 (around \$42) and that was for working 6 days. The hours were long and irregular, and the workplace felt hierarchical and humiliating to him. After 18 months, he quit and moved back to Meerut to live with an uncle.

Vinay could not bring himself to tell his parents that he had quit the hotel job after they had helped to pay most of the costs of the courses he had taken, so he told them it was a temporary break. Only after a few months did he tell his parents that he had chosen to leave and return to college to study for the SSC exam. Knowing how fierce competition for jobs is, even for those who pass the exam, they told him he should go back to the hotel. Today, Vinay remains determined to try and pass the exam but he knows that if he cannot find a job soon after, he will have to go back to working in a hotel or restaurant. “We can’t just wait,” he said.

According to Vinay, almost three-quarters of the young men he knows have followed a similar, circular route from college, to private sector work, then back to college. Vinay: “Only a few make it after college. I think 30 % keep struggling, 50 % go back to the village eventually, and 1 % probably commit suicide.” Other interviews yielded many similar stories of struggle. A small elite group of private colleges in the area were successful in operating recruitment fairs through which their students were able to find placements in corporations upon graduation. But in many more cases, students complained that they had been enticed to sign up for

expensive programs based on empty promises. They ended up in insecure, poorly paid jobs in the private sector, often with meager salaries that were tied to various performance targets. Given that their parents were usually from rural areas and had completed secondary school at the most, they were ill equipped to advise on how to navigate a changing, urban job market. A sense of failed expectations weighed heavy on the shoulders of many young men. “Young people have no guidance,” Vinay declared toward the end of the conversation, “there is no clear path [*teda meda rasta hai*], so we are totally confused.” Ajay and Yogesh, who had listened attentively throughout, both nodded in agreement.

Vinay’s story highlights a common experience among many young men in Meerut. He initially aspired to find a job in the public sector but did not have the grades to attend an elite, well-reputed public university where it would also have been much cheaper to study. He also found himself priced out of some of the more prestigious private college courses. Consequently, he enrolled in whatever courses he could afford – with financial help from his parents – and tried to acquire a suite of credentials that, he hoped, would enable him to find a good job in the private sector. But this only brought more frustration as he found himself locked into a low-paying position, living away from home, with little hope of upward mobility. Consequently, by 2012, he had come full circle, returning to Meerut to study for exams that determine eligibility for government jobs. His mood during the interview reflected that of many other young people in the global South, who talk of feeling frustrated, bored, or left in limbo (Mains 2007; Schielke 2008). But this was not the only kind of story. For others, there was still a path forward.

4 Making a Path

When Stephen and Satendra first met Rohit, he was sat talking with a group of seven or eight students by the side of a makeshift cricket pitch on CCS University campus. Even when someone clobbered the cricket ball in their direction it did not distract them from their conversation. Rohit turned to explain what everyone was discussing so fervently. “There was a student protest earlier this week,” he said, “so that’s what we’re talking about.” A man who looked to be in his early 30s interjected to say that he had joined the students who were protesting against a twenty percent increase in fees for Bachelor of Education [B.Ed.] courses. Everyone seemed to agree that the fee hike was an outrage. “What do you see here? There are no new books, no libraries, no improvements in the infrastructure,” offered one student. Another added that if students believed that the fees were going to be used to improve the colleges then there would have been no objection.

As well as participating in protests against illegal student fees and corruption in universities, some students who were part of the conversation were active in organizing them. Many styled themselves as student leaders or new politicians (Kumar 2012). Yet, it was something of an open secret that several of the college owners who were profiting by charging high fees had themselves been active in

organizing protests against such practices back when they were students. When Satendra raised this point, the mood of the group started to change. One student began chastising Rohit, accusing him of double standards. Egged on by some of his peers, he became increasingly confrontational, asking Rohit why he was associating with student leaders and protesters when he himself was trying to make money from a private college.

Satendra tried to defuse the situation by explaining that it was not his intention to start an argument. In any case, Rohit was not cowed. “Of course, I want to make a profit,” he said calmly, “why would I spend my money on something if there were no profit to be made?” He then challenged the other students, saying that everyone who was spending their time doing political work also wanted to make money. At that, the conversation died down and the rest of the group gradually began to disperse.

Rohit grew up in what can be described as a rural middle-class household in a village in Meerut district. He said that his grandfather had owned a considerable area of land and worked all his life in agriculture. Due in part to the family’s good social connections, Rohit’s father had managed to acquire a position in the local police force. His father passed away a few years ago but he had always encouraged his son to study at university. In 2006, Rohit had started a degree in Hindi at CCS University.

Rohit was, by his own admission, never particularly studious. Once on campus, he spent little time reading books or sitting through lectures. Nor did he covet a government job in the same way as many of his peers. There seemed little point when so many students seemed only to endure protracted periods of unemployment after graduation. Instead, after a couple of years at university, Rohit started to become more involved in student politics on campus. He recalls that he did not have any strong political opinions or loyalties at that time but the political scene on campus seemed livelier than what was happening in the classroom. A former President of the CCSU Student Union was his cousin and Rohit soon made connections with some of the senior students who were working as informal brokers. These kin relations were crucial in enabling him to become a member of the group.

Once part of the network, he began to take note of how these young men operated. Although they were often involved in fighting issues of institutional corruption on campus, Rohit noticed that many of them also capitalized on their political reputations to earn extra money on the side. Students from rural areas would come to them asking for help with some bureaucratic obstacle that they felt unable to address, perhaps a problem acquiring a mark sheet or getting a seat on a particular course. For a fee – which could range from a few hundred to a few thousand rupees – the senior student would help them resolve the issue using his connections within the university bureaucracy.

Rohit soon followed suit. He learned from other students, some of whom had been on campus for several years, how to work the system. It was essential to have a cell phone, or several, because a timely call to the right person could help to push the process along. Access to a car or motorbike would allow for quick movement. You needed an extensive network of contacts, people who could be persuaded or pressured into assisting with your concerns. For this, you also needed a fine-grained understanding of how the local political machinery operated. Who were the most influential people? How could you get an appointment to meet with a University Vice Chancellor, or college owner, or even a District Magistrate?

Rohit provided a typical example of the kind of work he and his peers were involved in. If a group of students with grievances could not get an appointment to speak with the Vice Chancellor (VC), he would quickly organize a protest or *dharna* (sit-in) against corruption in the university bureaucracy in front of the VC's office. He would ask those students to assemble next to the VC's office and shout slogans. To gather a larger crowd, he would seek help from his cousin and friends. Rohit and the other student leaders knew that at some point either the VC or the University administration would intervene and ask to meet the student representatives. At this point, they would enter the VC's office and make their faces known. This is an example of how Rohit, along with others, increased their standing and political position among the students and university administration. Through this kind of action he gained the trust of both parties. His efficiency in resolving problems made him popular among students and his capacity for pacifying an unruly crowd meant that he was respected by the university administration.

Rohit's recollections resonate with Jeffrey's (2010) account of middle-class students making money by acting as "fixers" on campus. But after a couple of years operating like this, Rohit realized that he could not continue making money through these channels indefinitely. He needed a more long-term strategy for building a career. After talking with some of his peers, he decided that opening a college was "the most profitable line" [*education paise wali line hai ab*]. A number of young, middle-class politicians, including his cousin, had already embarked on this route and some of them were now making large sums of money from private education. Although the government had started to tighten regulations in the education sector following reports of various financial scams, Rohit resolved to try and open a college too.

Even though Rohit came from a family with more money and land than most students, and in spite of the extensive social connections he had cultivated, opening a college would still not prove easy. His own account of the process further highlights how a knack for quickly mobilizing money and manpower remained critical to this new venture. The first step was to identify some business partners. Rohit approached a builder and a contractor, both of whom were distant relatives. He had developed a good rapport with them through his political work. The three of them established a Board of Trustees, in whose name the college would be registered. Rohit suggested they add his wife, father-in-law, uncle, and younger brother to make up the numbers.

The next stage was to find some land. Rohit noted, "if you purchase farmland, there is a process you have to follow to legally convert its use before you can begin constructing a college." Fortunately, he learned from others how this process could be expedited. "You have to ask the owner straight away not to grow any crops on it," Rohit said. "The rule is that it should not have been productive farmland for 3 years," he added, "but in reality this could only be 1 year. After this, you can go to the Sub-Divisional Magistrate office to apply to begin building on the land." When asked if it costs money to convert farmland in this way, Rohit assumed that this was a reference to unofficial fees or bribes. He grinned and said, "nothing is done without bribes."

All self-financing colleges require affiliation from a public university before they can begin registering students. This means submitting a file with the land title, certificate of registration for the Board of Trustees, and other documents to the university, in this case CCSU. The All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE) also reviews the file and, if everything is seen to be in order, issues a certificate of approval to the university. Worried that bureaucratic bottlenecks might slow down the process, Rohit said that he had to start work on two processes simultaneously. As soon as the paperwork was submitted, they began constructing on the land. Given how quickly regulations were changing, he did not want to waste any time waiting for approvals that could take, he said, “1 month or 1 year.” Being in business with two men in the building and construction trade certainly made this easier. Rohit’s job was to find a way of keeping the money flowing in lieu of the cash they would start to make once enrollment could officially begin. Rohit continued to mobilize money through his political work, as well as engineering loans from various members of his extended family.

Once the building was nearing completion, a panel of inspectors would come to the campus to make a final decision on whether to approve the college. The panel comprised two government administrators and three members of faculty from CCSU. In the lead up to the inspection, Rohit and his business partners worked hard to ensure that everything appeared to be on track. It was crucial that in the reception area, where the meeting would take place, the electricity and air conditioning were working, so they rigged-up a generator ready for the visit. Once the committee gave the college the go ahead, the last approval came from the Education Minister in Lucknow, the state capital. The Minister issued the formal certificate of affiliation and also determined how many seats the college could offer, usually no more than 100–200 in the first year. As soon as that was done, Rohit received a college code from the university and began registering students. The certificate is renewed on a 1-year basis for the first 3 years, and after the third year, his college can receive permanent affiliation status.

Of course, Rohit still had to recruit students for his college. He said that his building is in a rural area, just outside of the city, so there has never been a college in these places. “It is very difficult for these young people to get admission into courses,” he added, “I used to bring them to CCSU to get admission, so I understand the problems they are facing. That’s how I got started. Now those students can go to my college instead.” He also relied on various informal brokers [or “consultants”] that were working with many private colleges. In return for a share of the enrollment fees, these brokers helped to recruit students for courses, particularly in rural areas. Rohit said that the big colleges act like franchises and have huge offices where people work to recruit students through phone calls and billboards. They have even opened offices in eastern Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, and more remote areas of western UP, he added. He instead relies on a smaller, localized network of contacts.

One of the brokers working with Rohit is Dinesh, whom the authors also interviewed in 2012. He buys seats in bulk at a set price from Rohit and other college owners in advance. Dinesh said that he then goes to various villages and says to people, “I can get you admission in this course and at this college for this amount of money.” As a consultant, he tries to sell the seat for as high a price as possible to

increase his own profit margin. For some of those who don't have the social and economic capital to open their own colleges, this is turning into a new, sometimes lucrative venture.

When asked to expand on his approach to business, Rohit said it stemmed from having had to work on the land, helping to plow the fields, when he was young: "Coming from a farming family, I had to get up very early in the morning to do this work and then go to school. So, I know the meaning of hard work. I did not work hard in my studies but I always did in my political work." Rohit said he had also learned how to get work done, even when there was no straight path. There are always two ways of doing things, Rohit said. He added: "You can say the game is fair because if you fulfill all the requirements then maybe you don't have to pay bribes. But it will take longer to get your affiliation. If you know people, if you build a personal relationship with them, then you can get things done quickly and you don't pay big money – you just need to give some small gifts. If you are in politics then you have good connections already." He was fortunate, he suggested, because he knew older students who "showed the direction" [*disha dikhana*].

Repeated stories about corruption in the higher education sector had forced the government to intervene more directly in governing the expansion of private education from 2010 onward. Moreover, the rapid expansion of colleges was beginning to tap out demand by this point, in spite of the continued efforts of various owners and brokers to recruit students in rural areas. Nevertheless, a small group of around fifteen to twenty students had succeeded in finding a way to make fortunes amounting to tens of thousands of dollars, considerably more in a few cases, by opening colleges. In the words of one young college entrepreneur, they were ready to seize their opportunity and take everything [*parvi lootna*].

Again, it is important to emphasize that the opportunity to construct a career in private education was not afforded to everyone. All of the twelve college entrepreneurs interviewed for this study in 2012 came from relatively well-off families in villages surrounding Meerut. This was critical in allowing them to mobilize the kinds of resources and social contacts that Rohit stressed were so important in enabling him to do business. In spite of the rapid growth of private education, the authors were not able to trace any men from lower caste backgrounds who were college owners, though some did work as informal brokers selling seats on courses for a profit. Women were also excluded from these networks of enterprise, as college owners or as brokers. As in many other accounts of youth enterprise, most of the young men interviewed for this study felt that succeeding in this kind of economic environment required what they saw as implicitly masculine traits – public presence, mobility, resourcefulness, and the ability to "hustle" (Thieme 2010; Young 2010).

5 Conclusions

There has been growing interest in recent years in what is often termed "bottom of the pyramid" capitalism (Prahalad 2004). This refers to initiatives that aim to expand markets so that they become accessible to the poorest half of the world's population.

Such efforts, it is claimed, can enable those people to benefit from the pro-market reforms that have been introduced in countries across the global South in recent years. However, drawing on fieldwork in north India, this chapter has argued that at the bottom of the pyramid, we might also find the new kinds of “pyramid schemes.” That is, we find business models that are entirely dependent on drawing other people into an economic scheme in order to keep it afloat.

Pyramid schemes have been most commonly linked to various financial scams in the global North. In this case, however, higher education seems to follow a similar model. The number of young people attending college in Meerut has rapidly increased in recent years. But in a context of poor job growth, many college graduates have found that they are unable to transition into the kind of white-collar positions they aspired toward. This has resulted in many young people bouncing between intermittent jobs and various training and degree programs, in the hope that their situation might change. But some young men, specifically those from more affluent backgrounds, have succeeded in building successful careers as college owners. Crucially, this depended on them selling the same promise of converting degrees into good jobs that had failed them personally.

The case study presented here speaks to wider themes in the current literature on youth, education, and enterprise. Young people in Meerut were generally not striving to migrate in search of better jobs, as suggested by studies in other parts of the global South (Cohen 2003; Poros 2001). In some instances, young men did move to Delhi but these efforts were often short-lived since the work they did find tended to be poorly paid and insecure. Nor was there much evidence of educated young people organizing politically to address structural inequalities in Meerut in 2012 (Honwana 2013). The activism that did emerge tended to be fragmented and revolved around quite specific, immediate demands. In many cases, it served primarily to enhance the political reputations of particular leaders who used their influence as a vehicle to engage in other kinds of brokerage work.

Following the work of Jeffrey (2010) and Young and Jeffrey (2012), there was still evidence of students engaging in improvised forms of illegal profiteering on college campuses in 2012. But there had also been a shift away from these more diverse forms of wheeling-and-dealing. Instead, a number of students decided to focus their efforts on entering the private education sector in Meerut. This opportunity, which appeared by 2012 to be on the brink of saturation given the number of new colleges that had been opened in just a few years, offered the prospect of longer-term financial security. However, it also worked to reproduce the same set of structural conditions that had failed a previous generation of students.

In summary, this chapter points to a crucial paradox that resonates well beyond India. A rapid increase in the number of degree programs, mainly through the expansion of private sector institutions, has enabled only a small percentage of young men to thrive as entrepreneurs. Moreover, those that have managed to succeed, including Rohit, have done so by locking others, such as Vinay, into a cycle of costly and poor-quality educational programs that do little to improve their job prospects. Far from being harbingers of progressive political change then, it is important to note that young people may also entrench and expand economic relations and ideologies that reproduce existing inequalities.

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Youth Entrepreneurship and Socioeconomic Change in Urban Ghana

4

Thilde Langevang

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Abstract

This chapter examines how young people in urban Africa are responding to globalization, economic restructuring, and socioeconomic change through various forms of entrepreneurship. The chapter charts different conceptualizations of entrepreneurship and explores its relationship to young people’s changing livelihood practices in Africa. Drawing on the case of urban Ghana, and situating youth entrepreneurship in relation to wider processes of global and local change, the chapter outlines how recent years of high economic growth have failed to create adequate jobs for a rapidly growing youth population. In a context of neoliberal economic policy, the current generation of young people faces few options other than starting their own businesses, and the government – in partnership with global development institutions – is increasingly promoting youth entrepreneurship as the prime solution to the mounting youth

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unemployment crisis. The chapter features four youth entrepreneurship spaces to show the variety of youth entrepreneurial practices and their connection to wider processes of change. While showing the resourcefulness of young people in carving out a living through their entrepreneurial endeavors, the chapter also highlights the difficulties involved in turning their efforts into viable enterprises.

Keywords

Youth • Entrepreneurship • Livelihoods • Employment • Globalization • Africa • Ghana

1 Introduction

African cities are teeming with business activity in marketplaces, streets, and neighborhoods. In Accra, the capital city of Ghana, young people are omnipresent among the street traders who are touting their goods to car and bus passengers, attempting to sell everything from phone credits, home décor, and toilet paper to drinking water and snacks for a small profit. Alongside the streets, young people sell a variety of retail items and foodstuffs from tabletops, wooden kiosks, or iron structures. In neighborhoods, women operate hairdressing salons and dressmaking shops often from their homes, while young men carve wood and fix electrical equipment. In the busy marketplaces, young women and men trade everything from locally grown produce to imported new and secondhand clothes, shoes, provisions, mobile phones, and housewares.

In conjunction with this entrepreneurial dynamism witnessed in the streets, governments and international development organizations are increasingly promoting entrepreneurship as key to national development and youth employment. While Ghana, like a number of other African countries, has experienced high and sustained economic growth rates during the last two to three decades, this growth has not generated adequate jobs for the growing number of young people (Gough and Langevang 2016; Gough et al. 2013). A key worry is the mounting unemployment challenge, which the current growth is failing to mitigate because the youth population, and therefore the labor force, is growing rapidly. In a context of very limited formal private or public sector wage employment, many Ghanaian young people are, like their peers across Africa, pressed into using entrepreneurial ingenuity to start their own enterprises as a means of creating livelihoods.

This chapter aims first to briefly present various conceptualizations of entrepreneurship as well as its connection to young people's livelihood activities in Africa. Second, drawing on the case of urban Ghana, it examines the societal context that youth entrepreneurship is embedded in before illuminating different forms of entrepreneurship in different entrepreneurial spaces in Accra – namely, the practices involved in “managing,” hairdressing, dressmaking, and producing youth associational spaces. The presentation of these different spaces of youth entrepreneurship serves to uncover the variety of youth entrepreneurial practices and their relationship to wider processes of local and global change. The case predominantly draws on two

research projects: a 3-year research project, which examined the life strategies of young people in Accra using a range of qualitative methods that included focus group discussions, life story and lifeline interviews, written diaries, and participatory photography (see Langevang 2007, 2008a, b; Langevang and Gough 2009), and a 4-year collaborative project called Youth and Employment: The Role of Entrepreneurship in African Economies (YEMP), which examined youth entrepreneurship in various places and sectors in Ghana, Uganda, and Zambia, using both quantitative and qualitative methods (see Gough and Langevang 2016; Langevang and Gough 2012).

2 Entrepreneurship

The term entrepreneurship is common to the vocabulary of most people, and there is a vast and growing academic literature on the topic. There is no common, agreed-upon definition, though, and many different disciplines have been involved in delineating what exactly makes an entrepreneur and what entrepreneurship precisely entails. The concept derives from the French word *entreprendre*, which means “to begin something,” “to undertake,” or “one who takes between.” Although the field of entrepreneurship is diverse, it is possible to distinguish between different approaches to the study of entrepreneurship, each with quite a different focus (Deakins and Freel 2009). First, economic approaches view entrepreneurship as a function of the economy. The most prominent economic writer on entrepreneurship is probably Joseph Schumpeter, who attributed a key role in economic development to the entrepreneur. To Schumpeter (1934), the entrepreneur was an extraordinary hero figure who introduces *innovations* in the market in the form of a new product, a new service, or a new method of production, opens a new market, acquires a new source of supply, or carries out a new organization. Through a process termed “creative destruction,” the entrepreneur changes the status quo of the market, thereby fuelling economic growth. Another economist, Kirzner (1978), did not imply innovation but associated entrepreneurship with the middlemen who are able to perceive *opportunities* for economic exchange. Opportunities for exchange, according to Kirzner, happen because of information gaps in the market, and it is through possessing additional knowledge that the entrepreneur is capable of identifying new possibilities for exchange. Yet another economist, Knight (1921), focused on the *risk-taking* attributes of the entrepreneur and argued that opportunity for economic reward arises because of uncertainty. Second, psychological approaches have been occupied with establishing the personality traits of successful entrepreneurs, endeavoring to establish the key personality characteristics that set “successful” entrepreneurs apart from the rest of the population. Traits such as risk-taking, self-efficacy, need for achievement, independence and autonomy, and creativity have been found to make up the profile of the “ideal entrepreneur.” Third, socio-behavioral approaches stress the societal context that entrepreneurs are embedded in rather than focusing on innate traits. A key area of attention is the role of culture and social capital in shaping rates of entrepreneurship and the nature of entrepreneurial activities. Social network and

social capital approaches became popular in the 1980s when it was increasingly recognized that entrepreneurs are not isolated or autonomous individuals but are connected through social relationships and rely on their social networks for obtaining financial, physical, human, and other resources (Mumba 2016; Langevang et al. 2012). Fourth, institutional approaches focus on how the institutional context influences entrepreneurship and how entrepreneurs in some instances act as institutional entrepreneurs, becoming involved in changing “the rules of the game.” The use of institutional theory is, in particular, popular in the emerging research on entrepreneurship in developing economies since the widespread lack of supportive formal institutions appears as a key characteristic of developing countries’ business environments, influencing entrepreneurs’ strategies and activities in various ways (Bruton et al. 2010).

Contemporary definitions and perspectives on entrepreneurship often blend insights from these different approaches. Despite commonalities in definition, centered around seizing opportunity, taking risks, and managing resources creatively, Steyaert and Katz (2004, p. 186) highlight that the concept of entrepreneurship is not a “unitary or static concept, nor is it one that exists independently of the locale where it emerges.” To illustrate this point, they contrast the way entrepreneurs were considered the heroes of the media and governments in the 1980s in the United Kingdom and North America with the way they were regarded as “the euphemism for economic criminals” in communist China and the USSR (Steyaert and Katz 2004, p. 186). This underlines the importance of studying entrepreneurship in its societal context and of being attentive to how context matters for understanding when, how, and why entrepreneurship occurs and who becomes involved (Welter 2011). In continuance, Yeung (2009, p. 213) argues that a “more nuanced understanding of the different spatialities of entrepreneurship is needed.” He defines “spaces of entrepreneurship” as “different spatial configurations or areas constituted by ongoing relations and transactions spearheaded by entrepreneurs” (Yeung 2009, p. 213).

Conceptualizations of entrepreneurship have long been dominated by economic discourse. Generally, across the world, entrepreneurship has come to be perceived as “a good thing” for the economy as it is seen as creating jobs and adding to the gross domestic product (GDP) (Steyaert and Katz 2004). Concurrent with this emphasis on the economic benefits of entrepreneurship, there has been a tendency to delimit entrepreneurship to an elite group of businessmen operating high-growth and often high-tech businesses in developed economies. This narrow prevailing view implies that more mundane and everyday forms of entrepreneurship have been neglected (Steyaert and Katz 2004). To counteract this constricted and elitist view, Steyaert and Katz (2004, p. 190) proposed an expanded approach to entrepreneurship in which entrepreneurship is “seen as taking place in the everydayness of our life, in social interactions and in everyday practices.” In this conception, entrepreneurship is not restricted to a select few individuals but can be enacted by “ordinary” individuals and groups (such as women, youth, and community groups) in different spaces (such as the home, the neighborhood, and the community), and it is not circumscribed to the economic domain but is also seen as being enacted as political, institutional, social, or environmental entrepreneurship.

3 Youth Entrepreneurship in Africa

The concept of entrepreneurship has roots in developed economies, and studies from North American and European contexts have long dominated the research agenda. There is a growing literature on entrepreneurship in Africa, following Spring and McDade's (1998) comprehensive edited volume, which examined entrepreneurship in a range of African countries, sectors, and settings (see also Gough and Langevang 2016). In Africa, and developing economies more generally, the concept of entrepreneurship has in particular been touched upon in debates about the informal economy. The notion of the informal sector appeared in Keith Hart's (1973) research in Nima, a low-income area in Accra. He coined the term to describe the unofficial vibrant economy and informal exchange networks of the residents. Studies of the informal sector were first dominated by the structuralist school of thought, which depicted the informal sector as absorbing surplus labor in subordinated economic units, merely serving the competitiveness of larger firms. From this perspective, informal workers are seen to engage in informal work out of economic necessity because they have no other employment opportunities. During the last two decades, legalist and neoliberal schools of thought have challenged this view. Instead of perceiving informal workers as low-paid, exploited wage earners with limited agency, informal workers have increasingly been reconceptualized as "entrepreneurs displaying entrepreneurial attributes, traits and qualities" (Gurtoo and Williams 2009, p. 57). This "more entrepreneurial re-reading of the informal sector" (Gurtoo and Williams 2009, p. 57) has been propagated by scholars such as de Soto (2000, p. 4) who suggested that:

The cities of the Third World and the former communist countries are teeming with entrepreneurs. You cannot walk through a Middle Eastern market, hike up to a Latin American village, or climb into a taxicab in Moscow without someone trying to make a deal with you. The inhabitants of these countries possess talent, enthusiasm, and an astonishing ability to wring a profit out of practically nothing.

The conception of "the poor" in "the informal sector" as entrepreneurs has also been endorsed by international organizations such as the World Bank and the International Labour Organization (ILO). The ILO, for example, asserted that informal entrepreneurs show "real business acumen, creativity, dynamism and innovation" (cited in Gurtoo and Williams 2009, p. 59). More generally, the last three decades have seen the spread of ideas propagating discourses of enterprise and entrepreneurship to developing countries. Underpinning these discourses are neoliberal market values of competition, efficiency, self-reliance, and self-governance (Dolan 2012).

Today's generation of young people is thus increasingly exposed to neoliberal ideas, and entrepreneurship has become a key marker of their working lives. Globalization, economic restructuring, and the concomitant transformation of labor markets are generally known to have significantly altered the employment opportunities and experiences of young people (Jeffrey 2010; Jeffrey and McDowell 2004;

Ruddick 2003). Geographers have documented the practices and experiences of young people and their responses to economic restructuring and socioeconomic change in different settings (see, e.g., Katz 2004; McDowell 2000). While the spread of free market capitalism has implied new possibilities for some young people in some areas of the world, it has had severe negative consequences for employment generation in many regions (see Jeffrey 2010). There is limited literature focusing on entrepreneurship within the field of young people's geographies, but there has been some attention paid to young people's responses to neoliberalism more generally. According to Jeffrey (2010), there has been a tendency to either emphasize young people's resistance to or reproduction of neoliberal ideas. However, emerging research highlights that young people do not always passively absorb entrepreneurial discourse but creatively cultivate such ideas themselves, often drawing on older practices and idioms (Jeffrey and Young 2014).

Revealingly, as noted by Chigunta et al. (2005), the attributes commonly associated with entrepreneurship and enterprise – such as initiative, resourcefulness, energy, enthusiasm, and risk-taking – are also traits often associated with youth. Oftentimes young people are cast as preeminent or even natural entrepreneurs. Salkowitz (2010, p. 39), for example, calls entrepreneurship “a natural outgrowth of youth.” Young people, however, are also often described as being relatively disadvantaged when it comes to setting up enterprises because they often lack experience, access to resources, credibility, and social networks (Schoof 2006). It is important though to recognize that youth entrepreneurship varies by gender, age, sector, and location as young entrepreneurs are not a homogenous group (Gough and Langevang 2016).

There is still relatively limited literature on youth entrepreneurship in Africa (see, however, Gough and Langevang 2016; Langevang and Gough 2012; Langevang et al. 2012; Mwasalwiba et al. 2012). The focus on youth entrepreneurship in the context of urban Africa is closely connected to the youth unemployment crisis. The current generation of African youth is coming of age in environments of limited formal sector employment and is increasingly expected to be “job creators” rather than “job seekers” (Esson 2013; Gough et al. 2013; Langevang and Gough 2012). Various development organizations and institutions (see, e.g., Africa Commission 2009) have promoted the idea that young people ought to become entrepreneurs, a notion which has also been endorsed by governments and institutions in Africa. This trend is manifested by the mushrooming of different policies, programs, and initiatives focusing on fostering entrepreneurship among young people (Gough and Langevang 2016). As stressed by DeJaeghere and Baxter (2014, p. 63), such initiatives often articulate with neoliberalism as they promote “flexible forms of production in which individuals must become more entrepreneurial to respond to market changes and demands, and bear the associated risks.”

While emphasis is predominantly placed on entrepreneurship as a means of creating self-employment, young people are also increasingly seen as key “agents of change” and are encouraged to use their entrepreneurial ingenuity to help solve various problems in their societies such as environmental degradation, post-war crises, and social ills associated with poverty. Through different forms of

associations and collaboration, young people are called upon to improve not only their own situation but also their surrounding communities (see, e.g., Mac-Ikemenjima 2008). The interest in youth entrepreneurship as an engine for economic, social, cultural, and environmental change, often labeled social entrepreneurship, has increased significantly during the last decade. While there are many definitions of social entrepreneurship, most refer to initiatives that are driven by a social mission and that seek to address social needs and/or create social change. In the business sector, social entrepreneurship refers to social enterprises that intentionally develop market-based business models aimed at addressing social problems. In the nonprofit sector, it covers the activities of NGOs and community-based organizations that are adopting revenue-generating activities (Mair and Marti 2006).

Based on an expansive notion of entrepreneurship, which involves change-generating activities, seizing opportunities, and managing resources creatively, the following section examines the historical roots of Ghanaian young people's entrepreneurship practices before presenting different spaces of youth entrepreneurship in present-day Accra.

4 Entrepreneurship in Ghana: History and Features

Entrepreneurship is not a recent phenomenon in Ghana; it was widespread in precolonial times in what was then known as the Gold Coast. As the Ghanaian writer Kuenyehia (2013, pp. 32–33) narrates:

Our ancestors identified opportunities for trade with other tribes and risked resources to produce or procure the relevant items for trade. They worked precious minerals into jewellery, implements and weapons. They manufactured bows, made their own mats and wove cloth, including the world famous Kente. Although our ancestors initially produced these materials for their own immediate needs, they increasingly exchanged products with their neighbours, and later carried over the trade to larger areas.

During colonial times, when the Gold Coast became a raw material producer for Europe, a new set of Ghanaian entrepreneurs was made – namely, large-scale farmers and exporters of cash crops as well as traders of imported goods (Kuenyehia 2013). Postcolonial times saw mixed and changing economic systems. The first government of independent Ghana had a socialist orientation, and while it first supported private business, in the beginning of the 1960s, the focus was placed on cooperatives and state-owned businesses instead of privately owned business. From the mid-1960s through the 1970s, shifting governments placed varying emphases on the state or the market. For much of the 1970s and early 1980s, private business activity was actively discouraged and criminalized. According to Kuenyehia (2013, p. 36), “Legitimate entrepreneurs, particularly traders, were treated as criminals and in many instances subjected to public ridicule and lashing on the basis that they were hoarding goods.”

In the early 1980s, when Ghana was facing a severe economic crisis, the government was compelled to negotiate the first structural adjustment program

(SAP) with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This marked the beginning of a new era of neoliberal economic policy focusing more stringently on free market trade, private enterprise, and exposure to the global market. The SAPs in Ghana comprised retrenchment of public sector workers, removal of state subsidies, devaluation of Ghana's currency, reductions in social services, privatization of many formerly state-owned enterprises, and the liberalization of trade. Economic restructuring led to wide-ranging changes in people's livelihoods because of increasing unemployment, declining real incomes, and the rising cost of basic services (Konadu-Agyemang 2000).

Rapid growth of economic activity in the informal sector was a key consequence of structural adjustment, a sector of the economy which has continued to grow. It is estimated that more than 80 % of Ghanaians work in the informal sector, which is also estimated to engage the majority of young people who enter the labor market each year (Langevang 2008a; Palmer 2007). Because of public sector retrenchment since the 1980s, employment in this sector is very hard to come by, and despite the talk of a "golden age of business" propagated by the government since the early 2000s, the generation of private formal sector employment has not kept up with population growth (Langevang 2008a). Economic and political reforms and a relatively stable socioeconomic environment over the last three decades have generated significant economic growth rates; however, this growth has not created enough employment in the private sector, which remains dominated by informal business activity. Economic growth has mainly been driven by expansion in the nonmanufacturing sectors like mining and other extractive industries, which are capital intensive and generate relatively few jobs (Owusu et al. 2016). Consequently, the majority of today's generation of young people relies on setting up their own businesses or must engage in informal wage work.

Youth unemployment and underemployment have emerged as major developmental challenges in Ghana, and promoting youth employment has become a key aim of official government policy. A range of initiatives aimed at promoting youth employment has been launched in recent years, many of them having an explicit focus on entrepreneurship. A major program is the Ghana Youth Employment and Entrepreneurial Development Agency (GYEEDA), formerly called the National Youth Employment Program (NYEP). The various initiatives, however, appear highly uncoordinated and tend to become politicized, and several initiatives, including GYEEDA, have been severely affected by corruption scandals (Owusu et al. 2016). Furthermore, as impact and evaluation studies are largely nonexistent, the impact of the initiatives remains unknown, although their impact seems minimal. In spite of these points of criticism and controversies surrounding the initiatives, yet another governmental program, the Youth Enterprise Support (YES) initiative, was launched in 2014 to support young entrepreneurs with innovative ideas (Owusu et al. 2016).

Notwithstanding the likely minimal impact of youth entrepreneurship promotion initiatives, the entrepreneurial spirit of Ghanaian youth, when measured by business start-up activity, is evident in the data generated by the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM). GEM is the largest annual survey of entrepreneurship in the world,

covering more than 60 countries, ten of which are located in sub-Saharan Africa (Angola, Botswana, Ethiopia, Ghana, Malawi, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda, and Zambia). The 2012 data show that young people in Ghana are among the most entrepreneurial youth in the survey with 40.4 % of the youth aged 18–35 in Ghana being involved in “early-stage entrepreneurial activity,” which includes young people currently setting up a business or running a business <3.5 years old (Owusu et al. 2016). The rate of youth entrepreneurship is higher than the rate for the adult population (35–64 years old), whose early entrepreneurial rate is 31.8 % (Owusu et al. 2016). The high rates of youth entrepreneurship in Ghana correspond with very positive attitudes toward entrepreneurship. No less than 80.3 % of young people in Ghana stated that “starting a business in my country is considered a good career choice,” while as many as 89.0 % stated that in Ghana “persons growing a successful new business receive high status” (Owusu et al. 2016). However, more than a quarter (27.5 %) of young Ghanaian entrepreneurs indicated that they started their business out of “necessity” rather than “opportunity,” implying that for many young people business start-up can be attributed to a lack of other employment opportunities (Kew et al. 2013).

5 Youth Entrepreneurship Spaces in Urban Ghana

Having described the history, rates, and overall environment of entrepreneurship in Ghana, this section concentrates on different youth entrepreneurship spaces in Accra. The focus is placed on how global and local socioeconomic change has implied changing opportunity structures for young entrepreneurs and how young people, at times through entrepreneurial undertakings, also influence the makeup of their societies.

5.1 “Managing”: Moving Around

The phrase “we’re managing” or *ye gu so* in the Ghanaian language Twi is frequently used by young people in Accra as a way of greeting each other and as a manner of expressing that, despite hardships, a paucity of resources, and limited governmental support, they are resourceful in making do and getting by. The phrase has become widespread during the past two decades and is mostly used by young people (Langevang 2008a). In its genesis, managing involves trying to make do with limited resources and the ability to operate in an uncertain environment. As Abdul, a 27-year-old man living in a suburb of Accra, noted:

We have to be magicians. We are practically speaking magicians. You can’t count on anything and you have to start from nothing. We have to make a cow out of a chicken, and we are doing it. We are managing. (Langevang 2008a, p. 2039)

Although Abdul had finished secondary school, as well as a course in marketing and some computer classes, he had come to realize that in all likelihood he would never succeed in acquiring a stable formal sector job and had come to rely on moving “helter skelter looking for jobs,” as he said (Langevang 2008a, p. 2042). Langevang and Gough (2009) show how many young people in Accra wake up every day not knowing where the day will take them and how they will earn money. While some move around the city in search of opportunities, an alternative strategy is referred to as “wait and see.” This involves waiting around for any opportunity to avail itself, such as the possibility of doing a small job for somebody, running errands for a small reward, or spotting a new business opportunity. Young men, at times, position themselves at strategic spots around the market or along busy streets in the hope that a job or a business opportunity might come to them (Langevang and Gough 2009).

Managing often requires engaging in some form of business activity in the informal sector. Running a business in Accra demands an entrepreneurial mindset; it requires knowledge of novel goods or services in high demand and the best places or routes to hawk as well as attentiveness to fluctuations in the market due to seasonal differences in demand and supply, changes in customer preferences, changes in utility and transport costs, inflation, power cuts, and so on. The ability to adjust business activities to such fluctuations, to seize opportunities in the moment, and hence to improvise, is vital. The extract from Abdul’s diary presented in Box 1 is illustrative of these practices.

Box 1: Extract from Abdul’s Diary (Langevang and Gough 2009, pp. 745–746)

13.04.05

In the morning I was thinking of how to make some money by the end of the day. So I decided to go to the market [in Madina, a suburb of Accra] to find out if some of my old stock [imported second-hand clothes] that I have would be bought by some customers. Having been sitting in the market for almost 7 hours, there was not even a single person to ask of the price of the products. So I decided to call it a day.

14.04.05

As another day begins I don’t want history to repeat itself. So I decided to think well before I make a move from the house. I had some friends who sometimes supply me with some products. So I decided to go and say hello to them and see if I could get some good products from them to sell. Fortunately for me, one of them was just about to come to my end with some mobile phones. So I picked a few out of the lots and by the end of the day I was able to sell them out.

15.04.05

As a good marketer I was wondering why there has been a total decline of my products in the market. So I decided to visit Accra city centre only to find

(continued)

out that the demand for the American products [American second-hand football jerseys] were out of system but rather that of the London product [English second-hand soccer jerseys] is in demand. So I purchased the few that I could afford and was able to sell them out in Madina.

Petty trade, locally referred to as “buying and selling,” has expanded as a result of liberalization (Langevang 2008a) and is now the most common enterprise activity among young people (Owusu et al. 2016). Trade liberalization has made the importation of goods less cumbersome, thus providing young people ample opportunities to deal in a variety of global consumer goods. Petty trading involves connections to retailers and the ability to establish good relations to customers, therefore requiring the ability to traverse urban space and handle social networks carefully (Langevang 2008a; Langevang and Gough 2009). Since Ghana’s economic downturn in the 1970s – throughout the period of structural adjustment programs and under present-day neoliberal economic policy – Ghanaians have come to increasingly rely on the networks of families and friends to cover the costs of education, health, and other public services, as well as to find work and establish businesses (Hanson 2005; Langevang 2008a). Young people in Ghana are hanging on to the ideal that the family is responsible for “setting them up for life”; in reality, however, this ideal is rarely fulfilled, and young people complain that their relatives are unable or unwilling to provide them with the adequate resources to start viable businesses (Langevang 2008a). The GEM data reveals that for most young entrepreneurs in Ghana (70.3 %), the majority of the money to start their businesses came from personal savings, while 15 % relied on family savings (Kew et al. 2013). As Mumba (2016) also shows in a study of young entrepreneurs in Zambia, social networks are a key resource through which business owners acquire information, finance, skills, and customers; however, young people often find the support they can draw on inadequate, and sometimes social networks even become a burden to their business operations. This is the case, for example, when young people extend favors to customers and sell on credit, which is far from always returned or paid back.

Combining different income-generating activities is common, implying that young people engage in multiple and often unrelated business activities at the same time rather than focusing on just one activity. A barber, for example, apart from providing barbering services, may also sell cold drinks and prepaid phone credit. As Langevang et al. (2012) find in the case of Ugandan youth, this practice of engaging in multiple business activities is tied to the scarcity of resources, seasonality of activities, and high uncertainty and rapid changes in the economic environment. When the proceeds from one activity are down, the profits from other activities are needed, and instead of focusing all resources on one activity, risks are diversified over different activities. Managing also usually entails shifting income-generating activities over time in response to changing constraints and opportunities. The story of Ibrahim, as presented in Langevang (2008a), is illustrative (see Box 2).

Box 2: Ibrahim's Story. Slightly Rewritten from Langevang (2008a), pp. 2041–42

Ibrahim was born in Accra but moved to his hometown in the Northern Region to live with his father, an educational officer, when he started school. When he left school at the age of 16, the urge to see his mother again brought him back to Accra where he wanted “to try and do something”. There was little economic support to obtain from his mother, who was a petty trader. The only option Ibrahim could see was to take advantage of his physical strength and begin a business as a “truck pusher”, transporting water and goods on a cart. He found the job tough but said that he had to do it to survive. When his father died a few years later, some social insurance money enabled Ibrahim to begin an apprenticeship as a bicycle repairer. “I had to think about the future. Learning a skill like that could maybe help me”, he said. The imagined future as a bicycle repairer, however, proved to be temporary, as he never succeeded in completing the apprenticeship. Before completion, he considered the prospects of opening his own business. The search for start-up capital took him to northern Ghana, where he hoped that an aunt could help him. She proved incapable of supporting him and Ibrahim found himself working there as a truck pusher for 8 months just to earn his lorry fare back to Accra. He then decided to try his luck in a town in the Central Region where he had learnt that labour was needed to dig trenches. The work proved strenuous and poorly paid, so he decided to make his way back to Accra, where he started to learn optical repair with his stepfather. He managed to stay there for only about a year though. The transport costs were significant, and Ibrahim did not get on well with his stepfather. Then one day in another part of Accra, he passed a barber's shop that was for sale and he decided to pursue a barbering career. Barbering was a skill that all male members of his family knew, and having his own barbershop seemed promising. He was able to raise the money to buy the shop with a friend, but the business failed. They had difficulty finding clients in an area where they knew nobody, and the wood of the kiosk soon started to rot. Eventually they had to give up the business. Instead, Ibrahim started to work in another barber's shop for a small monthly wage. He wanted to save up money to build his own barber's kiosk close to where he lived. At that time, he started “roaming around” with his friends, “always moving up and down”, which also implied that he had become involved in a range of activities on the fringes of the law. He stated that “doing business like that is not stealing” and he was making money like never before. He managed to pay the rent advance needed to get his own room, he was able to buy his own barber's shop, and a communication centre (a shop that provides telephone and photocopying services), and he paid a “connection man” a large sum of money to provide him with the documents he needed to migrate to Europe. These investments, however, proved futile. He never set foot outside Ghana and fell out with some of his “business partners”, who one day came to collect the key to his shops.

(continued)

After these incidents, Ibrahim said that his plans were changing. The possibility of migrating to Europe remained on his mind. He explained that attaining his ambitions in present-day Ghana was not easy. Although he thought he had worked hard, at the age of 27 he still had not come anywhere close to realising his aspirations. Ibrahim then started learning hairdressing. Ibrahim did not seem to care that hairdressing is normally an occupation reserved for women, as rumours were that it was a useful skill in the European job market. However, soon after Ibrahim changed his directions again, not for Europe though, but for a village in northern Ghana where he had started farming. He said he had decided to leave because he “couldn’t make it in Accra” and he thought that the farming business looked promising.

Ibrahim’s story reveals that managing may imply not only traversing urban space but also moving between different urban and rural areas in Ghana, as well as trying to migrate abroad. Seizing opportunities as they arise sometimes also implies moving across traditional gender divides, echoing Overaa’s (2007) findings that economic hardship increasingly implies the transgression of gender norms, with especially males increasingly moving into what have previously been construed as female occupations. Furthermore, while some of the multiple and changing activities involved in managing may be considered rather ordinary or mundane, and include hard work for limited pay, other activities occur on the fringes of the law and involve significant potential reward but also high risks. Engaging in illegal activities has, for some young men like Ibrahim, become regarded as a “needed” and “normal” practice. Similarly, Jones (2010) shows how Zimbabweans increasingly feel that “straight” economic practices are no longer viable and are compelled to “zigzag” between a range of both legal and illegal ways of making money.

The notion of “managing” is similar to the expression *desenrascar a vida* (eke out a living) used by young people in Mozambique; the Tunisian, Senegalese, and Cameroonian term *debrouillage* (making do); and the South African saying “trying to get by,” as well as the term *dubriagem* used by young people in Guinea-Bissau (Honwana 2013). These terms all evoke an element of improvisation, making it up as you go along and grasping opportunities as they appear.

5.2 Hairdressers and Dressmakers: The Rise and Fall of Vocations

An alternative to “managing” by moving between various activities is to learn a vocation and focus on that. In Ghana, vocational training is mostly done through apprenticeships, a largely informal education system with no formal curriculum and no support or control on the part of the government. The training is typically work based and practical and is a key means through which young people learn the skills to establish their own businesses in a wide range of trades (Palmer 2007). These

vocations are highly gendered, with men dominating trades such as carpentry, car repair, and masonry, while women are typically trained in either hairdressing or dressmaking. Women in Ghana have long been known for their entrepreneurial spirit (Langevang et al. 2015), and while women historically have been dominant in trading, dressmaking and hairdressing have also become prevalent occupations for young women. The two vocations, though, have different origins and have fared quite differently in response to globalization and socioeconomic change (Langevang and Gough 2012).

Ghana has a long tradition of custom-made clothing and a relatively large population of seamstresses. The origins of the seamstress profession date back to the second half of the nineteenth century when missionaries made sewing a compulsory part of the educational program for women in West Africa (Gott 2010). The textile industry more generally has also been strongly supported by the government. During postcolonial times, the government established large textile factories to spur jobs in manufacturing (Gott 2010). A number of factors related to globalization as well as local socioeconomic and cultural change implied a drastic reduction in the demand for custom-made clothing from the early 1990s. Trade liberalization resulted in the opening of borders to the mass importation of cheap secondhand clothes from around the world, as well as cheap ready-made clothes from the East. Furthermore, the textile industry virtually collapsed, as local businesses were unable to compete with imports (Gott 2010; Langevang and Gough 2009). Customer preferences changed concurrently with the younger generation of Ghanaians especially, who increasingly preferred “Western style” clothing rather than the locally manufactured “African styles.” This implied a gradual drop in the demand for the services of seamstresses. Moreover, while dressmaking had long been considered a respected profession, the trade increasingly came to be seen as a job avenue for “school dropouts” since it requires a minimum of literacy skills and therefore limited formal education (Langevang and Gough 2012). For many women, dressmaking therefore became a last resort, which they opted for out of necessity, often with the pressure of their parents, rather than a desired choice of their own. Because of declining demand, sustaining a seamstress business became increasingly difficult; some seamstresses, unable to live off a regular dressmaking business, ventured into the booming secondhand clothing industry, where they use their sewing and designing skills to cunningly redesign imported secondhand clothes to meet the demand for various sizes and styles and to adapt them to the local climate (Langevang and Gough 2012). Recent years, however, have seen the winds of change, which may come to benefit the seamstress profession. Ghanaians are increasingly turning back to locally made clothes as a way to show their pride in their national culture and African identity. Well-educated young women from the growing middle class, in particular, have seen a business opportunity in making trendy African-inspired clothes, and many young women have now decided to become “fashion designers” out of a passion to design trendy clothes that blend “African” and “Western” styles. The pleasure that they express they gain from entrepreneurship is closely linked to opportunities for bringing about both cultural and economic change by transforming the association of Africanness through making designs that challenge common perceptions of

Africa and African dress and by revitalizing the local textile industry (Langevang 2016). These young female fashion designers take pride in their profession and seek to distinguish themselves from “necessity entrepreneurs” by emphasizing their high ambitions and global orientation (Langevang 2016).

Compared to dressmaking, hairdressing as a prevalent business activity is much more recent and is closely linked to recent processes of globalization and trade liberalization. While trade liberalization implied a radical decline in the demand for seamstress businesses, it facilitated a boom in the demand for hairdressing (Langevang and Gough 2012). Trade liberalization opened up the borders for the importation of various hairstyling products and artificial hair, which allowed the styling of hair into what were considered more desirable “Western styles.” This implied a rapid increase in demand for the services of hairdressers and a quick expansion in the number of hairdressing salons. Accordingly, the vocation came to be seen as a relatively attractive and lucrative business avenue for young women (Oda 2005). Hairdressers’ associations were also proactive and entrepreneurial in responding to these changes. They sought to professionalize the vocation and to upgrade and formalize the apprenticeship system, working with both local businesses and foreign associations to further the business of hairdressing in Ghana (Langevang and Gough 2012). A consequence of the growing attraction of the vocation has been the flooding of the market of hairdressing businesses and a surplus of hairdressing apprentices who are unable to establish and sustain their businesses. Hence, many newly trained hairdressers are unable to use their skills but often venture into various trading activities instead. Furthermore, recent years have seen consumer preferences turning toward “natural” hairstyles, which require less regular visits to the salon, possibly resulting in a decline in the demand for the services of hairdressers.

5.3 The “Bases”: Producing Youth Associational Spaces

Young men who sit on the side of the street, seemingly doing nothing for hours on end, are a common sight throughout neighborhoods in Accra and could very well be considered as anything but entrepreneurial. Sitting might, from an outsider’s perspective, be seen as epitomizing young men’s unemployment, idleness, and lack of initiative. However, a closer look at young men’s meeting places in Accra, the so-called bases, reveals highly dynamic and entrepreneurial spaces.

Bases are street meeting places of young people. They are made up of networks of mainly young men who gather at the same location regularly. While bases are not a new phenomenon in Accra, they have become more widespread during the last two decades because of the growing number of young people and the challenges young men face in finding work and gaining respect. Bases are spread out over low-income areas, mostly located in marginal or semipublic spaces – for example, in front of a shop or a barber salon or the opening of a compound house. While some bases are highly dynamic and informal, others have existed for a long time and have become institutionalized. Many bases carry names such as Boys-Boys-Ghetto, Las Vegas,

and Feeling Brothers. In a context in which young men have a lot of time on their hands because of unemployment and have difficulties winning respect from their families, the street is carved into an important social space where, through the practices of sitting, discussing, and networking, they seek material survival and negotiate the meaning of young masculine identities (Langevang 2008b). As two young men explained:

We come here [to the base] when we don't have a job doing or any other place to go. When we don't feel free in the house or when we just feel like conversing, we meet here. Maybe when you wake up in the morning or in the afternoon and you don't have a job to do. There is always somebody you can talk to here. (Jacob, 25-year-old trader, cited in Langevang 2008b, p. 233)

At any time I sit idle at home, it brings to me thoughts of my lack of education and work, which hurts and disturbs me, so I start to think, and that is why I always want to be among people. . . . If I come here we converse, chat, eat. We meet friends and this makes me happy. I forget about my problems and I feel free. (Faisal, 21-year-old unemployed tailor, cited in Langevang 2008b, p. 234)

A key activity that makes up the base is debating current affairs. Discussions at the bases are important sites for mediating change as young men use the venue to make sense of their lives under changing circumstances. Bases also function as peer-based social support systems through which members help each other out when need be. Most often this is done in a highly informal manner; however, some bases have adopted rotating savings and credit systems through which each member contributes a certain amount on, for example, a weekly basis, and the total collected is given to each member in turn. The bases are also used as settings for exchanging information about job and business opportunities, and the bases themselves sometimes turn into venues for business transactions. Some bases function as sites for the sale of illegal goods such as marijuana; however, most involve more ordinary business practices such as petty trade (Langevang 2008b).

During the early 2000s, many bases started to develop into more formal associations, which involved their renaming from "bases" to "youth clubs." The clubs typically have democratically elected leaderships, rules for the clubs are established in constitutions, and all members are formally registered through payment of membership fees. The transformation from bases into youth clubs was an attempt to construct a more positive image of young men. Bases had a rather negative image among community members, who tended to view them as an annoyance, a waste of time, and/or as fuelling criminal activity. Through the creation of youth clubs, the young men endeavored to legitimize their existence by showing that they were not just sitting idle or engaging in delinquent behavior but were responsible citizens acting for the benefit of themselves and their communities. The clubs stressed that their main objective was to "help brothers to help themselves in the future" as well as to do "community development" (Langevang 2008b, p. 237). The clubs were working independently of formal institutions. The young men complained that the government "do not consider the youth" and that they have been left "to cater for themselves" (Langevang 2008b, p. 234). They also complained that the government

and other organizations “had not been doing things very well,” pointing to the lack of facilities, poor garbage collection, unstable water and electricity supplies, and inadequate gutters (Langevang 2008b, p. 238). Community development typically involved organizing cleanup days in the local neighborhood and providing communal labor. Some clubs were trying to adopt commercial activities to further their social mission. One club, for example, had started to rent out wheelbarrows with the proceeds from this enterprise intended to be channeled into advancing their social activities. These acts can be seen as examples of group-based social entrepreneurial initiatives from the margins that entail, but are not limited to, economic rewards. Through their practices, young men concomitantly seek to better their own livelihoods as well as to remold the meanings associated with male youth and to improve the surrounding community.

6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided insights into the characteristics of youth entrepreneurship in an African urban setting and its connection to wider processes of local and global change. Situating the livelihood activities of young people within the wider processes that frame and shape their generation and their livelihood opportunities, the chapter has shown the historical roots of their entrepreneurship while also highlighting that the current generation of young people’s entrepreneurial practices has developed in a context characterized by neoliberal reform and unemployment, in which young people receive little support from the state and in which informal support systems have also proved incapable of providing young people with the resources they need to pursue stable employment paths. In this situation, entrepreneurship becomes the key means of survival.

The presentation of the different spaces of youth entrepreneurship in urban Ghana reveals the varied impact of globalization, economic restructuring, and socioeconomic change on young people’s entrepreneurial activities. On the one hand, economic restructuring and trade liberalization have generated new opportunities for the trade of imported consumer goods and fueled a boom in certain businesses such as hairdressing. On the other hand, these processes of change have had devastating effects on other local industries, such as the textiles and dressmaking, and have generally resulted in less secure jobs available for the youth. To cope in such a situation, many young people employ entrepreneurial ingenuity by seizing opportunities as they arise and traversing space, shifting and/or combining different income-generating activities, and managing their social networks carefully. While managing often requires a great deal of “moving around,” some young people – in particular, marginalized young men – at times seek opportunities and deal with their frustrations through associational engagement on the street. Through sitting, conversing, and networking, they mediate change and seek to enrich themselves and others through social and economic exchanges on the street. This highlights the importance of acknowledging that young people sometimes may challenge notions

of entrepreneurship and that they at times devise their own notions of entrepreneurship (Jeffrey and Dyson 2013). As this chapter has shown, young people may in some instances use entrepreneurship not only for economic reward but also to reach social goals, and they may counteract individualized notions of entrepreneurship by working collectively to improve the conditions, not only for themselves but also for the larger community.

These entrepreneurial practices might seem mundane, trivial, or insignificant when compared to instances of high-growth and high-tech entrepreneurship in developed economies. However, they are significant since they currently provide livelihoods to a large part of the youth population and shape the contours of their societies. As Honwana (2013, p. 61) notes, most African young people are “not succumbing to passivity, they are constantly on the alert for opportunities, consciously plan possible scenarios, and resourcefully take action in pursuit of a livelihood.”

There are, as Jeffrey and Dyson (2013) highlight, dangers involved in celebrating youth entrepreneurship. An excessive focus on entrepreneurship can easily be seen as a way to blame young people themselves for their misfortunes and provide an excuse for states not to involve themselves in delivering welfare services and ensuring decent jobs. It is also important to acknowledge that many young people do not have the abilities and assets required to pursue viable entrepreneurial ventures. Indeed, most young people in Africa currently appear to be poorly equipped to become successful entrepreneurs in the sense of establishing enduring businesses and growing them (Honwana 2013; Gough and Langevang 2016). Such critiques of youth entrepreneurship are pertinent; however, it is important not to criticize all efforts at promoting entrepreneurship because of its association with free market capitalism and individualism (Gough and Langevang 2016; Jeffrey and Dyson 2013). There is a need to further understand the entrepreneurial efforts of young people in various settings as well as to devise appropriate support measures.

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Mega-Sporting Events, Rights, and Children's Everyday Lives: Exploring the Impact of the Brazil 2014 FIFA World Cup

5

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Abstract

Children's rights, and the violations of such rights, have been widely discussed in academic literature, yet there are still significant gaps in our understanding of how rights are experienced and practiced particularly where global processes are impacting on children's local contexts. This chapter seeks to widen discussions of children's rights and to connect with processes of global change that are affecting, and affected by, the increasing reach of mega-sporting events (MSEs), through a focus on the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil. The chapter documents the tensions that exist between hosting successful events and the impacts and outcomes for the most marginalized. This occurs through implementing processes of urban governance and securitization as well as economic growth and tourism juxtaposed with the needs of people facing poverty and inequality on a daily basis. The chapter goes on to identify a series of negative impacts on children resulting from hosting the World Cup including police (and army) violence, displacement, sexual exploitation, and work. The chapter concludes by suggesting that the bidding and hosting process needs to not only connect the local context with the wider organizational remit of organizing bodies but should also explicitly focus on children's rights as a key criterion in the bidding process. MSE organizers have a role to play in preventing or mitigating violations of rights through nonessentialist, context-specific applications of rights policies for their events.

Keywords

Children • Rights • World Cup • Brazil • Mega-sporting events

1 Introduction

Children's rights, and the violations of such rights, have been widely discussed in academic literature including within Children's Geographies (see, e.g., Twum-Danso Imoh and Ansell 2013; Skelton 2007), yet this has often been related to particular groups of children such as street children or working children and in particular contexts or countries (van Blerk 2012; Kabeer et al. 2003; Poretti et al. 2014). In part this is because specific issues and contexts require in-depth analysis and attention, but it is perhaps also related to an attempt to move beyond essentialist understandings of rights and a blanket application of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) to all contexts and children (Reynolds et al. 2006). Therefore, despite the emergence of a wealth of information regarding children's rights over the last 25 years or so, there are still gaps in fully understanding the nuanced connections between various children and their rights. This is not least in the context of global processes that are impacting on children's local contexts and their abilities to engage with and experience their rights.

This chapter seeks to widen discussions of children's rights, and how they are practiced and/or disrupted in specific situations, through a focus on changing global

processes. Drawing on the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil, this chapter not only identifies the specific rights violations that occurred in the local Brazilian context but also seeks to connect these issues beyond Brazil to wider processes of global change that are affecting, and affected by, the increasing global reach of mega-sporting events (MSEs). The chapter first outlines the global context of MSEs, their implications for children, and the context in Brazil. Following this the chapter draws on empirical material to explore the impacts such global events are having in local contexts where poverty, marginalization, and exclusion are everyday realities for many children and their families. The chapter concludes by drawing out a series of recommendations for policy and practice around the hosting and locating of MSEs in non-Western economies.

2 Mega-Sporting Events: Processes and Challenges of Hosting Global Events

In the post-9/11 world, the relationships between security, surveillance, and events like the Olympics and FIFA World Cup have attracted increasing scholarly attention (see Giulianotti and Klauser 2011). The focus has been on the ways in which mega-event security acts as a catalyst to facilitate a range of public policies and developments designed to create “orderly” cities and how the urban environment itself becomes increasingly splintered into zones, thoroughfares, and enclaves that are intensively surveyed by a range of technologies (particularly CCTV) and bodies (the public, police, private security guards). This in turn raises important questions about the effects of such securitization on the civil liberties of local populations, disproportionately the urban poor, including young people, and particularly in terms of the freedom of movement and assembly.

The policing of mega-events is increasingly based on global security plans taking a multi-sectorial approach to securitization and building policing partnerships. For example, in the run up to the London 2012 Olympic Games, Newham Council's policing partnership joined up strategic security priorities with tactical policing outlining a crime and disorder policy that included a focus on antisocial behavior and violent crime (including street crime). The overarching theme of youth crime was also particularly pertinent, resulting in a targeting of resources in these areas (Fussey et al. 2011). This is interesting from a geographic perspective where young people are conceptualized as transgressive in public space, creating moral panics by their presence, with street young people in particular considered to be dangerous deviants (Jones 2011; Rogers and Coaffee 2005). Jones (2011) notes that young people in public spaces are likely to be managed by adults and although their navigation of space makes some streetwise, it disempowers others. Although Jones (2011) calls for a broader understanding of social agency to include political agency and freedom of expression in public space for young people, this is hampered in the context of MSEs. Instead the result is the potential emergence of negative impacts on the daily lives of children and youth.

Rogerson (2009) notes that hosting mega-events has development potential for countries, not least due to the high-profile international attention international MSEs receive. Increasingly, “rising power” economies are winning bids to host these large-scale events (e.g., Commonwealth Games 2010 Delhi, India; World Cup 2010 South Africa; World Cup 2014 Brazil; Olympics 2016 Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; World Cup 2016 Russia; Winter Olympics 2018 PyeongChang, China). A successful bid is a critical factor in urban entrepreneurialism that seeks to bring foreign investment into the country and foster advantage in the global economy (Robinson 2002; Rogerson 2009). However, there is evidence to suggest that hosting an MSE can have adverse economic effects with terms such as debt and deficit considered alongside winning a bid (Baade and Matheson 2004; Wladimir 2012). In addition, the sheer scale of poverty and inequalities present in many societies now bidding to host MSEs means that any potential impact on the urban poor should be carefully considered. Up to the 2014 World Cup, FIFA had not stipulated concern for human rights issues as a criterion for successful bids (pressure in recent years means this is now at least on the agenda for discussion). This places pressure on governments to manage the paradox between using MSEs to boost global foreign investment and international tourism and to deal with the day-to-day poverty of many of their residents. For example, the security implications of managing an MSE not only focus on reducing the terrorist risk or on spectator violence but must also deal with poverty, inequality, deep social divisions, and associated urban crime (Giulianotti and Klausner 2010). Cornelissen (2011), drawing on the context of the World Cup in South Africa, notes that the “glocal” processes in the securitization of MSEs result in a scaled management where international, national, state, and city level interests are brought together in securitization processes. Labeling such events as security risks provides legitimation for all these interests to establish rights and enforce bylaws in the context of ensuring the safety of the public in attendance. In turn, this can result in significant leverage by different groups to justify the intrusion in the daily lives of citizens and the violation of their human rights. This can, for example, include the displacement of poor urban children from the streets as was identified around the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa (Cornelissen 2011; van Blerk 2012). As Buzan et al. (1997, p. 23) argue, “security” is thus “the move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics or as above politics.”

There is therefore a need to investigate these issues further, and the 2014 FIFA World Cup offered an opportunity to examine the impact of an MSE on children and their local realities. In Brazil, where there is a legacy of violence against marginalized and impoverished young people, this offers a critical opportunity to consider rights violations in the run up to and during MSEs for a better understanding of young people’s lives in this context. Further the rise of urban violence in Brazil over the last three decades has produced a dual process in the urban environment that can be characterized by the “fragmentation of the socio-political and spatial urban fabric” (Souza 2000) and the idea of “phobopolis” (Souza 2008). “Phobopolis” refers to cities where fear and risk from a public security perspective are receiving a prominent position in the mass media, which is related to a complex mix of

defensive, reactive, and repressive practices carried out by the state or civil society (Souza 2008). On the one hand, there is a reconfiguration of urban dynamics through the growth of middle-class gated communities which also foster a wide range of new habits and practices (Souza 2000; Caldeira 2000; Ribeiro and Telles 2000). On the other hand, there is a rise in tough strategies of social control and the spatial enclosure of the poor, which is reflected not only in the key role played by the police but also in social policies designed to keep social tension under control (Fernandes 2012). In this instance, such strategies have helped to stigmatize poor marginalized young people as a key target in the eyes of government and private agents. In particular, there is a stronger socioeconomic driver with regard to the case of homicides and imprisonment. This is higher for the young black people and, in particular, males living in the most deprived areas (see United Nations 2014). MSEs may intensify the stigmatizing of young people resulting in more control over children from favelas (the complexity of defining the term “favela” is acknowledged). As a starting point, this chapter uses the following simplified definition: favelas are areas within Brazilian cities with a recurrent historical lack of public and private investment characterized by the predominance of self-construction housing that reflects the unequal conditions of Brazilian urban development) and an increase in their criminalization.

Prior to the World Cup in Brazil, FIFA had not made any commitments toward ensuring human rights standards are upheld within host nations (The Guardian 2014). However, such events can be an excellent opportunity for the development of positive strategies for violence reduction without disrespecting human rights. The Rio de Janeiro military police did begin to develop alternative strategies that may impact directly on these issues. The development of Pacifying Police Units (UPPs) in favelas had been producing good results with some positive impacts for communities. Yet, UPPs were also cleaning the streets in preparation for the World Cup, in particular the city center and tourist areas but also the favelas close to the tourist venues in the South of the city. Other parts of the city then began to face more challenges including increased violence and intense drug-related activities in the much less policed areas (The Guardian 2013).

3 The Changing Context of Children's Rights in Brazil

Despite significant progress over the last few decades, young people continue to experience violations of their rights as a reality in Brazil. For example, the recent UNICEF (2014) report “Hidden in Plain Sight: the statistical analysis of violence against children” based on data from 190 countries highlighted that globally in 2012 Brazil had the second highest rate of child homicide, especially among young males, aged 10–19 years. The Human Rights Council/United Nations (2014) also highlighted that homicide is the main cause of death among young black males, living in favelas and impoverished suburbs, aged between 15 and 24 (51.6 per 100,000). Yet, the reporting of such rights violations against children and youth has made significant progress in Brazil in the last 10 years or so. A national program

was established in 2003 for reporting violations called Dial Human Rights – Dial 100. This program was set up by the Secretariat of Human Rights by the Presidency of the Republic of Brazil (2013) and registers reports of children's rights violations. Since its inception, the number of reports of incidents has grown, reaching a total of 124,079 complaints in the 10-year period up to the end of December 2013.

In order to correctly position the context of children's rights in Brazil, it is useful to observe the wider context of violence in Brazilian society, in particular its sociopolitical and cultural drivers. In line with Silva and Silva (2005), it is essential to acknowledge that violence against children has to be understood as a social exercise of domination that is underpinned by prejudices widely present in day-to-day life such as sexism, racism, and "adultcentrism." This is additionally supported by a globalized culture of consumerism which emphasizes individualism and sociocentrism which emphasizes social class hierarchy as the basis for valuing life. By extension these mechanisms construct marginalized young people as "disposable" and a "lost generation" (Fernandes 2013). This idea of a "lost generation" is reflected through the extreme criminalization of poor youth in Brazil, with high levels of imprisonment and death. This problem has a strong relationship with wider urban violence and sociopolitical issues in the country (Adorno 2002; Cano and Santos 2001; Cano 2001; Ramos 2009).

Strategies of social control have helped to stigmatize poor (usually male and black) children, turning them into a key target in the eyes of government and private agents, as part of a complex sociohistorical process that involves the denigration of groups that are considered worthless and disposable (Fernandes 2014). As such, although the police appear to be the core agent of rights violations by reproducing and performing stigmatizing practices (Ramos and Musumeci 2005), it is also necessary to consider the role of the mass media which can push public opinion against groups that are portrayed as a threat to public order (Ramos and Paiva 2007). As a result, the creation of strategies of socio-spatial control and containment are shaping new forms of governance of the "disposable" in Brazil (Fernandes 2013). Such strategies are in line with major changes in the way neoliberal governments are responding to the advance of social insecurity (Wacquant 2010). This tends to be maximized by major global events such as MSEs that play a crucial role in reshaping spaces and relationships as part of a process of "creative destruction" (Harvey 2011) of the sociopolitical, economic, and cultural landscape.

In line with historical processes of socio-spatial exclusion and violation of rights in Brazil, hosting an MSE may result in the intensification of criminalization as well as more control over marginalized groups, with a particular focus on street children, children from favelas, and other stigmatized neighborhoods (Rizzini 2011; Fernandes 2014). In the context of MSE hosting policy and criteria, the "invisibility" of socially excluded groups in contrast to the maximum visibility of "profitable" issues, such as the attraction of tourists and investors, can also create a harmful environment for children through, for example, child work and sexual exploitation. Therefore bidding to host events such as the World Cup can place children and youth at greater risk if measures are not put in place to assess the risks and minimize or eliminate any negative effects.

The importance of investigating how the MSE hosting context may be impacting on the experience of children's rights, through a process of documenting the key issues, is clear. There is very little research on this issue in general and specifically in Brazil. However, one paper, by Brackenridge et al. (2013), suggests that there may be specific risks for children around the hosting of MSEs which could include child work, displacement of children due to forced evictions for infrastructure development and street clearance, and child sexual exploitation and human trafficking. Their interviewees specifically highlighted "obvious" risks such as street roundups, criminal activity, deceit by pimps and pedophiles to introduce women and girls into the sex trade, child work trafficking, and alcohol and drug consumption associated with a "football mood." However, no previous research has explored the realities for young people. This chapter draws on empirical data collection to more accurately explore the impacts and implications of the 2014 World Cup in Brazil on young people's lives.

4 Research Methods

The research presented in this chapter draws on a qualitative multi-method research project that sought to explore the ways in which young people's lives might be impacted in terms of rights violations before and during the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil. This involved two stages. The first involved media analysis of local, national, and international sources before, during, and immediately after the World Cup as well as the analysis of government and civil society data and key reports focusing on children's rights and MSEs. The media search focused on the two key national newspapers relevant to the selected case study cities *Jornal O Globo* (Rio de Janeiro coverage) and *Folha de Pernambuco* (Recife coverage). Although not intended to be exhaustive of all media sources, the systematic time sampling explored sources up to 2 years before the World Cup, during and immediately after in order to understand the extent and nature of reporting on children's experiences. All reports were accessed in English and/or Brazilian Portuguese.

The second stage focused on a period of empirical data collection, just after the World Cup in 2014, in two Brazilian cities (Rio de Janeiro and Recife). This comprised in-depth interviews with 13 NGOs/government agencies working with children/human rights and participatory art-based and discussion workshops with children aged 11–15 who were residents in favelas in both cities. The main criteria used to select these cities were their status as host cities for the World Cup, coupled with a historical record of violence against children as indicated by data from the Brazilian Federal Government. Young participants in each of the favelas were accessed through local NGO partners. This was essential as tensions were still high in local communities at this time. Interviews and participatory workshops were coded and analyzed using a thematic content analysis (see Bardin 2003).

Secondary data collected by organizations was invaluable for establishing the parameters within which to focus the research. This was complemented by qualitative and participatory research which is proven to be appropriate for work with

children (van Blerk 2012), as it facilitates children to be key actors in the process (Punch 2001). This approach is based on the premise that all children are experts on their lives and able to articulate their needs and requirements when opportunities are created for them to do so. This type of approach is essential when working with children who may have experienced or witnessed harm (Bemak 1996; van Blerk 2013). In practical terms this involved spending time with children developing trust, rapport, and new ways of communicating through active engagement on their terms and in their territory. The research involved children throughout the process, enabling a dynamic approach, which is sensitive to changing conditions as they arise.

An ethical protocol, including the adoption of a child safeguarding approach, was established, and ethical clearance was provided through the University of Dundee and the local NGO partners. The protocol utilized international guidelines for research with children (see Alderson and Morrow 2011), as well as local Brazilian ethical guidelines. Informed consent was obtained from participants, and this was reinforced through discussion about the shared responsibilities to maintain confidentiality of information and ensure the anonymity of participants. Consent was also obtained from all participants in the research, and parental consent was also obtained for children, in accordance with local practice.

5 Documenting Children's Rights Violations

In order to assess the extent to which rights violations were being reported, to provide a context for more detailed empirical work, a search was undertaken of gray literature including government and civil society publications and national press. The documentation process identified over 140 references to rights violations occurring in the run up to the World Cup with the majority focusing on issues of sexual exploitation of children although closely followed by child work and displacement. To a lesser extent, government actions and police violence were also highlighted as issues. It is not possible to make any quantitative assessment of this analysis, but the search did suggest that some children's lived realities were negatively impacted by the hosting of the MSE. The high number of references to sexual exploitation and child work may be explained by the focus of the Brazilian National Secretariat of Human Rights on the themes of sexual exploitation and child work. They encouraged wide dissemination by media campaigns developed by the federal government and by civil society organizations that sought to increase awareness of the population about these two issues and also to encourage reporting of these cases to competent bodies. Less news coverage was found regarding removals and police violence in the context of the World Cup during this period, but the news reports contained relevant data on the situation of families that were affected by the removals and those that resisted leaving their homes. In many of these cases, the news highlighted the violent action of the police to remove residents, including children and youth. As the World Cup took place, the number of media references including the impacts on young people

significantly declined in the press which turned its attention to the actual games played.

The analysis of documents produced by significant national bodies was perhaps more revealing of the extent to which children are impacted by the hosting of MSEs. For the first time in the history of the World Cup, local groups were responsible for monitoring the impacts of the MSE at local and national levels through the National Coordination of Popular Committees of the Cup (ANCOP). The documents produced by ANCOP (2012; 2014) gathered views and data from a group of NGOs and social movements reporting that there was criticism of the way in which urban transformations for the World Cup had occurred in the 12 host cities. The documents are a useful reference for thinking about the major impacts of MSEs and provide a national overview regarding rights violations in the context of MSEs. Further, the ANCOP reports make harsh criticisms of the use of public money for meeting economic interests that were not connected with the real demands of the population. However, ANCOP did not collect specific data on impacts on children, rather just reporting the number of families affected in some of the areas analyzed, making it difficult to really understand the effects of hosting the World Cup on children. However, the ANCOP (2012) report indicated it is likely that children were affected. For example, in terms of displacement, ANCOP estimated in 2012 that at least 250,000 people were being removed from their homes to make space for the urban infrastructure that would serve the World Cup which represented a clear worsening of living conditions for those who were affected.

A clearer indication that children experienced negative impacts from the MSE was identified in The National Secretariat for Human Rights of the Federal Government report (2014). This report assessed the data received from the Dial 100 hotline Human Rights program. Dial 100 was established as a channel of communication between civil society and public authorities, which provides an indication of the extent of human rights violations against children. The report reveals that in terms of the context of the World Cup, the number of reported violations against children increased by 17 % in the 12 host cities during the 2014 World Cup compared to the previous year, 2013. This data indicates that more violations were reported against those aged 8–11- and then 12–14-year-olds and that girls (55 %) and black children (60 %) also feature in higher numbers of reports of violations. This suggests that girls and marginalized children are disproportionately affected, but it does not provide any in-depth understanding of the experience of such issues.

6 Exploring the Impacts of Hosting MSEs on Children

Following the document analysis, in-depth empirical work with NGOs and children indicated that children were affected in specific ways both before and during the events. Table 1 presents an overview of the key violations and the groups of children most affected by them, based on the qualitative data from Rio de Janeiro and Recife.

The data summarized in Table 1 indicate that there are four key areas in which children's rights were violated through the hosting of the World Cup. Taking each

Table 1 Types of violations and their consequences

Types of violations of rights	Most affected groups	Consequences
Police violence	Street children	Forced removals Physical violence Young people sent to young offenders' institutions without having committed crimes Torture Disappearance
	Children resident in favelas during the army and police occupation of these areas	An increase in the number of police and army occupations in favelas Militarization and criminalization of people living in favelas Aggressive body and house searches Sexual harassment toward girls under 18 years old
	Children participating in the protests during the 2013 Confederations Cup (The Confederations Cup is generally considered a warm up tournament for the World Cup. This took place in 2013 in Brazil during which a number of protests occurred where Brazilians took to the streets complaining about the impacts of financing the World Cup.)	Physical violence during arrest Irregularities in arrests
Displacement	Children removed for the development of urban infrastructure and/or stadium construction	Worsening of living conditions and vulnerability Some families went to live in the streets Forced displacement through government threat and intimidation Fear and uncertainty over the future Physical violence during the removal process (tear gas and pepper spray used) Loss of family members who became ill as a consequence of eviction Loss of community bonds Difficulties accessing education through a lack of available school places Lack of access to specialized medical care due to relocation at a distance from central hospital facilities Lack of safety for children at home,

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Types of violations of rights	Most affected groups	Consequences
		due to the presence of militia and other armed groups
Sexual exploitation	Children (girls) near to prostitution zones next to refurbished stadiums	Presence of children in new and emerging prostitution zones Increase of children in prostitution zones which already exist Potential cases of sexual exploitation suspected in private or VIP areas in stadiums
Child work (as defined in Brazil as illegal)	Children	Informal sales in tourists areas Street selling food, drinks and products in Fan Fests, beaches, around stadiums Children taking cans to sell at recycling points Those working as <i>gandula</i> (ball carriers) in stadiums

substantive area in turn, this chapter now moves on to explore the specific and nuanced ways in which children's lives were impacted.

7 Police (and Army) Violence

Police (and army) violence was a significant issue that was raised both by children and by professionals working with them in favela communities. In particular this was an issue in the pre-Cup period, but it seemed to continue throughout the duration of the World Cup and in some communities continued after the end of the event, particularly in favela communities close to stadiums. Street children, residents in favelas, and children involved in the protests during the Confederations Cup in 2013 were the groups most highlighted as experiencing the negative impacts of violence.

7.1 Street Children

Violence against street children was mainly discussed with respect to forced removal through the process of street "cleaning" which was highlighted as an operation that regularly occurs before and during MSEs as identified by a senior practitioner from CEDECA-RJ (the Center for the Defence of the Rights of Children Rio de Janeiro):

Always when you have large events in Brazil, the first action is to make a social cleansing, a sanitization in the city, then they collect the street population, collect the children. This logic already existed quite a time ago, with the so-called Operation of Public Order, then the

Public Order means to remove these people from the street as if they were rubbish. (Senior Practitioner, CEDECA– RJ, August 2014)

The Operation of Public Order mentioned this interview was created in 2009 by the current mayor of the city of Rio de Janeiro, focusing on the implementation of the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics. It is a set of actions of the Special Secretariat of Public Order, where the Municipal Guard in conjunction with other supervisory bodies, such as the Department of Road Transport in the State of Rio de Janeiro and the Municipal Company of Urban Cleaning, engaged in street cleaning through some neighbourhoods of the city (usually those located in the wealthiest areas) started a joint work collecting garbage, confiscating illegal goods from vendors, and also removing people who are living on the streets. In 2011 the Secretary of Social Assistance of the city of Rio de Janeiro, despite criticisms from human rights organizations, also implemented the compulsory collection of children living in street situations, and according to some interviewees, this approach was highly violent. Since then, NGOs working with these groups have received a greater number of reports of abuse and violence by the police during the collection of children, particularly boys.

Another violation of rights associated with the forced removal of street children, in the case of Rio de Janeiro, was the disappearance of many children without their peers being aware of where they were. Allied to this, the interviewees noted, was the immediate forwarding of street children to young offenders' institutions in the Department of General Social Actions and Education (DEGASE). This is a component of the Executive Branch of the State of Rio de Janeiro, responsible for the implementation of socio-educational measures recommended by the Statute of the Child and Adolescent (ECA), and applied by the Judiciary System to those who have committed crime. However, many children were sent to the institutions of DEGASE without committing any criminal offense. The interviewees who highlighted these issues stated that the real reason was to keep the children hidden until the end of the World Cup:

In Rio we have cases, but we couldn't confirm it, but there have been reports of children who have disappeared, five to eight children and that none of the boys in the streets who know them have information about them. And there is also another issue that is the question of admission of them in the young offenders' institutions of DEGASE. Everyone knows that in many cases these children were being sent to units in the childcare system, as a way to keep them away from the streets during the period of the World Cup, without them having done anything wrong. (Senior Practitioner, ANCED (National Articulation of Centres for the Defence of the Rights of Children), August 2014)

From this analysis, street children, particularly boys, appear to be one group who are experiencing violations of their rights both through displacement from the streets and violence toward their physical person. However, the number of police operations aimed at gathering street children reduced during the World Cup. According to the NGOs consulted, this reduction may have been a tactic used by the government which preferred to minimize the visibility of these actions during the period of the

MSE. Also because significant efforts had been made to remove street children before the Cup, the success of these operations meant it was not required during the World Cup, as noted by Network Rio Criança, a children's rights advocacy network in Rio de Janeiro:

During the World Cup as they [the police] had already done lots of damage to these people, they had already reached the goal of removing them. Then during the Cup there have been periods of quiet, understood? Such that the Government thinks 'we will not act more'. They think they do not need to do more work throughout the day with collecting them, because currently we do not have any children here on the streets. . . I am not saying that we've had no policing on the streets during the World Cup, but we were not seeing many more of these operations to collect children. In the end they had greatly reduced this population on the streets, and many others went out of the Centre and the South Zone to the Northern Zone, at least those who managed to go . . . They went away from the tourist areas, the stadiums, so the Government could be without problems for the World Cup. (Senior Practitioner, Network Rio Criança, August 2014)

The reduction in street children's visibility during the World Cup does not mean that they did not have their rights violated during this period. A senior practitioner at UNICEF supported the claim by the Network Rio Criança interviewee that because of the roundups, it is likely that children migrated to other parts of the city, away from the area of events, and therefore were able to be on the streets without much police supervision. Given the hidden nature of this group and evidence to suggest that this has occurred in other MSE contexts such as the 2010 World Cup in South Africa (van Bleek 2013), more research is required to explore their experiences.

7.2 Children in Favelas

Both NGO practitioners and children identified that there was an increase in police violence in the favelas in the period prior to the World Cup. These violations occurred through the growing number of police operations in these areas. Taking as a reference the city of Rio de Janeiro, these operations resulted in the deaths of many young residents, indicated as participating in drug trafficking in the region, although there is no official confirmation of these connections. As explained by an Amnesty International practitioner, there is a pattern of action from security forces in favelas during MSEs that has been responsible for the process of criminalization of these areas and their inhabitants:

The profile of these operations, in fact what justified these operations, was the exact location of them (favelas) in the city. They have a relation with emblematic places around the Cup and everyone knows the city has a long history of bad police operations for mega-events. . . (Senior Practitioner, Amnesty International, August 2014)

Interviewees also mentioned the implementation of the new security policy that was developed and implemented in 2008 through the creation of Police Pacifying

Units (UPP) which were placed in several favelas of Rio de Janeiro state. This was a new strategy for public security in Rio's favelas focusing on the occupation of favelas that were dominated by drug trafficking armed groups. The UPPs started a series of social interventions to restore trust between the community and the police. The results and impacts of the interventions of UPPs have not yet been systematically evaluated; however, it is possible to say that the inhabitants of the areas with UPPs are still divided between mistrust and fear (given the historical relationship of the police with them, which has been violent and abusive) and uncertainty regarding the durability of this policy (LAV/UERJ, 2012). Some interviewees suggested that the UPP security policy was part of a government action that aims to reach certain areas of the city that are projecting a good image for the city. NGO interviewees including from REDES da Maré, an NGO development network within Favela de Maré, noted that these actions intensified and became more easily justified in the context of hosting MSEs:

I think that in this period prior to the Cup the favelas were places that in some way the Government thought about what to do? Then it was not without reason that the UPPs began in 2008. So I think that the actions in fact were to reach a certain population that necessarily was not only of children and adolescents, but all people resident in favelas. (Senior Practitioner, REDES da Maré, August 2014)

The entry of the military police and the army into favelas brought a large number of violations against residents, including children. The violations reported included house searches without judicial authorization, theft and damage to belongings of residents during these examinations, verbal aggression and physical violence during body searching, and sexual harassment against girls:

The Army entered two months before the World Cup, because of the location of Favela de Maré, between the Red Line, and the Yellow Line. . .So everyone who went or came from the international airport passed there. Then there was specific preparation for the period of the World Cup and the Army was there too. They were very violent. . .in their approach to children, especially boys. The reports are that they beat and embarrass children and speak like this to them: "stop, lean against the wall, turn to your back side, do not move" and if the children do not do it very soon, then they give them a punch . . . with the girls, they are flirting. (Senior Practitioner, REDES da Maré, August 2014)

The children in both Rio de Janeiro and Recife mentioned this sort of police violence and offer a nuanced account of the difficulties they faced in their own communities that provides support for the views expressed by the NGOs. Both groups spoke about many cases involving rubber bullets, slaps on their heads, furniture and belongings being broken during house searches, as well as physical and verbal aggression toward them or people they know. This quote from the focus group in Recife highlights that children were present at home during this unsettling period when the army entered houses. Although the children were upset by this sort of event, they also highlighted that such situations occur with some regularity and independent of MSEs:

We have a police station here and the police catch the boys and give a lesson in there, they are beaten, that was what I saw they did with my cousin. (R: what age is he?) 16 years. My mother was there, she caught him and he was all bleeding. (R: This usually occurs sometimes here in the community?) Yes, it happens quite often. (Children's Focus Group in Recife, August 2014)

During the World Cup, the violence by the police and the army continued against residents in favelas, especially through body searching on the streets. The harassment of girls by soldiers also remained constant during the World Cup. Children in the focus groups supported this in their discussions. They talked about cases of aggression against young boys in their communities during the World Cup. The groups felt that this type of violence perpetrated by police was wrong but justified by the police because of children's residential location in favelas and the color of their skin. As a result, there was a strong feeling of discrimination and social injustice among the young participants.

This suggests that police and army violence within favelas significantly impacted on children. The impacts were not just physical, although in some case these were severe, but also emotional as they demonstrated feelings of fear and sadness associated with the police and army occupation in their favelas. Further, the types of physical violence appear to vary according to gender, with girls more likely to suffer from sexual harassment and boys from severe forms of physical harm including beatings. However, the data also suggests that these violations take place on a regular basis during military/police occupations, without MSEs, and more sustained long-term research is required to identify to what extent MSEs influence the ways in which favelas are occupied.

7.3 Children in Protests

The 2013 protests in Brazil during the Confederations Cup were initially to contest increasing public transport costs. However, this quickly accelerated, supported by significant numbers of Brazilians who entered the streets protesting for a wider range of issues including public spending on MSEs, particularly the upcoming World Cup, the poor quality of public services, and indignation at political corruption in general. The strong police repression against demonstrators resulted in further protests which quickly won great support from human rights organizations across the country. The protests were attended by a considerable number of young people from the student movement in schools and universities. The military police, called to contain the demonstrators, committed a number of irregularities by arresting children below the age of 18 and then violating many of their rights by not following the specific legislative guidelines (ECA) and procedures for children.

The ECA declares that in situations of arrest, children should be forwarded to a special police station, the Police Protection of the Child and the Adolescent (DPCA), and parents/responsible guardians should be informed immediately. However, in

many cases this did not happen. Teenagers arrested during the protests in 2013 and also in some events in 2014 had been taken along with adults directly to ordinary police stations. The interviewees stated that parents or guardians were not immediately informed, and many children suffered from police aggression inside police cars and/or were detained inside these cars for several hours (in the sun and heat, without water or food). Further, they were not allowed to call for the presence of lawyers. The following example of a 16-year-old girl, narrated by a senior practitioner from Amnesty International, exemplifies this issue:

The situation was really bad because she was trapped in a unit of DEGASE and reports the condition of cell dramatically: she had to sleep on the floor, the toilet was clogged, with an open drain. You can imagine how bad that is, sleeping on the floor with a drain open where she could see all types of insects climbing. . . and she was handcuffed by a window, feeling cold and not knowing how many hours she would be there. She and all the girls were beaten every day, when the agents counted them in the morning and in the evening. The count was in fact giving slaps on their heads; or at the back of their necks. The agents were all male, in a female unit, which is absolutely unthinkable. (Senior Practitioner, Amnesty International, August 2014)

8 Displacement

The process of clearing residential areas to meet the needs of major infrastructure works and urban mobility in the 12 host cities also emerged as an issue affecting children by negatively impacting upon their living conditions and access to housing. Interviewees highlighted that there was a lack of information about when and where families would be moved, creating an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty about the future. Intimidation and threats from the government and the police during negotiations were also mentioned. Further, children were reported to have witnessed the anguish of parents and other family members and also suffered along with their parents at all stages of the removals:

When we were talking with the families, especially the mothers, they said: “what hurts me more is the suffering that this situation is imposing on our kids because they are the hardest hit”. I understood the speech of those mothers, I mean, they (children) do not appear in the statistics, but they are part of it, because it is an escalation of violations, a snowball. . . (Senior Practitioner, Federation of Organisations for Social and Educational Assistance FASE, August, 2014)

Participants noted that during the forced removals, those families who resisted leaving commonly experienced police violence. They reported the police using tear gas and pepper spray which also reached children without distinction. In addition, many families saw their homes being destroyed, often with the furniture inside, while others lost their belongings or they were damaged during transportation to the new place. Interviewees suggested that the removal process was not done with care and even a refuse collection truck was used for transportation.

After the removals, some organizations reported cases of depression among those who had been displaced, especially the elderly. These grandparents are generally the

main carers for children while parents are working, thus there was a ripple effect filtering through generations of families where children were then also indirectly impacted. With the illness of older family members, including cases of death, resulting from situations of stress generated by the processes of removal (such as heart attacks, strokes, and depression), children suffered doubly, both by the loss of a family member as well as by the need to undertake responsibilities that were previously performed by these same family members. Therefore children, although also victims of removals, were reported to have started to take care of the house and of younger siblings and to take on the responsibility of administering medication and care to these members of the family who were sick.

Children felt that displacement was particularly targeted at the poor and displayed a sense of anger at this injustice as highlighted in the quote below:

Because the people who are poor are worth nothing to the mayor, to the governor. The rich have value, the rich every day can buy a thing that is expensive, different. Our parents struggle to give us study, everyone kills himself to study, and you have success at school, and if someone says: you are very smart, where you live? It is over. . . I am rejected, only because I live in a favela. (Children's Focus Group in Rio de Janeiro)

This quote also elucidates that the children felt they were more likely to have their rights violated because they were considered economically poor. They saw clearly that only those with economic power in the city would be considered full citizens in terms of having their rights respected and that poor people do not have the same recognition from the government.

The data highlights that the general actions implemented in removals encompassed a lack of information or appropriate notification to residents. They did not have sufficient time to find another place to live or they were not actually relocated into conditions equal to what they had before. The new homes were often in areas far from families' original homes, leaving children void of some of their basic rights such as school (right to education), specialized medical care (right to health), adequate transport to go to school, security (right to be protected), and the preservation of community bonds (right to family and community life).

8.1 Sexual Exploitation

Sexual exploitation of children was noted to be taking place in prostitution zones which were already in existence in both Rio de Janeiro and Recife before the World Cup. Some interviewees felt that although there had been significant fear among the professional community that sexual exploitation would increase during the World Cup, this had not happened:

People had a great fear of the Cup as a time of great risk for childhood and adolescence, and it seems that it did not cause greater risk than there is already. I think that this was a sense of relief, but on the other hand there was also no gain. (Senior Practitioner, UNICEF, August 2014)

Other practitioners felt that this sense of relief was merely related to the fact that no new visible prostitution points emerged during the MSE and that sexual exploitation was still an issue. They noted that prostitution points had still increased in the run up to the event around construction sites and that there had also been an overall increase in the number of children engaging in prostitution. The young participants in particular provided some examples during focus group discussions that suggest more children were engaging in prostitution and highlighted that even before the World Cup the number of cars touring inside their communities looking for prostitutes increased. In Recife they said they were aware of this because there is an area of prostitution at the bottom of the hill where they live. This hill is also one of Recife's tourist attractions receiving large numbers of visitors when major events take place in the city. The children stated that they could identify children from their favelas working at the bottom of the hill and that the number increased in the period of the World Cup. Similarly, in Rio de Janeiro, the group spoke about child crack users who were removed from Avenue Brasil before the World Cup, resulting in their relocation to the first street inside the Favela de Mare, just behind the important and visible Avenue Brasil, which is also a known area for prostitution.

The hidden nature of sexual exploitation issues and the ambiguity around whether sexual exploitation increased during the MSE is related to the difficulty in how violations against children are reported. The following quote explains this problem demonstrating that sexual exploitation can be masked by other issues and reported, for example, as physical assault:

Sexual exploitation is not identified in a manner that is clear, you understand me? It appears with other aspects, through another violation that presents first, but not necessarily as sexual exploitation. For example, there is the girl who was attacked, forcibly exploited (sexually) and she went to the hospital, and there on account of aggression we are called to meet her, to work in the case, but the case is one of physical violence not of sexual exploitation. (Senior Practitioner, Guardianship Council Rio de Janeiro, August 2014)

8.2 Child Work

Interviewees noted that the use of child work in the context of the World Cup was very similar to what already happens in other major events and festivals such as the Carnival and other cultural parties in the Northeast of the country. On these occasions many children go to the streets and locations where there is a large movement of people, especially tourists, and use the opportunity for working in the informal sale of food and drinks. In the same way, children were seen to engage in these activities as the MSE drew closer and examples emerged related to the sale of football merchandise (flags, shirts, balls) and food and drinks, around the stadiums, in Fan Fests, and at other tourist points where there was a high concentration of people (beaches, bars, squares). This also was supported by the focus groups where the young participants described either themselves being involved in this type of activity or at least knowing friends and relatives who were.

This form of work, however, was not necessarily considered a negative experience of hosting the MSE. Many families from poor communities had taken advantage of the World Cup for undertaking work on the streets. In such cases, the families felt they had no other option but to take their children with them because they were not in school, and they were afraid to leave them at home due to UPP occupation. As ECPAT Brasil explains, for some families this was seen as a form of protection.

The families were in the streets with their children, grandchildren, because sometimes they are not even at home to eat, you see . . . This results in exploitation (child work) because sometimes they do not have anyone to leave them with and they prefer to bring them near than to leave within the community, alone. Then they feel that is more protection for that child ECPAT Brasil.

However, in some circumstances noncompliance with the Brazilian Federal Constitution regarding the prohibition of work for children was highlighted. This includes protective conditions for children, such as prohibition of work at night time or in dangerous activities. One example of this is the use of *gandula* (ball boys). In 2004 the Brazilian Football Confederation (CBF) banned *gandula* work in stadiums for those under 18 years old. However, the National Council of Justice (CNJ) issued a resolution in 2013 that allowed children to do this work in the World Cup. FIFA and the companies sponsoring the World Cup were then allowed to recruit children from 12 years to work on promotional activities related to football, one of them being *gandula*. This decision was considered to be a major setback in the legislation that was already being effectively applied. In particular this example highlights how the global nature of MSEs with their overarching rules and procedures do not necessarily comply with local regulations and interpretations of children's rights.

9 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates how Brazil, with its particular history of military policing and particular socioeconomic inequalities, produced a World Cup event that has implications for children and reveals tensions that are an important consideration in the hosting of MSEs. Tensions exist between the need to protect visitors and match attendees, provide stadiums worthy of World Cup matches, and host tourists and visitors to the venues alongside managing significant inequalities in cities, where children experience poverty on a daily basis.

The documentation analysis highlighted that locally in Brazil, some excellent systems were in place and others developed including the Dial 100 hotline and the emergence of a collaboration between the Brazilian government, NGOs, community, and UN agencies (ANCOP) to produce guidelines for eradicating violations of children's rights. The aim here was to use the World Cup to achieve momentum for change and to establish a set of actions that could be easily transferred to other large-scale events such as festivals, music concerts, carnivals, and religious gatherings. However, the empirical research also identified that there are negative realities

for children around MSEs and suggests that their rights need to be better considered in the planning and hosting of subsequent events, at the local level and beyond. In particular violence, displacement, sexual exploitation, and work emerged as issues that should be considered in future bids. In particular, the research clearly shows that children from the most marginalized backgrounds, and their families, are most at risk from policies of infrastructure development through displacement and police violence as well as the associated risks of exploitation and work. The heightened awareness of security issues surrounding such events adds to the tensions that marginalized groups feel when MSEs are hosted close to their communities due to increasing security and police presence. Such aspects of MSEs also offer a striking example of securitization where sport becomes a “politicized. . .part of public policy” and then becomes “securitized. . .presented as an existential threat. . .justifying actions outside the normal bounds of political procedure” (Buzan et al. 1997, pp. 23–24; see also Mendel and Sharapov 2016). Yet this chapter argues that the securitization of events cannot take precedence over the protection of children and other vulnerable groups.

This chapter therefore goes on to suggest that there are implications for MSEs’ organization and hosting at a global scale, going beyond the local level to ensure such impacts are mitigated against wherever an MSE is located. It demonstrates that the increasing globalization of sport, and its ability to bring diverse groups and nations together, has not only created a rise in opportunities for countries to position themselves as global players through hosting such events but also has the potential to affect large sectors of the population that regularly experience poverty and marginalization. Due to the growth in emerging and “rising power” economies seeking to host MSEs (Rogerson 2009), the social justice legacy of MSEs requires greater attention. Presently, the visibility of poverty in many cities is in conflict with the image of MSEs resulting in construction of new infrastructure, such as stadiums and transport links, to attract tourists and investors (Robinson 2002; Rogerson 2009) and the implementation of security policies to mask deep social divisions and inequalities (Cornelissen 2011). In the case presented here, this has resulted in violence toward children, displacement of children and their families, as well as other associated consequences. Countries seeking to host events should be required to develop their own rights-based policies and procedures as a starting point for protecting children in the hosting of events. However, the research revealed that local policies need to be embedded within, and supported by, the organizational structures of MSEs. Those working at the global level of sporting events toned to ensure that blanket policies and procedures are not overriding human rights issues that may need to be addressed. To recognize the significance of children’s rights as a key part of MSE strategy, global networks of sporting organizations need to ensure that violations such as those highlighted in this chapter do not reoccur. To supplement the policies produced and procedures implemented in Brazil, MSE organizers also need to amend their bidding and hosting criteria in order to support local countries to host events that do not harm children through the implementation of global standards and policies but ones that are nonessentialist and tailored to children’s unique situations and that follow local systems where they are more

stringent (as in the case of Brazil's age criteria for gandula). Finally by including the voices of children in the process of MSE organization, their realities are more likely to be considered. This could go some way to ensuring a social risk legacy impact assessment is carried out that includes children in the development and implementation of future bids.

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Childcare Arrangements of Burmese Migrant Workers in Thailand

6

Kyoko Kusakabe and Ruth Pearson

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Abstract

Burmese migrant workers in Thailand, particularly those with children, are placed in a precarious position by Thailand's immigration laws and by the management of the industries they work for. This chapter illustrates how women factory workers from Myanmar juggle their factory work and childcare by complying, resisting, and negotiating (Staudt, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 26(4), 1251–1527, 2001) with the state(s). Following Voydanoff (*Community Work and Family*, 4(2), 133–156, 2001), the chapter analyzes how the interaction of different border control regimes (macrosystem) and community/family networks (microsystem) creates and shapes the options for Burmese migrant workers to cope with childcare responsibilities. The microsystem of

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childcare arrangements of individual Burmese women migrant workers is shaped and restricted by both the factories in the global value chain that seek various ways of obtaining “cheap” labor and the state that applies different immigration practices in different locations. This chapter analyzes how migrant workers struggle to meet their childcare responsibilities in particular locations at the same time as they are being exploited by factories exporting to global markets.

Keywords

Migration • Childcare • Myanmar • Women • Thailand • Border

1 Introduction

Studies of women’s employment in factories (Ong 1987; Wolf 1992; Salzinger 2003; Kaur 2004; Pearson 2014) highlight how women’s labor and bodies are used to support capitalist accumulation under globalization. Other research has emphasized how gendered power structures and ideologies, both on the factory floor and in the wider societies, influence the ways in which women workers experience new opportunities for industrial employment (Elson and Pearson 1981; Pearson 1998; Wright 2006). While originally such research concentrated on the early decades of the expansion of women’s employment in export factories, when the majority of the workforce was comprised of rural migrants, more recent studies have reported a growth in cross-border migrants in manufacturing, particularly in export sectors (Piper 2008b; Morrison et al. 2008; Hewison and Young 2006).

Since third world export processing and production began to grow in the 1970s, it was generally the case that women factory workers in these sectors were young, single, and the preferred choice of managers seeking “nimble-fingered” women workers (Elson and Pearson 1981). But since that time, there has been a growing trend for older women also to migrate to seek factory employment, many of whom are or become mothers during the course of their employment, which presents challenges for them in terms of care and education for their children (Pearson 1998; Ansell et al. 2015).

The search for “cheaper” labor by capital has led not only to the increase in footloose factories, which move casually and easily to wherever offers the prospect of lowest labor cost, but also to a surge in cross-border labor migration, where migrants meet the demand for workers in 3D (dirty, dangerous, and demeaning) jobs as well as work in other labor-intensive industries (Oishi 2005; Pearson 2014; Truong et al. 2014). The fact that a large proportion of these workers are women has been deemed to constitute a feminization of the global labor force (Standing 1989; Richer 2012) which is also reflected in the feminization of labor migration (Piper 2008b). As Olwig and Sorensen (2002) noted, the motive of most of these migrants is not to establish a new life in the place of destination, but to meet the immediate needs of their family back home. The global production chain has created large demand for cheap labor in low-cost production sites. The Thai economy, which depends heavily on export to achieve economic growth like many other economies,

has responded to this demand. The state, in order to ensure labor supply, colludes with the market to create a flexible group of workers – irregular labor migrants – which they can increase and decrease as the market demands (Arnold and Hewison 2006; Pearson and Kusakabe 2012).

This chapter discusses the challenges faced by one such group of migrant workers – Burmese women employed in factories in Thailand – in seeking to arrange for their infants and small children to be cared for in ways which will not jeopardize either their employment or their relations with their families. Like working women elsewhere in the world who cannot afford private childcare, Burmese migrant women frequently have to depend on kin networks in order to ensure that their children are looked after while they are working (World Bank 2011). However, for migrant workers, childcare options are limited and complicated. Although in some cases women can bring their children to work with them, this is generally not possible for Burmese migrant factory workers, both because their employment status is very precarious and because their domestic and living situations generally make it very difficult even to have their children living with them. But for those whose children are born after they have migrated to Thailand, it can be very risky to get the children back to their families in their place of origin within Myanmar; many workers do not possess legal documents and therefore face the possibility of official arrest and harassment by Thai and Burmese police en route, particularly when they migrate back to work in Thailand. If they do manage to take their children home to Myanmar, they are then required to send substantial remittances from their limited wages to cover the expenses of caring for their children and to maintain these even if they lose their jobs. As this chapter demonstrates, many women are forced to perform a constant juggling act to balance their children's need for care, with their own needs to be able to work long and exhausting work shifts, the financial constraints of low wages, and family needs.

The children of Burmese migrant workers in Thailand, in common with those born to irregular migrants in other parts of the world, frequently end up as stateless individuals. Bhabha (2011) noted that 36 % of all births in the world are not registered, leaving more than 48 million children under the age of five with no legal identity and no formal claim on any state. The fundamental rights to protection, family life, education, and health care that these children theoretically have under international law are unenforceable in practice since, by definition, such claims have to be made on a nation state (Bhabha 2009). In Thailand, fewer than 50 % of the estimated two million plus Burmese migrant workers have legal documents through registration or temporary passports (Huguet et al. 2011; Pearson and Kusakabe 2012). Even documented workers frequently face restrictions on their freedom to travel outside their place of registration. Moreover, as in other countries, the governance of labor migration within Thailand varies between different locations. This chapter shows how the options for the care of children, as experienced by Burmese migrant women workers in Thailand, are shaped by the different policies prevailing in different parts of the country. This study of Burmese migrant workers, based primarily on those working in garment production in the border areas, throws light on the strategies that migrant women workers deploy in order to fulfill their

childbearing and rearing responsibilities in the context of changing and varied migration governance in Thailand.

This chapter adds to current research by focusing on the challenges for migrant mothers in seeking to secure care for their infants and small children as well as illustrating how the processes of daily and generational reproduction are complicated by the cross-border situation of migrant workers. Previous research has focused on the effect of parents' migration on children (Mazzucato and Schans 2011; Jampaklay 2006; Asis 2006; Nguyen et al. 2006) and demonstrates that the impacts are not consistent across cultures and societies. For example, Graham and Jordan (2011) compared four countries in Southeast Asia and found that in Indonesia and in Thailand, parental migration affected children's psychological health, whereas that was not the case in Vietnam and the Philippines. Similarly, as Lie (2010) noted, childcare strategies are different across ethnic groups in the same localities because each group has different social networks. Vincent et al. (2004, p. 229) consider that the "day-to-day process of social reproduction" is a reflection of a social geography of childcare. The current chapter analyzes the dynamics of the childcare strategies of Burmese migrant workers, considering not just the constraints faced by these women but also the ways in which they creatively seek to secure care for their children as well as to maintain their places in the global assembly line. It describes how women migrant workers often circumvent regulations that prohibit the raising of children in their place of destination and utilize whatever social networks and services they can access either to send the children back to their families in Myanmar or to secure alternatives in the place where they work.

The chapter first reviews recent literature on childcare among migrant workers. Then it describes research undertaken with Burmese migrant factory workers in three different study areas in Thailand: Mae Sot, Three Pagoda Pass, and Samut Prakan. The first two are towns which are on the Thai Burmese border, one in the North West and one in the West which are relatively recent locations for the employment of migrant workers in Thailand's garment industries. The third is in the center of Thailand, adjacent to the capital Bangkok. Most studies of childcare involving cross-border migrant workers focus on those who migrate to be care workers – the so-called global care chain (Parrenas 2001). However, the present study aims to fill a gap in research studies by examining the care responsibilities of cross-border migrant factory workers. It recognizes that the particular geographical location of migrant workers, particularly in relation to borders and metropolitan governance centers, has an important impact on the parameters that shape differential childcare strategies within a single destination country. The situation in Thailand differs from that in other Southeast Asian states such as Singapore (see Yeo and Lin 2012) which seek to prevent migrant workers from bearing children by making pregnancy a pretext for deportation, independent of the worker's legal status as a migrant worker. This study of migrant women in factories shows how state policies on labor migration as well as industrial growth impact on migrant workers' biological and generational reproductive activities, which include decisions and practices concerning pregnancy, childbirth, infant care as well as education, and upbringing of older children.

2 Childcare Options for Migrant Workers

Nancy Folbre's (1994) book entitled *Who Pays for the Kids?* makes it clear that the costs of caring for children is often excluded from economic and social analysis and it is widely assumed that childcare is taken care of by women's unpaid labor. The case of Burmese migrant workers in Thailand is a good example of this; neither the country of destination nor the country of origin expresses any concerns about the childcare responsibilities of migrant women workers. Countries which welcome migrant workers to carry out key jobs within their economies may be positive about the contribution of migrants to the economy; but they have also historically placed strict controls on the possibilities for migrants to settle permanently in receiving states and have increasingly placed obstacles to the children of migrant mothers acquiring citizenship in the countries in which they are born.

Although feminist scholars have successfully extended the theorization of migration to highlight the importance of women migrating independently as workers, rather than just as family members, it is also crucial to include reproductive as well as productive work as central in any gendered analysis of migration. Global care chain (GCC) analysis has focused on the global inequalities inherent in the fact that increasingly women from developing countries migrate to take care of children in developed economies, often leaving their own children to be taken care of by other women in their country of origin who are sustained by the remittances from the international migrant. This literature has increasingly engaged with the childcare issues of "transnational mothering," that is, care work that is extended across national borders (Hochschild 2002; Parrenas 2001; Piper 2008a; Carling 2005; Yeates 2012).

But there has been a troubling lack of research concerning the childcare needs of the children of migrant workers employed in non-care sectors, such as factories, agriculture, and the entertainment sector. As Dyer et al. (2011) and Datta et al. (2007) have noted, transnational mothering is only one of a range of strategies that migrants employ. Migrant care workers, like other migrants, are known to deploy a range of measures to care for their children including arranging for relatives to travel to their destination country (Moon 2003).

In situations where factory workers are either rural–urban migrants or from families settled in neighboring low-income areas, there have been expectations – rarely fulfilled – that childcare provision might be offered either by the employers or the state. It is however recognized that in practice, such support has generally been supplied by family members and community organizations (Daly and Lewis 2000; Hein 2005; Kusakabe 2006). Pearson's (1997) study of economic transition in Cuba conceptualized the division of responsibility for childcare and other elements of human and social reproduction as the "reproductive bargain" which captures the ways in which women continuously have to negotiate with the state and the market as well as their families and communities over the ways in which childcare and other reproductive activities are to be resourced and carried out. This is reflected in Razavi's schematic "care diamond" framework (Razavi 2007, p. 21). Both these frameworks highlight the "diversity of sites in which welfare is produced and the

decisions taken by society to privilege some forms of provision over others” (Razavi 2007, p. 20). Building on Esping-Andersen et al.’s (2001, p. 14) “welfare triangle,” the care diamond recognizes that reproductive services in the twentieth century were historically provided or financed by a mixture of inputs from the state, labor market, and families with the addition of the community/not-for-profit sectors. This model however is complicated by more recent transnational production and migration which problematizes the ways in which noncitizen workers can draw down entitlements from the destination states in which they are employed.

Within work–family conflict studies, Voydanoff (2001) has put forward a conceptual model of community microsystems which include community social organizations, social networks, social capital, sense of community, formal volunteering and informal helping, and community satisfaction. She goes on to describe the mesosystem as a combined effect of microsystems of individual/family/community/work outcomes and the macrosystem which incorporates a belief system of social and economic resources, opportunity structures, and patterns of social interactions. In combination with Pearson’s reproductive bargain and Razavi’s care diamond models referred to above, this framework provides a useful tool to analyze the ways in which migrant workers juggle their childcare responsibilities by balancing support within microsystems and mesosystems and by taking advantage of the macrosystem including state provisions. This chapter aims to demonstrate how the economic, labor, and gender regimes, both in Thailand and Myanmar, as well as the borderlands and centerlands (areas near the national capital), shape the options for childcare for migrant workers.

Below, the research methods are described, and an overview is presented of the history of migrant workers in Thailand – the macro and meso context for the analysis. The chapter goes on to explore how the microsystems work for migrant workers in each of the three study areas. It provides not only a unique perspective to the understanding of the geography of childcare in the Mekong subregion but also the significance of women workers’ agency in fashioning a repertoire of childcare arrangements in the face of differential and changing state regulations and border regimes prevailing in a particular environment.

3 Research Methods

The research utilized both qualitative and quantitative methods in three different locations within Thailand: (1) Mae Sot District in Tak Province; (2) Three Pagoda Pass, Sangkhla Buri District in Kanchanaburi Province; and (3) Phra Pradaeng District in Samut Prakan Province and the capital Bangkok. The first two locations are border towns between Myanmar and Thailand; the third one is a major industrial area in central Thailand (See Fig. 1). These three areas were selected because of their high concentration of women migrant factory workers from Myanmar. Table 1 summarizes the characteristics of the three areas and the number of respondents participating in the study.



Fig. 1 Map of study area

Life history interviews were carried out with 165 migrant workers (135 women and 30 men) in Burmese or Karen languages during 2007–2009. Karen research assistants interviewed Burmese factory workers selected using a snowballing technique. In 2010, a semi-structured questionnaire survey was conducted among 504 ever-married Burmese garment and leather factory workers (i.e., all those who were currently married as well as those now widowed, separated, or divorced) who had been working in Thailand for at least 3 years – a total of 371 women and

Table 1 The three study areas

	Mae Sot	Three Pagoda Pass	Bangkok/Samut Prakan
Daily wage (2008–2009) (THB) ^a	97.8	110.6	208.5
Legal minimum wage (as of 2008) (THB)	157	157	190
Average cost of travel from Burma (THB) ^b	527.3	1366.7	13,874.2
% of respondents registered	43.7 %	4.9 %	90.0 %
% of respondents applied for temporary passport	35.8 %	0 %	87.0 %
Average number of times that a respondent paid police	Women, 1.45	Women, 0.03	Women, 0.68
	Men, 1.82	Men, 0.09	Men, 1.0
Average payment made to police per time (THB)	Women, 129.4	Women, 1,500	Women, 1,960.9
	Men, 134.2	Men, 1,500	Men, 3,710.0
Number of respondents for in-depth interviews	Women, 68	Women, 36	Women, 31
	Men, 12	Men, 7	Men, 11
Number of respondents for questionnaire survey	Women, 211	Women, 91	Women, 69
	Men, 91	Men, 11	Men, 31
	Total, 302	Total, 102	Total, 100

^aBased on our questionnaire survey (average of respondents who were on daily wage). There is hardly any difference in daily wage between women and men in garment factories. However, this does not include piece rate and monthly salary paid respondents. Around 20 % (21.2 %) of Bangkok responses and around 30 % (28.4 %) of Mae Sot responses are on piece rate

^bCost of travel includes agent fee, transportation fee, placement fee, and food and accommodation during travel

133 men. The survey interviews were conducted by migrant workers themselves (with the help of Yaung Chi Oo Workers' Association and Pattanarak Foundation) in garment and leather factories in the three locations which allowed access to workers. This has ensured some level of triangulation in the information collected and also allowed discussions with the workers about the findings and analysis. All the names of respondents are pseudonyms to maintain anonymity of the respondents. Fewer men than women were interviewed because the focus of the study was on migrant women workers who are the majority in the factories, as well as the fact that women bear the major responsibility for childcare. The analysis of this chapter is part of a larger study of these Burmese women migrant workers, and the focus here is specifically on their responses to the survey and interviews concerning childcare arrangements.

4 Migrant Workers in Thailand

Thailand is heavily dependent on migrant workers to do many of the 3D (dirty, dangerous, and demeaning) jobs that Thai workers do not want to do. Burmese migrant workers generally enter the country illegally and are then registered by their

employers as “irregular” migrants, which gives them permission to work in specific occupations for a limited time. The Burmese migrants in the study came from a range of places within Myanmar including from areas where there has been ongoing conflict between government and insurgent groups. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO 2007), the per capita GDP in Thailand was some eight times higher than Myanmar in 2006, though by 2014 Myanmar’s per capita GDP was estimated at \$1997.5 – which is 36 % of the current Thai figure of \$5560.7 (World Bank 2015). (The 2014 figures are estimates. The closing of the per capita GDP gap reflects both the relative slowdown of the Thai economy in recent years and the partial integration of Myanmar into the global economy following recent political changes.) Arbitrary taxes, forced labor, forced population relocation, high inflation, lack of decent employment, and lack of credit to start businesses, as well as ongoing political oppression, have caused many Burmese to seek a living in Thailand (Fink 2009; Thawngmung 2004; Oo and Kusakabe 2010; Network for Human Rights Documentation Burma 2010).

Since 1996, the Thai government, acknowledging the demand from employers to access cheap migrant labor, introduced a system which offered migrants what were effectively temporary resident permits which legally postponed their liability to deportation. These “irregular” migrants are allowed to stay as long as they are attached to a certain employer and need to renew their registration annually. Successive registration rounds have generally become more restricted, stipulating the province where migrants are permitted to work and stay and reducing rights to register accompanying family members (see Kusakabe and Pearson 2010; Pearson and Kusakabe 2012).

The Thai government has been engaged in negotiations with neighboring countries since 2002 in an attempt to regularize and control illegal migration. Burmese migrants are now required to go through a nationality verification process and get a temporary passport, which allows them to obtain a work permit through a specified employer. Their nationality has to be first verified by the Burmese government before the passport is issued and only then can they obtain a work permit which is valid for 2 years, with the possibility of a single renewal for 2 years. This is a very complicated process, and most migrant workers have to use agents adding to the expense of the process.

Currently, both the registration system and the temporary passport scheme are running in parallel, but the Thai government has said that it intends to consolidate them into a single scheme based on the temporary passport scheme in the future. Neither scheme gives full protection to migrant workers. Registered migrants are not covered for accident insurance and have to purchase private insurance to cover their health-care expenses. They are also required to remain within the district they are employed in. Migrants who complete the nationality verification process are entitled to coverage for work accident compensation and are granted free movement within Thailand, but even those who have completed the nationality verification process are not permitted under Thai law to form their own labor union or to hold office in Thai unions. They are not permitted to bring their dependents into Thailand and face problems such as accessing maternity care and obtaining birth certificates for their children if they give birth in Thailand. As of January 2015, 966,902 migrant workers

(among whom 830,549 are Burmese) had completed the nationality verification process. This is lower than the peak of registration of migrant workers which reached 1.3 million in 2004. Those who are not registered, or do not hold temporary passports, face deportation. It is becoming increasingly difficult for undocumented migrants to obtain employment in the larger factories, so these workers tend to work in smaller workshops where pay, working conditions, and social protection are worse.

Under the nationality verification scheme, which is applicable only for Burmese, Cambodian, and Lao nationals, around 86 % of all registered migrants are Burmese, and 43 % of the total are women as of January 2015 (Office of Foreign Workers Administration 2015). Migrants work in agriculture, construction, seafood/agriculture processing, and the garment business. While Burmese dominate all these sectors, there are relatively more Laotians employed as domestic workers and in food processing and retailing, with Cambodians concentrated in agriculture, construction, and fisheries (Office of Foreign Workers Administration 2015). Among all these migrant workers in Thailand, the case study in this chapter focused on garment factories which employ predominantly Burmese migrant workers.

In 2011, there were 375,000 migrant children residing in Thailand, which is around 11 % of the total estimated migrant population of 3.4 million (Jampaklay 2011), a sharp increase from the 93,082 under 15-year-olds registered in 1994. This suggests that a considerable proportion of the migrant workforce is required to organize care and education for their children within Thailand (Huguet et al. 2011). In Samut Sakhon Province adjacent to Bangkok, as of 2014, around 6 % of migrants were of school age (Punpuing et al. 2014). The research reported on in this chapter was based in three different locations in Thailand. It illustrates how each has a different model of state control, which shapes the way migrant workers “comply, resist and negotiate” (Staudt 2001, p. 54) in carrying out childcare. The proximity and ease of access to locations within Myanmar creates differences in the childcare options of migrant workers. Place of origin also greatly influences migrants’ childcare strategies.

Many migrants have looked to their relatives in Myanmar to support their childcare requirements in various ways. Where there is relatively easy access to family members on the Burmese side of the border, as occurs in Mae Sot, childcare arrangements frequently involve family members on both sides of the border since it is sometimes possible for relatives to cross to the Thai side to take care of children or to send the children over the border to Myanmar. When the place of origin is geographically distant, or when travel between the place of employment and the home location is fraught with difficulty, as is the case for migrant workers in the central provinces of Thailand, there is a different, though strong, mutually dependent relationship with home. Migrant workers’ childcare responsibilities are not limited to providing direct care for infants and small children but also extend to financial support and moral guidance. The choices and strategies for such childcare are extensively linked to the possibilities of support from family and shaped by the ease or difficulty of accessing such support from within Myanmar.

Table 2 Childcare patterns for children under 6 years old born to Burmese migrant workers in Thailand

	Respondents in Bangkok	Respondents in Mae Sot	Respondents in Three Pagoda Pass	Total ^b
Childcare by oneself in Thailand	10 (27.0 %)	19 (9.2 %)	29 (74.4 %) ^a	58 (20.5 %)
Childcare in Thailand with paid caretaker	2 (5.4 %)	18 (8.7 %)	0 (0 %)	20 (7.1 %)
Childcare by oneself in Thailand then send child to Burma	20 (54.1 %)	78 (37.7 %)	5 (12.8 %)	103 (36.4 %)
Childcare by oneself in Thailand then invite parents to come to Thailand	3 (8.1 %)	96 (46.4 %)	14 (35.9 %)	113 (39.9 %)
Childcare in Burma	2 (5.4 %)	31 (15.0 %)	3 (7.7 %)	36 (12.7 %)
Total number of respondents	37 (100 %)	207 (100 %)	39 (100 %)	283 (100 %)

Source: Authors' Questionnaire Survey 2010

^aAt Three Pagoda Pass, "Childcare by oneself in Thailand" includes childcare in Three Pagoda Pass Burmese side.

^bFrom among the 504 questionnaire survey respondents, 283 respondents had their first child after they came to Thailand. This table is based on these 283 respondents. Some had two children (31 in Mae Sot and eight in Three Pagoda Pass), and a small number had three children (two in Mae Sot and two in Three Pagoda Pass) at the time the survey was conducted. Therefore, this column adds up to 330 responses.

Childcare arrangements differ according to location among the Burmese migrant workers in this study. The locational differences between the three study areas result in different possibilities and options for migrant workers to arrange childcare. As seen in Table 2, decisions concerning childcare arrangements differ across these locations. Mae Sot offers a wider variety of arrangements compared with the other two locations. "Childcare by oneself in Thailand," one of the childcare arrangement patterns identified in Table 2, refers to cases where migrant workers give birth in Thailand and take on the care of the baby themselves.

Table 2 records childcare only for children under 6 years of age. The following section also examines how migrant workers arrange childcare and education for children over 6. It analyzes the reasons for the locational differences in childcare arrangements to understand the rationale behind the childcare decisions made by Burmese migrant workers in each location. The different ways in which migrant workers are managing their childbearing and rearing activities in each of these three locations in part reflect the microsystems of family, work, and community but also the macrosystems of Thai economy and local governance regimes. Just as the Thai economy responds to competitive opportunities and barriers created by the global economy by exploiting cheap migrant labor, migrants try to utilize the fissures in the

system and the peculiarities of their particular geographical locations to their advantage, but with limited success. Below, the context of each location is examined.

4.1 Mae Sot

Mae Sot is one of the largest border towns in Thailand and owes its expansion to the policy of decentralizing industry which has been pursued by the Thai government since the 1990s. The vast majority of the factories located in Mae Sot produce ready-made garments for both domestic and export markets. For various reasons, including the remoteness of the region and its small Thai population, as well as the fact that this has officially been a low-wage area of the country, a very high proportion of the workers employed in these factories are migrants from across the border with Myanmar. In 2014, only 26,769 Burmese workers were registered in Tak province (meaning that they had completed the nationality verification process), of whom 64 % were women (Office of Foreign Workers Administration 2015), though the actual number of migrants including non-registered migrant workers was likely to be much higher. In fact, the proportion of migrants who registered for the nationality verification process (temporary passport) was relatively low in Mae Sot because of the cost of completing the nationality verification process and securing a work permit is considerably higher than the cost of the previous registration option, so both workers and employers are reluctant to incur this expense. It is also the case that undocumented workers in this area are able to easily cross the border to escape investigation by the police or immigration authorities. Though migrant wages in Mae Sot were the lowest of the three areas, this town is a popular destination for Burmese migrant workers since it is cheaper and easier to reach compared to the other two places (see Table 1). Migrant workers earn only about 60 % of the prevailing minimum wage in the area (Punpuing et al. 2006; Arnold 2004; FTUB and Robertson, Jr. 2006).

As in other areas where export garment production is concentrated, the majority (about 80 %) of the workforce in the garment factories in Mae Sot are women, many of whom become mothers during their employment in this location. The present study showed that most women factory workers in Mae Sot indicated their preference for giving birth in Mae Sot for a range of reasons. An important consideration is that the cost of maternity care is lower than it would be if they returned home to Myanmar to give birth. In Mae Sot those workers who have registered can access maternity care in a Thai district hospital for only 30 baht. In addition, all Burmese migrants, including non-registered migrant workers, have access to affordable health care in the Mae Tao Clinic, a Burmese not-for-profit clinic run by Magsaysay award winner Dr. Cynthia Maung. According to the informants, public health-care services in Myanmar are much more expensive than in Thailand where public expenditure on health is much higher – public expenditure on health as percentage of GDP was 1.8 in Myanmar, while it was 4.6 in Thailand in 2013 (WHO 2015). The quality of services in Myanmar is also low and not accessible to all women, and the maternal

mortality rate (adjusted) in 2013 was 200 per 100,000 live births, compared to 26 in Thailand (UNICEF 2013).

In addition to consideration of access to and cost of health services, workers reported that they had access to a range of childminding options in Mae Sot which, for many, made it easier to have and raise children in this Thai town. Unlike in more central areas of Thailand, there are good road linkages between Mae Sot and Yangon as well as other places in Myanmar which means that Burmese migrant workers can generally travel between their hometowns and Mae Sot without fearing arrest from Thai police or immigration officials. The large Burmese community in Mae Sot and the ease of border crossing mean that Burmese women, who are in the main undocumented migrants, can be hired as childminders in Mae Sot to facilitate factory workers returning to their jobs after they have given birth. In common with the other locations where the research was carried out, working mothers in Mae Sot deployed a range of childcare options. But, as can be seen in Table 2, Mae Sot displayed the widest variety of childcare options compared to the other two places. A higher proportion of those interviewed indicated that they had taken the decision to send their infants back to Myanmar when they were between 6 and 12 months old, to be taken care of by relatives while the mother continued to work in Thailand. This is detailed in Table 2 under the category of “Childcare by oneself in Thailand, then send child to Myanmar.” Because of the more favorable travel conditions, it is easier for mothers and children to go back and forth between Thailand and Myanmar from Mae Sot, so factory workers are able to choose between having their children brought up by their families back home and keeping the children with them in Mae Sot. It is also a relatively simple matter for family members to come from Myanmar to help in childcare since staying without registration is less problematic than in more central areas of the country such as Bangkok. It is therefore quite common to find children shifted back and forth between Mae Sot and the Burmese village of origin depending on the opportunities and convenience that the parents judge for their children and themselves. For example, Khin Swe Win’s 9-year-old son came to Mae Sot to look after his younger brother during his vacation; when the son had to return to school in Myanmar, his mother traveled home with him, left him with other relatives in Yangon, and returned to Mae Sot with her mother who took care of the infant.

It is also possible for workers to carry out childcare themselves, particularly with the assistance of parents or other relatives who are able to come to Mae Sot because of the ease of border crossing. For those who could not call on relatives, hiring paid childcare is much easier to organize in Mae Sot, because of the large Burmese community and because there are a number of people who are in Thailand as dependents and not directly employed in the factories or elsewhere themselves. Unsurprisingly, in Mae Sot, a relatively high proportion of the migrant population is not registered, and it is also easier for unregistered dependents to travel to and remain in Mae Sot. Aye Aye Maw (interviewed on 23 April 2008), a 42-year-old mother of two daughters, came to Mae Sot following her husband’s death since her earnings from a state factory in Yangon were insufficient to support herself and her children. She reported that in Mae Sot, it was possible to find older Burmese women

who do not have jobs in the factories and are therefore willing to take care of factory workers' children. There are also a number of private nurseries in Mae Sot, catering to the needs of the large Burmese community.

Leh Leh Sue, who worked for more than 10 years in Mae Sot, has tried almost all possible childcare arrangements. She returned to Mawlamyaing, Mon state in Myanmar, to deliver her son and after 3 months returned to work in Mae Sot, leaving the baby with her mother then returning every month to see him. However, her mother also had to care for three other grandchildren so when the child was 2 years old she brought him to Mae Sot. At first a neighbor who did not work in factories looked after the child, but eventually Leh Leh Sue left her factory job and became a home-based garment worker in order to look after the child herself. However, she had to take up factory work again because the family's income was insufficient, and when she delivered her second child, she hired a childminder who could care for both children. Such shifting of childcare arrangements was possible for this worker because she could travel to and from her place of origin with ease, there were women available who could be hired to look after her children, and she was able – even temporarily – to undertake home-based work. Many respondents in Mae Sot similarly ferried their children and caretakers back and forth across the border.

Mae Sot has developed a range of Burmese community services including nurseries and schools, and the larger and concentrated diasporic population provides a positive context for the development of community and mutual help. There are 75 diasporic schools in Mae Sot and the surrounding districts as of 2013, run privately by donations from abroad. These schools are not certified by either the Thai government or Burmese government, although some NGOs are attempting to make links with Thai schools to enable Burmese students to go on to further studies.

Although the wages are much lower than in Bangkok, factories in Mae Sot are relatively more flexible, and employers frequently allow workers to bring their babies to work, so it is easier to manage childcare without the help of others. Khin Swe Win reported that she had to move to a smaller, more informal factory after she had her baby. Although her new job paid lower wages, she was able to keep the infant with her. However, such arrangements are totally at the whim of the employer. Nyein Nyein Lwin in Mae Sot recalled that she used to take her baby to the factory but when the factory owner's wife took charge, she prohibited children from staying in the factory accommodation and deducted 900 baht whenever a worker brought her children to the workplace.

The specific details of Mae Sot, and the macrosystem of state governance prevailing there, make migrant workers' access to health services relatively easier since the ways in which national policies are implemented are more lenient. The community microsystems in Mae Sot include the development of good social networks and a real sense of community and solidarity among the Burmese population living in the town, and workers can rely on a lot of mutual informal help as well as accessing assistance from a range of NGOs. The workplace microsystem is also more accommodating of workers compared to Bangkok. This is particularly true in the case of the many small and informal workplaces which, although they pay

much lower wages than larger establishments, are more accommodating to workers who are pregnant and who have childcare responsibilities.

4.2 Three Pagoda Pass

Three Pagoda Pass is located at the border between Sangkhla Buri District, Kanchanaburi Province, Thailand, and Karen State, Myanmar. In 2007, conflict between Thai and Burmese soldiers forced the closure of the border gate. There were a number of Burmese furniture factories as well as a Thai footwear manufacturer located on the Burmese side of the border, whose production was disrupted by the closure of the border gate since they were unable to transport their products to Thailand, leading to the mushrooming of factories on the Thai side of the border. They employed Burmese workers who commuted daily through small informal border gates without hindrance. Burmese workers are permitted to come to Thailand to work without documents in that area provided they do not stay overnight. The first garment factory on the Thai side was set up in 1996. The footwear factory, established in 2006, produces for an international brand and is the largest employer in the area. In 2008, there were some 80 factories in Three Pagoda Pass employing around 3,300 Burmese workers (interview with Pattanarak Foundation July 2008). Except for the footwear manufacturer, these are all small establishments employing less than 100 workers.

Most migrant workers in Three Pagoda Pass live on the Burmese side of the border and commute to Thailand every day. Unlike in Mae Sot, the border and the factories are very near, and it is easy for Burmese workers to cross the border at informal crossings to come to work in Three Pagoda Pass. There seems to be an agreement at the local level to allow migrant workers to come to Thailand daily to work without any registration. Therefore, even though these workers are working in Thailand, the arrangement is as if they are working in their own countries. In Three Pagoda Pass, it is easy to arrange for relatives to look after children so, as can be seen in Table 2, few women hire paid childminders in this location. Public and private day care services are not commonly available in Myanmar, and less than 8 % of children between 3 and 5 years old access day care services (UNICEF 2013). The workers interviewed revealed that there are 3 day care centers on the Burmese side of Three Pagoda Pass, but they are not that popular, and most workers ask neighbors to look after their children.

Many workers in Three Pagoda Pass opt at least initially to look after children by themselves with mothers cutting back working hours or organizing work around childcare – that is, working from home or bringing children to the workplace. Such an arrangement is popular in Three Pagoda Pass, partly because it is expensive for them to bring their relatives to Three Pagoda Pass because the cost of transport is higher compared to Mae Sot and because many factories in Three Pagoda Pass allow mothers to bring small babies to work. Chaw Ei Phyu came from Yangon to work in

Three Pagoda Pass in 2003 with her Burmese husband and delivered her child there because the medical costs were lower than in inner Myanmar. After the child was born, Chaw Ei Phyu and her husband moved to another factory, which offered accommodation for workers and permitted their children to stay with them. In this location, many women workers work alongside their husbands in the garment factories, although the responsibility for childcare remains almost exclusively for the mother's. Though migrant workers are not legally permitted to stay overnight on the Thai side of Three Pagoda Pass, there is little official vigilance and some small factories even set aside areas within the factory compound where workers can stay when the pace of production is particularly high.

The work regime in Three Pagoda Pass is less strict than in Mae Sot or in Bangkok and allows more room for mothers to juggle childcare so that they can take care of their children themselves. For example, after delivery, Soe Mar Wai arranged for her mother to look after her child, while she returned to work in the same factory as her husband. She does not work overtime so that she can return home and take over childcare from her mother who sells cooked food, leaving the husband free to work overtime. Her childcare arrangements seemed flexible and when her mother was not available she was able to ask her neighbor to look after the child. When the child was a little older, Soe Mar Wai's husband and father were not in regular employment so that they were able to stay home and look after the child.

There are far fewer NGOs working on the Thai side of the border at Three Pagoda Pass as compared to Mae Sot, and most are working on health issues. There is no diasporic school or kindergarten in Three Pagoda Pass nor are there any NGOs on the Burmese side of the border, but the presence of a Burmese community makes it easier to organize help when needed. Workers at Three Pagoda Pass access health services as well as education services on the Burmese side of the border. Most of the respondents in the study gave birth either on the Burmese side of the border or at their village of origin. In order to meet the increasing demand for education, there are two new primary schools constructed on the Burmese side of the border.

The population of Three Pagoda Pass on the Burmese side is currently growing rapidly, with more and more employment created on the Thai side, and a growth of work subcontracted to small factories and workshops on the Burmese side. People from all over Myanmar are coming to Three Pagoda Pass to look for employment, and because of its growing number of inhabitants, it is now a lively town with many rented motorbikes and shops, unlike on the Thai side where there are only factories. Lwin Maw Tun, a garment worker from Yangon who had arrived in Three Pagoda Pass with her sister a few weeks before the interview, told us that "there are many neighbors [living on the Burmese side] who are free and can look after the baby for a while in the day time."

In Three Pagoda Pass, the macrosystem of the particular border regime (the border regulation that allows Burmese workers to commute to Thailand for work) has created a community microsystem (the social network and community/family relations) that is different from the one prevailing in Mae Sot. In Three Pagoda Pass, the social networks and informal help that the workers rely on are all on the Burmese side of the border, so that the arrangements they make for the care of their children

are similar to the circumstances they would face in their place of origin. Although the actual employment is located on the Thai side of the border, it is the case that the reproductive work of childcare and the education of children take place within Myanmar. The macrosystem has shaped the options that women have for their childcare; even though Three Pagoda Pass is also a border town like Mae Sot and also part of global chains of garment manufacturing, the geography of care arrangements differs from those in other cross-border production locations.

4.3 Phra Pradaeng District, Samut Prakan, and Bangkok

Samut Prakan is adjacent to Bangkok, and one of the most industrialized provinces in Thailand, with a very high concentration of factories, many producing for export. Hiring of Burmese workers in these factories dates back only to the 2000s. Most of the larger export-oriented factories pay minimum wages or above and require the Burmese workers that they employ to be registered. Migrants who are unable to obtain registration documents work in small workshops under inferior working conditions and are paid below the minimum wage. Even so, the wages in this area are higher than in the other two areas (Table 1). However, respondents complained that the cost of living in or near Bangkok is much higher than in the other two sites studied. The amount deducted for accommodation in the central provinces was around 360 baht per month, compared with 190 in Mae Sot and 110 in Three Pagoda Pass (this survey). In Mae Sot, virtually all of the workers on the factory floor are Burmese, whereas in Samut Prakan/Bangkok, official figures show that migrant workers comprise around 15 % of total employment. There were around 130,000 registered Burmese migrant workers in Bangkok and the periphery (Sciortino and Punpuing 2009, p. 64) and around 700,000 people working in manufacturing sector in the same region in 2009 (NSO 2009).

As can be seen in Table 2, most of the respondents in Samut Prakan/Bangkok send their children back to Myanmar, since it is difficult to either look after them by themselves or find other people to look after the children – either relatives or hired childminders. According to the women interviewed, it is difficult to find Burmese childminders in Bangkok, since Burmese migrants tend to be fully employed; consequently, the few women who hired paid carers had to opt for Thai women, which they found unsatisfactory in the quality of care as well as expensive. Only a very few migrant women workers in the sample hired a Thai woman to look after their babies. The cost, which amounted to almost 50 % of their income, made such an arrangement prohibitive for most.

In Bangkok, it is difficult to get help from family members because police and immigration service checks en route make it very difficult for people to travel from Myanmar. Also the cost of living is higher than that in the other two places, so it is difficult for unemployed family members to come to Bangkok to help out with childcare. But without family support, it is very difficult to bear and rear children in Bangkok. One migrant factory worker who had arrived in Bangkok 4 years ago with

her husband told the researchers that they had decided to go back to Myanmar because she was now pregnant and she could not find anybody to help her:

... there is no one who can take care of the baby here. If I deliver here, my husband has to take leave from his job [to look after me] at the same time when I am not working. So it is pointless to deliver the baby here without anyone working. (San Htun, 22 years old from Mon State, working in Bangkok. Interviewed on 4 September 2008)

Unregistered workers, who constitute the majority of Burmese migrant workers in Thailand, fear getting caught by the Thai police so are discouraged from taking their children back to Myanmar or even returning to Myanmar to give birth. This was the only location where a “baby agent” was encountered who, for a price, would organize the transportation of babies and children from Bangkok to the workers’ hometowns and villages inside Myanmar.

If the child is sent to be with relatives back home, the expectation to remit to the family becomes stronger, especially for women. There is a higher expectation for daughters to financially support their parents (Mi Mi Khaing 1984), and mothers are more engaged in childcare (Thwin 2001) even from a distance. So, depending on the family back home for childcare does not absolve migrant workers from all responsibility for childcare. Lynn Myat Aung works at a jeans factory in Bangkok. When her youngest baby was 3 months old, she left her children with her mother-in-law in Karen State and came to Bangkok with an agent. At first, she was earning 100–200 baht per day, but now she receives only 80–100 baht a day as the factory has fewer orders. She does not want to change her job, since this factory organized her workers’ registration for her. But the decreased income has made it difficult for her to maintain her remittances:

Over the past year, my earnings were lower, so I borrowed money from my friend when I needed to remit to my children and mother-in-law. I borrowed money from Burmese friends because they charge less interest – only 7 or 8 per cent [per month] – but Thai people loan their money with big interest – 20 per cent [per month]. (Lynn Myat Aung, 31 year old from Karen state, working in Bangkok. Interviewed on 12 March 2009)

In Bangkok, most factories have little tolerance for babies and children at the work place. Ni Ni Yin is 25 years old and came to Thailand in 1998 from Mon State. Her parents only gave her permission to go to Mae Sot, but she came to Bangkok seeking to earn a better income. She got pregnant in 2008 and was obliged to leave the factory since, according to her account, the factory manager/owner said that having pregnant women in the factory is unlucky. She has decided to stay in Thailand since she had her registration card and could deliver the baby cheaply in a Thai public hospital; but she intends to return to Myanmar with the child because she considers it impossible to continue working while taking care of a small child.

In Bangkok, registered migrant workers can access public hospitals for delivery of children and immunization. Unregistered migrants are unable to use public services and need to pay for private hospital services. Delivering babies in

Thailand can be expensive for those who are not registered and cannot avail of the universal health-care services of the Thai government as Moe Moe Htun explained:

Since most of the workers do not have ID card [meaning they are not registered], it is difficult for women to deliver a baby here. It is expensive for a woman without an ID card to deliver a baby . . . We have to do like this [to get contraceptive injection], otherwise, once you get pregnant and with no ID card, you'd better go home. It costs 2000 baht to go back to the border. We can't afford to get pregnant here. (Moe Moe Htun, 29 years old from Mon State working in Bangkok. Interviewed on 29 September 2008)

Migrant workers live in scattered areas in Samut Prakan and do not form a strong and coherent community in the same way as in Mae Sot. It is difficult for nonworkers to come to Bangkok, and people tend to work long hours, leaving little time for mutual help and solidarity. There is no NGO to support children's education or organize nurseries. Therefore, in comparison with migrants living in the other two places, migrant workers in Bangkok are able to access little or no services from the not-for-profit sector.

In Bangkok, the macrosystem (strict labor regime and state control on immigration) has affected the microsystem of the Burmese community, particularly with respect to the availability of support that migrant workers can rely on for childcare. The scattered nature of the Burmese community in Samut Prakan and the strict labor regime make it difficult to organize informal support for childcare in Thailand; hence, workers need to solely depend on their family support at home. This creates heavier pressure for women to remit back home to ensure childcare support in the place of origin.

5 Conclusion

The chapter has shown how the options for childcare arrangements of Burmese migrant workers in Thailand vary according to how they are governed in particular places. In addition to Razavi's (2007) care diamond, which assumed that childcare provision was shared between the state, the market, the family, and the nonprofit sector, Voydanoff's ecological system approach to work, family, and community was used to analyze migrants' childcare arrangements. By using Voydanoff's concept, it is possible to analyze how in different contexts, macrosystems (the border regulations) and microsystems (networks and relations within communities and families) work together to shape different outcomes for women migrant workers where they can exercise different strategies to juggle childcare and household financial responsibilities.

Migrant workers, who lack citizenship and entitlements in their place of destination, generally face limited options and resources for delivery and care of young children. The study demonstrates how migrant workers juggle their options in the context of restrictions and controls imposed by both states – the Thai state which

tries to control their reproduction as well as their mobility and the Burmese state that creates oppression and insecurity and provides little economic opportunity. This makes it difficult for migrant workers to care for their children in either country, but between the rock and the hard place, Burmese migrant workers juggle their childcare by maximizing whatever resources are available on either side of the border. Although the research indicates that women migrants were in many cases able to make arrangements for their children to be cared for by family members or others either back home or in their place of employment, the constant juggling and insecurity of these arrangements places almost impossible strains on the women themselves, as well as the pain of separation from their children when they have no option but to send them home to be cared for by others.

At the border areas of Mae Sot and Three Pagoda Pass, the restrictions imposed by the Thai state on immigration as well as the prevailing labor regimes and discipline in the factories are more lenient and enable women to exercise various options for childcare in or near their place of employment. Such macrosystems make it possible for them to expand social networks not only in the place of origin but also at the place of destination, which makes it easier to arrange for both formal and informal support for childcare. In Mae Sot, the community network and services – the microsystems in Voydanoff’s model – contribute to a greater sense of community and informal assistance, through the organization of diaspora schools and health services offered by the Burmese not-for-profit Mae Tao clinic.

The variations in migrant workers’ childcare arrangements reflect the differences in migrant governance in each location. As Ong’s (2000) notion of graduated sovereignty rightly draws attention to, the state uses different ways of governing people and places. This study showed how migrant workers are frequently able to circumvent state control by moving over borders in order to organize childcare (Staudt 2001). Especially in Mae Sot, where state as well as non-state services are available, migrant workers enjoy a wider range of childcare options since they are able to access services both in Thailand and in Myanmar. Although Three Pagoda Pass workers are able to evade state control by operating on either side of the border, their childcare options are more restricted because of the absence of either state or community services on the Thai side of the border.

At the same time, migrants mobilize whatever resources are available in the places where they are working and develop strategies to bring up their children – selecting workplaces where they can bring children even when that means lower wages. This indicates the significance of labor governance as another variable shaping workers’ options. Even though they are contributing to the Thai economy through their productive work and to the Burmese economy through their remittances, these contributions are not recognized by either state and neither compensates for or supports women’s reproductive role. On the contrary, the states create multiple difficulties for women who have children and seek to secure appropriate care for them. But this study also shows that women are able to take advantage of local differences in both macro- and microsystems of migration and employment controls to forge adequate, if not optimal care and support for their children. The chapter provides a clear example of the ways in which migrant women workers

juggle their productive and reproductive roles and how their juggling acts are shaped both by their participation in global production systems and by local systems of state immigration and labor regimes.

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Migrant Domestic Workers and the Globalization of Childcare

7

Rosie Cox

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Abstract

This chapter explores how neoliberal globalization has reshaped childcare through a focus on migrant domestic workers providing childcare in private homes. Neoliberal policies underpin labor migration for care work and also underpin reduced state spending on childcare and favor intensive childcare practices which aim to ensure children's future competitive advantages. The globalization of childcare matters to children's lives and links families together across the globe. The first part of the chapter explores the growth of migration for domestic work. Migration for domestic and childcare work is supported by policies of labor export from countries wanting to earn currency through remittances, as well as labor import policies from countries wanting to access cheap migrant labor. The second part of the chapter examines the way that neoliberal globalization shapes the nature of childcare in better-off families who employ a

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migrant domestic worker because they favor childcare methods which are meant to ensure their children's future financial success. Such "competitive mothering" is based on children having many hours of individual adult attention so that they will develop the necessary competitive advantage over their peers. The third part of the chapter reflects on how such practices affect the families and children of domestic workers, who are often left behind in their home countries. One outcome of migration for childcare work has been the development of "global care chains" (GCCs) which link families across the globe as they attempt to do the best for their children.

Keywords

Care • Domestic work • Gendered migration flows • Global care chains (GCCs) • Transnational families

1 Introduction

Childcare matters; it matters to children, to their parents, and to childcare workers. Yet, despite its importance, when it is done for pay, childcare is neither well respected nor well rewarded. It consumes many hours of people's time but is also considered to be unskilled, something that anyone, or at least any woman, can do. It is, therefore, exactly the sort of work which has been globalized, that is, moved to low-wage economies in order to take advantage of cheap and plentiful available labor, but rather than children being neatly packed up in container ships and sent, like the components of a car or a washing machine, to be worked on in a low-wage location, childcare is globalized by moving low-paid workers around the world.

Unlike the process of globalization in car manufacturing or telephone call centers, the lower-cost labor of migrant childcare workers is not necessarily replacing the higher-cost labor of native-born workers in richer countries. It is part of a broader commoditization of care which has seen care work increasingly move from an unpaid to a paid form of work and from the public sector to the private. While the vast majority of care for children, as well as for adults, is still done for free within the family, there has also been a reorganization of reproductive labor for many families in many countries around the world, as the market penetrates further into our lives, replacing services that were previously provided for free by the state and work that was done by family members.

Globalization has affected the movement of migrant domestic workers into childcare not only by facilitating the movement of people around the world but also through the spread of neoliberal ideologies which have underpinned the withdrawal of the state from care provision and broader processes of urbanization and class restructuring. We now see an increasingly similar pattern of privatized childcare across the globe as even nations which have traditionally shunned private solutions and invested in state support for childcare, such as the Nordic countries (Isaksen 2010), are moving toward increased use of private childcare. In the Global

South, the middle classes are becoming more urban and more women are working outside the home. While there have long been very large numbers of domestic workers employed by the wealthy in the South, these new middle classes have to find ways to negotiate new relationships with childcarers (Ray and Qayum 2009). At the same time, the former state-socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union have reduced investment in public childcare facilities and allowed the market to take over provision while at the same time promoting women's continued commitment to paid work and the adult worker society (Lutz and Pallenga-Möllnbeck 2012). We now see flows of migrant domestic workers to and from these countries which, until the late 1980s, could be assured of both plentiful childcare and universal employment. As Lutz and Pallenga-Möllnbeck (2012, p. 19) put it "at the end of the twentieth century Eastern Europe and Western and Southern Europe – despite their very different histories – arrived at a nexus in which labor market participation was seen as an adult citizen's duty, while states were not or no longer prepared to deliver the necessary support for the balance of waged and care work." To this constellation of European states, we could add that North America and many parts of the rapidly developing economies of the Global South were moving in a very similar direction.

The global flows of childcare workers are part of a broader process of neoliberal globalization, which reshape families in both rich and poor countries and have entangled their lives with each other in increasingly visible ways. Neoliberal practices underpin labor migration for care work and also underpin reduced state spending on childcare. The neoliberal approach also supports rhetorics of family responsibility for providing and paying for childcare. The outcome of this has been a growth in private forms of collective childcare, including the rise of international chains of nurseries (Neugebauer 2006), a growth in childcare in private homes, and – closely related to this – the ascendancy of childcare philosophies and practices which imagine childcare as a means of achieving future competitiveness.

The growth of a global, migrant childcare workforce means that for many families childcare arrangements are changing. This chapter traces changes brought about by neoliberal globalization to migrant childcare workers, the children they care for, and the children they have left behind. Over the last two decades, geographers and others have carried out extensive research on the resurgence of paid domestic employment and the key role that migrant women play in providing domestic labor (see, e.g., Anderson 2000; Chang 2000; Cox 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001; Lutz 2011; Momsen 1999; Pratt 2004). While much of this labor involves childcare, to date, there has been a gap between research on paid domestic work – which generally focuses on the experiences of workers and the politics of the commoditization of reproductive labor – and the work of children's geographers which has looked at children as domestic workers. Much less is known about the experiences of children who are cared for in this new, globalized childcare regime. This chapter provides an overview of the changing context of childcare within globalization to enable children's geographers to engage more fulsomely with this structural context and so to better understand how these changes affect children's lives.

This chapter explores how these processes have reshaped childcare by focusing on migrant childcare workers in private homes and highlights the context surrounding children's experiences of childcare. The first part of the chapter examines who does childcare in private homes and how neoliberalism has shaped who does what sorts of childcare work. It starts by outlining the flows of migrant domestic workers around the world and the labor export and labor import policies which support these flows. It then looks at how ethnic stereotypes mean that migrants are often favored as childcarers and are imagined as naturally more suited to this work and then examines the different forms that paid domestic childcare takes: the traditional nanny, the recent rise of au pairing, and the enduring role of low-paid, often very young domestic workers who undertake childcare along with myriad other tasks. The second part of the chapter explores the way the globalization of childcare has affected the sort of care provided to the children cared for by migrant childcare workers. Neoliberal globalization has underpinned the rise of competitive care practices which both encourage the employment of migrant domestic workers and influence their working conditions. As parents strive to raise their children in a way which will give them a competitive advantage in the future, they favor intensive individual care and high levels of monitoring of childcare workers. This section also explores how the employment of migrant childcare workers in private homes also enables the sharing of childcare philosophies between workers and employers, with all the tensions and rewards this can entail. The final part of the chapter is a discussion of the effects of the globalization of childcare on the children of childcare workers themselves. It explores the "global care chain" (GCC) concept, which has been particularly important in describing the experiences of migrant domestic workers who are themselves mothers leaving their own children to the care of others while they work abroad. The GCC concept shows the extent to which globalization has penetrated into the family lives of people around the world, tying them together as they try to do the best for their children, whatever that might mean.

2 Global Flows of Workers: Exporting and Importing Childcare Labor

There are no reliable figures on the number of migrant domestic workers involved in childcare globally. The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates that there are at least 53 million domestic workers worldwide, and the number could be as high as 100 million, 83 % of whom are women. As the ILO explains, even at its lowest estimate "if all domestic workers worked in one country, this country would be the tenth largest employer worldwide" (ILO 2011, n.p). While not all domestic workers are migrants, and not all are involved in childcare, these figures give some indication of the size of this workforce.

Domestic workers carry out housework and care for children, the elderly, and vulnerable adults within private homes for some form of remuneration; some are paid a wage, but some are given only food or room and board. International migration to carry out domestic work has grown rapidly in recent decades. The

migrant domestic workers who carry out childcare are predominantly from Asia, North Africa, and South and Central America. They move within their own countries – from rural areas to towns and cities and from smaller to larger towns, between countries in the Global South and the Global North, and from the Global South to North. There are some distinct patterns of movement between countries which reflect immigration regulations, historical colonial relationships, income inequalities, and language commonalities. There are movements of workers between Latin American countries, from Mexico and the Caribbean to the USA and from Latin America to Spain. Moroccan and Tunisian women move to France, Burmese to Thailand, and Sri Lankans to the Middle East, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaysia (Romero et al. 2014), and recently women from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet States have become important in providing childcare in private homes in Central and Western Europe. The Philippines is the most important source of international migrant domestic workers, sending over 150,000 people a year to work as domestic and care workers overseas. The top destinations are in the Middle East (Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, and Kuwait), Asia (Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Malaysia), and Italy (see Philippines Overseas Employment Administration 2012).

Nation states can facilitate the movement of domestic workers to carry out childcare by enabling both emigration and immigration, and these schemes are often based on assumptions about gendered roles and women’s “natural” place within the home. Some countries have specific visa regimes and other migration schemes aimed particularly at allowing domestic workers’ entry (such as the Live-in Caregiver Program in Canada, the au pair scheme in the USA, Norway, and Denmark), and almost all such schemes restrict visa holders to live-in positions within private homes (Constable 2003; Cox 2012). A small number of labor-exporting countries – most notably the Philippines and Sri Lanka – have also developed schemes to encourage their populations to work abroad. Women from these countries are particularly encouraged to migrate to carry out care-related tasks such as domestic work, childcare, and nursing, and women’s emigration is particularly encouraged because they are thought to be more reliable at sending remittances than men. As Rhacel Salazar Parreñas has put it (2008, p. 4), “The process of labor migration pushes women outside the home at the same time that it reaffirms the belief that women belong inside the home. The work that migrant women perform outside the home – work that sustains and provides the Philippine economy with one of its largest sources of foreign currency – usually maintains the notion of women’s domesticity.”

2.1 Migrant Childcare Workers and Ethnic Stereotypes

It is not coincidental that migrant workers are recruited into domestic childcare roles. Paid domestic work has long been a migrant niche, whether those migrants have been from the local rural area, a poorer region of the same country, or an entirely different region of the world. Live-in domestic labor offers migrants both housing

and work, and the domestic setting is assumed to be both a safe and suitable location for young women alone in a new place. Studies have found that employers may also specifically favor migrants as domestic workers, both because they are likely to be cheap, biddable, and dependent (Chang 2000) and because ethnic and national differences can seemingly serve to justify the employer/employee distinction and may help employers to feel better about employing a domestic worker.

Migrants can be steered into childcare because of stereotypes about which nationalities or ethnicities are “naturally” suited to this work. There can be complex hierarchies within the domestic labor and childcare sectors which direct people – almost always women – of different nationalities into different roles (Cox 1999; Stiell and England 1997, 1999). While the precise ordering of these hierarchies differs over space and time, it is generally the case that the most denigrated migrant groups are not favored as childcarers, but will instead be seen as suited to cleaning and housekeeping work. The migrants who do childcare are more likely to be from less denigrated groups.

One of the ways in which mothers have been found to negotiate their conflicted feelings around leaving their children with paid carers is to focus on the differences between themselves and those carers, particularly the ethnic or national differences (Rosenbaum 2014). Employers are able to feel better about not doing all their childcare themselves if they can imagine that their employee is more “naturally” suited to the work (Hochschild 2003) or is “lucky” to have such work, and this can mean they focus on ethnic and national differences between themselves and their employee. A focus on such differences also allows employers to avoid casting their relationship with their employee as one which is structured by class differences, and so their own class privileges remain unexamined.

2.2 What’s in a Name? Nannies, Au Pairs, and Domestic Workers

Childcare and domestic work are organized in a range of different ways, and migrant workers doing these tasks can be employed as specialist nannies, au pairs, housekeepers, babysitters, or some combination of these. Practices vary between countries depending on the cost of employing domestic workers, the cost and availability of collective forms of childcare, and cultural norms governing what good childcare involves. In the Global South, it is common for households to employ a general domestic worker who will undertake childcare alongside her other tasks, and there are large numbers of child domestic workers (CDWs) employed to look after still younger children. In more wealthy families, where a number of domestic workers are employed, more specialist childcare workers might be hired. In Northern Europe, North America, and Australasia, the demand for childcare has underpinned the resurgence in employing domestic workers, and in these countries, it is more common to find specialist nannies and au pairs providing childcare while hourly paid cleaners do other housework. In each particular local setting, national policies, practices, and preferences combine to produce a particular way in which migrant workers carry out childcare in private homes.

2.2.1 Nannies

Nannies are the most specialist and most highly paid domestic workers who are involved in providing childcare. While the name encompasses a multitude of roles and arrangements, there is a general expectation that a nanny's primary job will be childcare rather than general housekeeping, although large numbers of nannies do carry out cleaning and cooking as well as looking after their charges. Some nannies have childcare qualifications and there are also specialist colleges such as Norland College in the UK. "Norlanders," as graduates of the College are known, are famous for their formal uniform which includes gloves – brown or white depending on season – and a hat (Norland College 2015). Dedicated nannies are most likely to be employed by wealthier families who might also employ a part-time cleaner or full-time housekeeper. Nannies are also employed in the very wealthiest households around the world, where there would be a large domestic staff each with a particular role (Cox 2006; Holden 2013).

One of the very few pieces of research on childcare performed by domestic workers which takes account of children's experiences is Katherine Holden's (2013) exploration of nannying in British families in the twentieth century. Holden uses diaries, letters, and interviews with former nannies, employers, and children raised by nannies to gain multiple perspectives on similar events. Her approach reveals particularly well the tensions for all of Chap. 2, "Living Inside the Mother-Nanny-Child Triangle". Children's relationships with their nannies were emotionally loaded, with nannies often remembered as either angels or demons. The class antagonisms present within this intimate relationship were also understood by the children being cared for, despite their young age, and are shown by Holden to be a source of sympathy and antipathy toward nannies.

2.2.2 Au Pairs

Another group of migrant childcare workers who are increasingly important are au pairs. "Au pair" is generally an official immigration status, rather than just a job title. In most countries, au pairs are on a specific visa and work in conditions which are delimited within immigration and/or employment law. An au pair is a young person who lives temporarily with a family in a foreign country and who provides childcare and domestic work in exchange for "pocket money," room and board, and the opportunity to learn about another culture. The precise definition of who can au pair (age, nationality), their remuneration, working hours and conditions, and legal status all differ from country to country. In almost all settings, au pairs are not defined as workers and are excluded from labor laws or access to national minimum wages (the USA is one of the few exceptions to this). This means au pairs are not normally counted in the numbers of paid domestic workers, despite the fact what they actually do differs little (Cox 2015). In most countries, au pairs are only meant to provide 20–30 h of work per week (again the USA is an exception to this with the limit there being 45 h) and in some countries cannot be left in sole charge of infants (Geserick 2015). While there is substantial evidence that many au pairs work much longer hours than those set out in national schemes, au pairs are a particularly

popular childcare solution for families with school-age children who do not need full-time care.

Au pairing has its roots in Europe but has expanded worldwide in recent years with countries such as Colombia and China now hosting au pairs (IAPA 2014). Traditionally au pairs were from a small number of European countries and were often from middle-class families and relatively highly educated (Liarou 2015). As au pairing has expanded the people taking up au pair positions have diversified. The majority of au pairs in both Norway and Denmark is from the Philippines (Calleman 2010), and there are large numbers of Latin American au pairs in the USA and France (Aguilar Pérez 2015; Durin 2015). There is some evidence that au pairing is treated as just another form of domestic work by Filipina au pairs in the Nordic countries, with people moving from domestic worker posts in the Gulf countries or Asia into au pair posts in Scandinavia. However, there is also evidence of at least a small number of middle-class women from the Global South taking up au pair posts in order to engage in cultural exchange (see Bikova 2015; Aguilar Pérez 2015), thus complicating pictures of south-north migration.

The idea that an au pair is taking part in cultural exchange can add to their attraction among families who want live-in childcare but shy away from the idea of themselves as employers of “servants.” Au pairing is conceptualized in official discourses as a form of cultural exchange, rather than as a migrant labor scheme, and au pairs are meant to be treated as an equal member of their host family. In the UK, the au pair scheme developed in the postwar years because it was seen to fit with the new democratic ideals of the welfare state and to be free from the stigma of servitude and the baggage of the master-servant relationship (Liarou 2015). Lucy Delap (2011, p. 133) quotes the Manchester Guardian of 1958 which stated that it hoped the au pairs would solve “a delicate social problem for the professional and middle classes who cannot quite afford a full time domestic and whose accommodation is limited so that it is easier for the housewife to have someone around her of her own standing. One does not apologize to social equals.” In the Nordic countries, researchers have found that au pairs are increasingly popular because they fit with culturally celebrated notions of equality while still providing the services of a domestic worker (see Bikova 2010; Calleman 2010). Similarly in Australia, au pairs are seen to fit with the cultural notion that domestic labor is not “work,” but the “natural” role of female household members and with a deep aversion to allowing migration for low-wage work. Au pairs, who are seen as neither migrants (because they are on temporary visas) nor workers (because they are involved in cultural exchange), provide domestic and childcare labor without challenging cultural norms or policy priorities (Berg 2015). Au pairs therefore can provide low-cost and highly flexible childcare in situations where “servant” employment is socially awkward.

2.2.3 Child Domestic Workers

The majority of migrant domestic workers who carry out childcare do it alongside their myriad other duties. They are the modern “maids of all work” who cook, clean, shop, and care, all for very little remuneration. The work of childcare can become

invisible when it is carried out this way. Rather than childcare being seen as a specialist task and it being separated in time or space from other tasks that need to be done, this childcare happens simultaneously with housework. This arrangement of domestic work is typical in urban areas of the Global South where rates of domestic employment are very high (Higman 2015). The domestic workers carrying out this work might be migrants from poorer countries in the same region or from poorer areas of the same country.

Many domestic workers in such situations are very young when they join the workforce, and these young workers are likely to be the lowest paid and worst treated. Domestic labor is one of the most common forms of work for children to do (Blagbrough 2008). While the domestic sphere is imagined as a safe and appropriate place for children to be, child domestic workers (CDWs) can be extremely dependent on their employers and work in situations that have been likened to slavery (Blagbrough 2008). CDWs can be engaged in routine household cleaning, cooking and gardening, as well as caring for children younger than themselves.

Poor families may decide to send a daughter into domestic work, or a child may decide to enter domestic work herself, in order to ensure that she will have access to adequate food and perhaps to more education than she would be able to get at home. In research by Natascha Klocker (2011), CDWs were able to identify a range of benefits of entering into such work, including good working and living conditions, improving future opportunities and being cared for, as well as being able to identify problems associated with overwork, lack of pay, and poor living conditions. CDWs can also be part of networks between middle-class and working-class families which help to protect poorer families from economic shocks (Wasiuzzaman and Wells 2010). In many countries, there are long traditions of children spending time outside their birth family as part of their upbringing (Black 1997; Blagbrough 2008). Girls were often sent to learn domestic tasks in another household as a way for them to learn how to be good wives and mothers; in fact the au pair scheme has its roots in such practices among farming families in Europe (Liarou 2015).

Elite, professional nannies working in formal situations for the superrich may have little in common with child domestic workers carrying out whatever tasks are demanded of them 24 h a day, 365 days a year. Yet they are both part of the burgeoning global childcare sector, and both are affected by the processes of globalization which increase inequalities and underpin the mobility of the rich and poor.

3 Globalization, Privatization, and Competitive Care

The globalization of childcare has gone hand in hand with its practical and ideological privatization. Rather than childcare becoming a collective responsibility, carried out in the public sphere and in the interests of society as a whole, as was demanded by second-wave feminists (Malos 1995), the responsibility for childcare has been pushed back onto, or remained with, the private family both ideologically and in terms of day to day arrangements. Just as neoliberalism underpins labor migration

for care work, it also underpins policies of reduced state spending on care services and rhetorics of family responsibility for providing and paying for childcare. The outcome of this has been a growth in private forms of collective childcare, including the rise of international chains of nurseries (Neugebauer 2006), a growth in childcare in private homes, and – closely related to this – the ascendancy of childcare philosophies and practices which imagine childcare as a means of achieving future competitiveness. This section explores how these philosophies of competitive care shape the context of childcare among middle-class families in the minority world. The adoption of such philosophies favors the use of individual domestic workers to provide care and produces particular forms of relationships between parents and childcarers. The employment of migrant childcare workers in private homes also enables the sharing of childcare philosophies between workers and employers, with all the tensions and rewards this can entail.

3.1 Competitive Mothering and Care Workers

Childcare is not just about keeping children safe, fed, and watered but is also about *social* reproduction, that is, producing people with particular capacities and cultures. Increasingly, for middle-class families, this entails ensuring children's advantages in what is perceived to be a competitive environment (Katz 2008). Opting for individualized care, rather than a form of communal care, becomes part of parenting strategies which are about passing on cultural capital and preparing children to succeed in a competitive world. Joan Tronto has written extensively on the ethics of care (1993) and the undervaluing of care work. Her work is instructive in illuminating the way that “doing the best” for one's children is necessarily caught up in broader processes of social inequality. She uses the concept of “competitive caring” to explain that while care remains a subordinate value and activity within a competitive society, caring well for your family necessarily “will make one an enemy not a friend of equal opportunity” (2006, p. 10):

In a competitive society what it means to care well for one's own children is to make sure they have a competitive edge against other children. On the most concrete level, while parents may endorse a principle of equality of opportunity in the abstract, their daily activities are most visibly “caring” when they gain special privileges and advantages for their children.

Far from being in some way separate from or outside the norms of capitalist market relationships, care at home is shaped by them both directly and indirectly. This is not only in the most obvious ways, such as the pay and working conditions of childcare workers, but also in less obvious ways – such as what it means to provide care. The competitive mothering projects of middle-class childcare employers produce advantage for their own children (and themselves) at the cost of other children, including those of the workers they employ.

In a study of migrant domestic workers providing childcare in the USA, Cameron Lynne Macdonald (2010) describes what she calls “competitive mothering.” Similar to competitive caring, this is an ideology which supports the idea that each family, or more specifically each mother, is expected to transmit the economic, social, and cultural resources needed to reproduce or enhance a child’s class status. Child-rearing strategies which give your child a competitive edge are, therefore, particularly important to middle-class and upper middle-class families. Competitive mothering can underpin the demand for paid, privatized childcare in the home. Parents want to ensure that their children are given every opportunity to benefit from individual adult attention and are exposed to a wide range of stimuli and learning opportunities. Hiring a domestic worker to do childcare rather than putting a young child into collective day care can mean that children receive a form of childcare which most closely resembles what parents think they would provide if they were doing all their childcare themselves. This includes taking children to a wide range of educational activities appropriate to their age, familiarizing them with museums, galleries, and other “high-culture” activities. Childcarers may also be expected to teach children a foreign language (Katz 2008) or a musical instrument. Older children can be ferried by a domestic worker to after-school “enrichment” activities such as music and dance classes, and domestic workers are often required to supervise and help with homework.

Macdonald (2010) is commenting on the USA, but the situation is similar in many countries, although perhaps not quite as extreme. Preferences for individualized care are not universal but are place specific and reflect the childcare regimes which dominate in a country (Williams and Gavanas 2008). However, there is increasing demand for domestic workers in private homes even in countries which have long-standing commitments to publicly provided, collective childcare (Isaksen 2010) and an increasing move toward competitive mothering practices among middle-class families in many economies.

One factor which underlies the prevalence of competitive mothering within certain middle-class families is the conflict that working mothers feel about their roles and their strong desire to address these conflicts by showing that their children do not suffer because of their employment. In recent decades, the “adult worker” social model has replaced the “male breadwinner” model in most developed economies. Parents are all increasingly expected to be engaged in paid work, even when their children are very young (Guilliari and Lewis 2005). At the same time, in many countries families are seen as having full responsibility for their childcare needs. Strong discourses of families’ – read mothers’ – responsibility for childcare translate into guilt and confusion for women who do not care for their children full time themselves, while equally strong discourses of the importance of paid work create similar conflicts for parents who do not engage in paid work. These strong emotions and conflicts then shape the terrain on which relations between employers and migrant childcare workers are negotiated:

[Mothers] are caught in an impossible dilemma that renders *all* of them inadequate, whether they engage in full-time paid employment, part-time work outside of the house, or opt to be

stay-at-home mothers. As one mother in LA explained, “Everything about being a mother is fraught with guilt. If I put my kid in daycare, I’m guilty, if I have a nanny, I’m guilty, if I stay at home – guilty, if I work – guilty . . .” (Rosenbaum 2014, p. 131)

Macdonald (2010) argues that competitive mothering is closely related to ideas of intensive mothering and the “perfectible child” which are popular in child-rearing manuals consumed by North American middle-class mothers. These manuals put forward the idea that children benefit from “intensive mothering” in the first 3 years of life and that there is a unique and special bond with the mother. They argue that if enough attention and effort and correct mothering are invested, children are “perfectible.” Any shortfall in children’s happiness or accomplishments (at any point in their future lives) is, therefore, evidence of a mother’s failure. One outcome is that mothers will focus on measureable outcomes and goals for their children, such as the age at which a child talks, walks, or can read, in order to reassure themselves they are not bad mothers. This focus translates into prioritizing their child’s competitive advantages as a means by which to measure the success of their parenting strategies (Macdonald 2010).

3.2 Sharing Childcare Practices

Neoliberal ideas of individual responsibility and the need to compete for success underpin some approaches to childcare which are common in families that employ migrant domestic workers, but globalization and the flows of workers around the world also allow for a sharing of approaches and experience. The migration of childcare workers brings people from different places into contact with different childcare cultures and approaches. There can be clashes and disagreements between parents and carers about how children should be raised, and there can also be a sharing of ideas and practices. There is some evidence of a spread of middle-class Western child-rearing practices into the families of childcare workers, but the flow is not just one way.

Domestic workers may not always agree with the form of mothering that their employers favor (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001), but some do want to be able to provide their own children with the sorts of opportunities and activities that they are paid to introduce their charges to (Macdonald 2010). Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001) found that some Latina nannies in her study admired American, middle-class child-rearing practices such as limiting television viewing and using “time outs” instead of spanking and were eager to learn these strategies. Other Latina nannies criticized American parents’ indulgence of their children and wanted to instruct parents on how to properly raise their children. Cheever (2003) also quotes Caribbean nannies working in New York who describe American parents as letting their children be boss and being scared of their children.

Hochschild (2003) describes American parents who have different approaches to childcare than their migrant nannies but who think the more loving and “natural” approach of the nannies is better for their children when they are young than the

high-input, demanding practices that characterize the mode of rearing a perfectible child. She quotes one mother who says:

Carmen just enjoys my son. She doesn't [worry] whether . . . he's learning his letters, or whether he'll get into a good preschool. She just enjoys him. And actually, with anxious busy parents like us, that's really what Thomas needs. I love my son more than anyone in the world. But at this stage Carmen is better for him.

Whereas employers tended to see the “relaxed” approach of migrant nannies as being a result of their more “family-oriented” cultures, or as Hochschild (2003, p. 24) puts it “happy peasant mothering,” Hochschild argues that this approach is actually a result of migrant carers’ intense loneliness, often as a result of being away from their own children, joining with the long working hours spent with the children they care for. The experience of mothers who leave their own children when they migrate to carry out childcare in other parts of the world has been one of the most important areas of research on migrant domestic workers and the globalization of childcare. This has led to the development of the concept of “global care chains” which the chapter turns to now.

4 Global Care Chains and Their Discontents

Global care chains (GCCs) reveal not only the process of the globalizing of care but also the lived experiences of this globalization for care workers and their families. The concept highlights the different experiences of childcare that children in privileged, minority world families might have compared to children from poorer families in the majority world, despite their being connected through a chain of care. Global care chains leaped to prominence following Arlie Hochschild’s (2000, 2003) writing on the transfer of care from poor families in the Philippines to wealthy families in the USA, when Filipina nannies leave their own children behind in order to take up jobs as domestic workers abroad. She likened the care chain to a commodity chain, whereby care was extracted from poor countries and consumed in rich ones. A “chain” is created as the migrating worker recruits another woman from a still poorer household to look after her own children. That woman may be a paid worker or an unpaid family member. As we go “down” the chain, the value of the care labor decreases until it is unpaid, and at the end of the chain, an older daughter may substitute for her mother and care for her younger siblings (Yeates 2012). Thus, it is poor women and their children who bear the costs of a global shortage of care, through the loss and pain they suffer due to separation. Parents and children in the rich world benefit from the easing of work-family balance conflicts and the flow of “surplus love” from poorer countries.

Hochschild’s account of the “importation of care and love from poor countries to rich ones” (2003, p. 17) highlighted the emotional pain felt by migrant workers who care for other people’s children yet are separated from their own children for many years at a time, “a choice freighted, for many, with a terrible sadness” (p. 22) as she

describes it. Hochschild calls the love which such women give to the children that they care for and are unable to give to their own children “a global heart transplant” (p. 22). She argues that children left behind suffer both physically and psychologically, and they are ill more often than their classmates; express anger, confusion, and apathy; and do less well at school. Rather than love being something that does not run out, a renewable resource, Hochschild argues that these findings show that love is in fact a scarce resource which is extracted from the South and consumed in the North.

GCCs have also been shown to exist among European migrant domestic workers who move from east to west in order to increase their earnings. In the Polish press, the term “Euro-orphan” is used to describe “a child left behind in the care of foreigners, a victim of the parents’ hunger for Euros” (Lutz and Palenga-Möllnbeck 2012, p. 26). In Ukraine the term “social orphans” is used, to equate the children of migrant parents with street children or children left in children’s homes. In both countries, male migration has been reported as a route to liberation and a solution to the problem of unemployment; it is only women’s migration that is seen as problematic and as a loss of caring resources.

The idea of a care chain or care drain is linked to gendered norms for caring responsibilities. It would be easy to conclude that the migration of mothers to carry out care for other children, many hundreds or thousands of miles away, could only lead to trauma and negative consequences for their own families. However, this assumption naturalizes women’s role as carers and one particular Western version of mothering. Mothering can take many forms and there are many possible care arrangements for children. There have been studies which have focused on the relation between financial support for children left behind and their educational performance and shown this to be positive, others that have looked at the negative effects of the absence of mothers, and those which argue the outcome of the care chain is neither simply positive nor negative (Lutz and Palenga-Möllnbeck 2012). Studies have also highlighted the possibilities of mothering from a distance. This includes many forms of contact such as Skype calls, which, as they are often free, can be both frequent and long. Some migrant domestic workers will stay online with their families all day on their day off and cook and eat meals with them (Madianou and Miller 2011). Parents can supervise homework by Skype and send text messages to remind children to pack the right things for school or eat a healthy lunch. There are limits to such contact for many families and distant contact is not the same as presence, and not all employers allow workers to call frequently or to use computers. Time differences may make contact awkward and very young children are least able to communicate with their parents this way.

Hochschild’s (2003) account of the pain that migrant workers feel caring for other people’s children appears to distinguish migrant women involved in privatized childcare from those involved in other forms of care work and overlooks the myriad dependencies and responsibilities that people have. Yeates (2009) argues that the GCC approach could be strengthened by including a broader conception of care – one that attends to nursing care and care for elderly people, as well as childcare in collective settings. This conceptualization would expose the important role that

governments and institutions play in triggering care chains and shaping the globalization of care, would recognize the diversity of migrants' familial circumstances, and would counter the heterosexism evident in the original approach.

The GCC concept brings to light the very different things that childcare can and does involve. For middle-class parents in the Global North who employ migrant carers, the priority can be to reproduce a form of care based on an ideal of intensive mothering which accords large amounts of time to children and involves them in "enriching activities" in order to ensure that they will achieve in measureable terms and be given the foundation which will enable them to be financially successful in later life (Macdonald 2010). For migrant workers, the priority might be providing materially for their children through their remittances and expressing their emotions in that way (Mckay 2007) while they stay in contact and care for their children using ICTs.

5 Conclusion

The processes of globalization have not only facilitated the movement of domestic workers around the world to carry out childcare, they are part of the rise of neoliberalism which has more broadly underpinned the conditions which generate demand for and supply of domestic workers. Economies in the Global South have been restructured in ways that create a supply of migrant workers. Women have become the majority of international migrants, and they are funneled into caring work, particularly work in private homes where they are seen to belong and to be safe. Governments have encouraged this flow with policies that facilitate emigration and immigration. Women are encouraged to emigrate because they are seen as more reliable than men in sending foreign currency remittances to their families, and women are encouraged to immigrate to many countries through special schemes, such as the au pair scheme, and visa categories for domestic workers which allow entry for this group even when other "low-skilled" migrants are unwelcome.

Neoliberalism has also created patterns of work for parents and favors approaches toward childcare which create demand for domestic workers. More parents now work outside the home and they are more likely to be engaged in working long hours and flexibly. The change has been particularly pronounced for middle-class women who are now expected to combine fabulous and fulfilling careers with raising well-adjusted and successful children – all without much help from men or the state. One result is increasing reliance on migrant domestic workers to carry out childcare at the times and in the ways that parents want. Domestic workers can provide longer hours and more flexible care than collective settings, and they can provide the one to one attention and access to enriching activities that parents think will help their children compete in the modern world.

Globalization links families across the globe in "care chains" as workers leave their own children to care for other people's children in the richer world. The parents in these chains may have very different forms of contact with their own children and different ways of expressing their love for their families, but research shows their

common goals in terms of trying to provide whatever may be best to assure their children's future happiness and opportunities. Globalization has penetrated to the heart of families throughout the world, remaking what it means to be a parent and what it is like to be a child. It shapes who is there to cook the breakfast and to supervise homework and who will kiss the kids goodnight. Given the importance of these changes, there is scope for children's geographers to explore these structural changes in childcare to better understand how children themselves experience the changes in their lives which this aspect of globalization has brought about.

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Football as a Vehicle for Development: Lessons from Male Ghanaian Youth

8

James Esson

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Abstract

This chapter uses recent interest in the challenges male African youth face as they try to become professional footballers as a way to contribute to geographical research on the agency and resourcefulness of young people in the Global South. It does so by using football as a lens, and Ghana as a case study, to explore how processes at a variety of geographical scales are understood and put to use by male Ghanaian youth as part of entrepreneurial strategies to improve their life chances through football. The overarching argument is that contrary to the socialist early independence era, the Ghanaian football industry is now a hub of financial speculation centered on the export of young players to foreign leagues. Male Ghanaian youth are shown to influence the current state of play in two key ways. Some view owning an amateur football club and trading youth players on the international transfer market as an entrepreneurial venture. Meanwhile others are joining clubs to become Foucauldian “entrepreneurs of self” in the form of a professional footballer. The strategies for life making that these two sets of atypical entrepreneurs employ are shown to emerge from their engagement with

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wider social understandings of development as achievable through the deployment of individual autonomy.

Keywords

Development • Entrepreneurship • Football • Ghana • Global South • Sport • Youth

1 Introduction

... Poor, barefooted boys, legs caked in red dirt, playing the game with an old ball, or one made of recycled materials, on an uneven dirt pitch with pieces of rock as goalposts, wearing the tattered replica shirts of their favourite European football stars. (Van der Meij and Darby 2014, p. 160)

Many people will read the excerpt above and intuitively grasp that it is referring to a place within the African continent, even though the location in question is not mentioned. For some readers, this is due to the title of the chapter. For others, it is because the quote evocatively captures the imagery commonly associated with recent media interest in young African footballers and the settings in which they attempt to play the so-called beautiful game.

A key reason for the recent media interest in young African footballers is a concern about children and youth being trafficked from sub-Saharan Africa to Europe or Asia by unscrupulous individuals posing as football agents (Edwards 2015; Rawlinson 2009). Documentaries and journalistic pieces on this issue shed much needed light on the unsavory practices affecting young people in the football industry. However, as noted by Van der Meij and Darby (2014), these accounts depict young Africans through a lens of powerlessness and desperation, and the decision by these young people to try and better their life chances by pursuing a career in sport is often explained via an uncritical “escape from poverty discourse.” Academics, meanwhile, have had a longstanding interest in the development, recruitment, and migration of African footballers. However, unlike popular media accounts, much of this scholarship has focused on the institutional level and is strongly informed by an amalgamation of “dependency” and “world systems” theories (Bale 2004; cf Besnier 2015; Darby 2013). These approaches and narratives are appealing because they can illustrate, albeit in broad brushstrokes, a general picture of the professional football industry’s geopolitical landscape and the migratory patterns of African footballers (Esson 2014).

Top-heavy determinist approaches employed by academics and media representations of the trials and tribulations facing young African footballers share a common trait. In both cases the wider sociohistorical context and the agency of the players and institutions based in sub-Saharan Africa are frequently overlooked, as are the players’ understandings of social development and personal progress. In addition and related to this point, while discussions on the development, recruitment, and migration of African footballers are often associated with children and youth, this work rarely engages with literature in the social sciences that positions young people

residing in the Global South as social actors. Geographers have contributed to this latter literature by documenting how in contexts shrouded in uncertainty, regarding issues such as access to education (Porter et al. 2011), employment (Ansell et al. 2014), healthcare provision (Evans 2012), and political stability (Daley 2008), young people in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa are not passive victims of their surroundings. On the contrary, while agency does not equate to unbridled freedom (Bordonaro 2012), young Africans “are forging new ways forward in socially and economically difficult circumstances” (Langevang 2007, p. 269). These and other adjacent studies have enabled a more relational and thus nuanced understanding of the interplay between agency, structural constraints, and spatial scale by showing how young people’s capacity to engage with surrounding structures varies across space and time.

An area where a more nuanced engagement with young people’s agency is particularly evident is research on the resourcefulness and entrepreneurialism of children and youth residing in the Global South. These discussions highlight the inventive and at times unpredictable ways in which young people assume responsibility for social reproduction against a backdrop of socioeconomic insecurity and labor market restructuring (Abebe 2007; Jeffrey and Dyson 2013; Langevang et al. 2015). Using football as a lens, and Ghana as a case study, this chapter contributes to geographical debates over the agency and resourcefulness of young people in the Global South by exploring the development, recruitment, and migration of young African footballers. By doing so, the paper also attempts to respond to Ansell’s (2009, p. 191) call for geographers researching children and youth to move beyond a focus on the parochial sphere and to acknowledge that it is not “only locally occurring processes, practices, and events” that affect young people’s lives. This is achieved through illustrating how processes at a variety of geographical scales impinge on, and are understood and put to use by, male Ghanaian youth as part of entrepreneurial strategies to improve their life chances through football.

In order to contextualize current events, the chapter begins by tracing developments in Ghanaian football following independence from colonial rule in the 1950s through to the implementation of structural adjustment policies in the 1980s. This discussion is informed by literature on life stages and transitions, intergenerational relations, and youth as agents of change in postcolonial Africa. The chapter then provides a critical examination of the shift from football as a cornerstone of developmental state policies to football as a business. Research on the agency, education, and entrepreneurialism of young people in the Global South is used to examine how young Ghanaians engage with this shift. The overarching argument is that in contrast to the early independence era where the development of Ghanaian football and footballers occurred as part of a state-led national development program, the Ghanaian football industry has become a site of financial speculation centered on the export of young players to foreign leagues. Young Ghanaians interpret and interact with this situation in two key ways. Some view owning an amateur football club and trading youth players on the international transfer market as an entrepreneurial venture. Meanwhile others are joining football clubs to become Foucauldian “entrepreneurs of self” in the form of a football player.

2 Ghanaian Football in the Era of Developmental State Policies

When the official bonds of colonial rule were severed on the 6th of March 1957, Ghana was the world's leading producer and exporter of cocoa, was exporting 10 % of global gold, and had financial reserves equivalent to 3 years of imports (Konadu-Agyemang 2000). The country also had a reasonable road and rail network in place and boasted one of the most educated and skilled workforces in sub-Saharan Africa. Keen to build on these foundations, Ghana's first postindependence president Kwame Nkrumah sought to implement a program of social reform committed to an equitable, just, and fair distribution of resources. In keeping with the era's dominant thinking, this endeavor was underpinned by a belief in the nation-state as the guiding force behind development, which should strive for the "liberation of people and peoples via structural transformation" (Sumner and Tribe 2008, p. 10). This entailed adopting classic "developmental state policies," such as creating a large public sector and providing universal healthcare and education. In addition to and connected with this approach, president Nkrumah saw sport, especially football, as having the capacity to aid the national development process (Darby 2010).

The early independence government initiated a national program of what would now be viewed as "sport development," i.e., "programmes designed to assist those engaged in organized sport – athletes, coaches, officials, administrators – and to strengthen the infrastructure of facilities and institutions within which organized sport takes place" (Kidd 2008, p. 371). During the first 3 years of independence, the Ghana Amateur Football Association (GAFA) was established and affiliated with the Confederation of African Football (CAF) and the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) (Alegi 2010). Players were traded locally between clubs, but even at the top amateur level it was rare for significant transfer or registration fees to change hands over a player, as they were valued for their performances on the pitch rather than for commercial purposes (Esson 2013b). With regards to international player migration, only one notable player moved during the Nkrumah government. As a patriotic gesture undertaken at the president's behest, Charles Kumi Gyamfi was transferred in 1961 to a club in Dusseldorf because it was believed that familiarity with German coaching techniques would benefit the Ghanaian national team (Darby 2010).

Sport development also took place at the youth level, with the government investing in footballing infrastructure and academies, i.e., "facilities or coaching programs designed to produce football talent" (Darby et al. 2007, p. 148) for under-14 and under-17 youth competitions known locally as "Colts" football. Similarly to the senior amateur team, sport development at this level was not commercially motivated, and individuals typically managed Colts clubs and academies as a recreational endeavor (Esson 2013b). Moreover, football and other sport development initiatives ran parallel with the belief that education was a prerequisite for individual social mobility and national development. The connection between development and education is attributable to the adoption of neoclassical perspectives that emerged during that era, particularly "human capital theory." This theory

proposes that education be considered an investment in human capital through which an income will be earned, thereby equipping a person with the skills and capabilities to improve their material condition (Becker 1993). Based on this logic, it was believed that free universal formal education could play a pivotal role in the nation's development (Rolleston and Okech 2008).

A high-profile example of how sport and formal education initiatives came together as part of the national development process was a countrywide youth program called "the Academicals," which consisted of secondary school students competing in football at local, district, regional, and national levels (Darby et al. 2007). A key reason for introducing the scheme was because despite its popularity, football was strongly associated with poverty and social deviance. The best players tended to come from low-income communities, as middle- and high-income families were often loath to allow their children to play football outside of school (Esson 2013b). Conversely, male youth from low-income communities would often pursue a career in football to the detriment of their formal schooling, and such behavior was associated with being a *kobolo*. *Kobolo* is a Gã word now present in most Ghanaian languages. The plural is *koboloi*: a term used to describe children and youth who drop out of formal schooling and are deemed to be heading toward a life of vagrancy while brazenly displaying a disinterest in contributing to the betterment of society (Van der Meij and Darby 2014).

If viewed from a present-day perspective of sport for development, the Academicals initiative would be situated between sport plus, where sport is used to achieve development objectives, and plus sport, where a sport's popularity is used to garner interest from a targeted population in order to introduce education, training, and socialization (Coalter 2010). The initiative provided a way to funnel *koboloi* into the formal education system, using the proverbial carrot rather than the stick. This proved mutually beneficial for the development of the sport as it encouraged male youth from low-income areas to attend school and improve their life chances by investing in their human capital, thereby incorporating them into broader visions of national development (Esson 2013b). At the same time, it ensured the best players were competing at the highest level, thus improving the standard of play and providing the senior domestic leagues and national team with an assembly line of budding talent.

A key reason *koboloi* were and still are considered problematic is because Ghanaian parents, like parents throughout the world, are expected to provide their children with food and shelter. However, unlike in some parts of the world, Ghanaian children are told from an early age that they should reciprocate their parents' child-rearing efforts (Twum-Danso 2009). Coe succinctly articulates this point as follows, "For Ghanaians, like other West Africans, the reward of parenting is the lifelong ties of obligation among those one has raised" (Coe 2012, p. 105). This situation is akin to an intergenerational contract, i.e., "the shared, although possibly conflicting, understandings between family members as to what each owes and can expect from others within the family" (Kabeer 2000, p. 465). Conflicts arise because intergenerational contracts are usually not legally binding and are anticipated to last over the long term. Therefore, day-to-day negotiations may occur alongside

negotiations about the long-term balance of support and reciprocity (Whitehead et al. 2007). Through their day-to-day lifestyles and actions, *koboloi* were and are perceived as jeopardizing, often very publically, their ability to meet their long-term obligations, and thus flout key norms and values upon which social meanings of family in the Ghanaian context are structured. Moreover, *koboloi* are typically perceived as being unlikely to attain key markers associated with normative understandings of adulthood as highlighted by Langevang (2008), such as marriage, a fixed abode, and regular employment.

The framing of some Ghanaian children and youth as *koboloi* and the topic of intergenerational contracts connect to debates in the field of young people's geographies that seek to problematize the teleological assumptions associated with normative life-stage models (Hardgrove et al. 2015). Within these models childhood and youth are conceptualized as moments along an assumed linear transition to adulthood, culminating in a movement from relative dependence to autonomous selfhood and independence. Geographers have highlighted how this fusion of childhood with dependence, and successful adulthood with notions of independence, is the product of a sociopolitical endeavor, not a universal social datum (Jeffrey 2010). As indicated above, in some parts of the world, understandings of successful adulthood are linked to the obtainment of certain social markers, but it is also associated with the forging of interdependencies (see also Punch and Tisdall 2012). Meanwhile in other contexts, being dependent on others does not tally with young people's childhood experiences. For example, Robson et al. (2006) document how adult mortality and morbidity tied to the HIV/AIDS pandemic in sub-Saharan Africa has led to young people in Lesotho, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe dedicating substantial time and energy to taking care of unwell members of their households.

Youth who display traits associated with being *koboloi* have also provoked a moral and civic panic for another reason, one that encapsulates the idea that while children and youth are social actors, the categories childhood and youth are temporally and spatially specific social constructs (Ansell 2009). As noted by Diouf (2003), African political cultures attempted to redefine meanings of youth as part of the nationalist project following the achievement of independence. They sought to do so by preserving the boundary between understandings of what it means to be an adult or a youth as characterized by traditional African values and by placing young people at the center of policies for economic development and national liberation (Diouf 2003). Consequently, young people were envisaged as the hope of early independence African nations still under construction. They were "the chief actor in African societies' struggle against underdevelopment, poverty, misery, and illiteracy" (Diouf 2003, p. 3). Children and youth avoiding school to play football and displaying characteristics associated with the *koboloi* lifestyle were problematic when framed within this construction of young people as subjects and objects responsible for constructing and representing a positive identity that was both national and pan-African (Diouf 2003).

President Nkrumah was a strong believer in this idea that youth were the chief actors in African societies under construction, and he included them in national policies for sustainable social development. Unfortunately, he became engulfed in a

storm of economic uncertainty, his popularity began to wane, and his presidency was ended by a military coup in 1966. Consequently, it appeared unlikely that Ghanaian football would continue to benefit from state support because General Ankrah's government could not risk being associated with institutions aligned with Nkrumah's reign, so preexisting football initiatives were reversed or left to stagnate. Several coups and 17 years later, in an attempt to resuscitate a collapsing economy and bridge increasing disparities between the rich and the poor, World Bank and IMF Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) were implemented in Ghana by General Rawlings' military government in 1983. This ushered in an era of neoliberal governance in the form of privatization and unprecedented cuts to state expenditure on public services and social welfare. Between 1987 and 1992, 31 % of Ghanaians fell below the poverty line, which was particularly damaging given the removal of universal healthcare and education (Konadu-Agyemang 2000).

In spite of political and civil unrest during the 1970s and 1980s, all appeared well for the national football team when Ghana managed to lift their fourth and final African Cup of Nations in 1982 (Alegi 2010). But at the domestic level, the infrastructure and policies conceived or implemented during the Nkrumah regime were abandoned and disregarded, with pitches and equipment allocated for Colts football particularly inadequate. Colts football remained popular, but without state support and following the collapse of The Academicals program, the 1980s witnessed a rise in informal and unregulated football academies. Informal academies had always existed, patronized by young *koboloi*, but their presence became more visible as the number of children outside of formal education began to increase in line with cuts to public services. Notwithstanding the malaise afflicting the domestic scene, Ghanaian players performed admirably in the FIFA World Youth Championships and were crowned champions in 1991 and 1995. The first tournament success in 1991 is considered the watershed moment in Ghanaian football, as it completely reshaped the way player development was understood. European clubs signed the majority of players, albeit very often on exploitative contracts. Jordan Anagblah, the former vice president of the GFA, observed that it was during this period that commercial interests came to dominate Ghanaian football:

The change started in 91 when they introduced this under-17 games and when those players moved to Europe. Before then players moved to Europe but nobody knows how much they have been bought for and what goes into it. But when these players were bought and sent to Europe then everybody gets to know that there is money in this thing and that is when people started to struggle for it in Ghana. (Esson 2013b, p. 100)

3 Ghanaian Football in the Post-structural Adjustment Era

The success of the Ghanaian national youth team in international competitions during the early 1990s contrasted sharply with the decline of domestic football. The approach to and infrastructure of the game remained amateurish, reliant upon a combination of gate money and philanthropic contributions (Pannenberg 2010). In an era where development was enacted through SAPs and marketization, attempts

were made to professionalize football in line with prevailing neoliberal philosophies. The Ghanaian Amateur Football Association (GAFA) became the Ghanaian Football Association (GFA) and firmly established itself as a private body, and clubs were encouraged to diversify their revenue streams and adopt business-like structures (Pannenberg 2010). The name of the league was also changed to the Premier League, with an additional two-tier professional league structure later introduced in 1995.

1995 was also a historic moment for the economic organization of world football. It was at this moment that the Bosman ruling was enforced, which stipulated that players with expired contracts were free to sign for a new club without paying any compensation to their previous one. As a result wages in European professional football rose substantially. Therefore in addition to their value on the field, it is argued that demand for young African players increased following the Bosman ruling particularly in the lower leagues of European football, because clubs are able to make significant savings by paying African players less than their counterparts from other parts of the world (Poli 2010). These insights may appear quite far removed from events in Accra, but they are crucial to later expositions as to how changing socioeconomic conditions in Ghana at a structural level and changes at the top level of world football are encouraging some young people to try to create a livelihood for themselves in the Colts leagues.

Reforms at the senior level during the post-1991 era of professionalism also led to changes in youth football. As noted by Darby et al. (2007), the Bosman ruling resulted in leading Ghanaian clubs realizing the benefits of setting up their own youth academies, with the aim being to supplement their senior teams with local talent that could also be traded on the international transfer market to generate profits. There has also been a considerable increase in private or corporate-sponsored clubs with associated academies, which operate with the support and sponsorship of private individuals, usually former high-profile African players. Afro-European academies have emerged alongside these private clubs and involve either a partnership between an existing Ghanaian academy and a European club or an arrangement whereby a European club takes a controlling stake in a Ghanaian club and then either incorporates the club's existing youth structure or creates a new one. The aims of these clubs and academies are diverse, ranging from those designed specifically to produce players for the European transfer market to those claiming to be aligned with a sport development ethos and the improvement of playing talent within Ghana at the local and international level.

Private investment at the highest level of Ghanaian football has proven beneficial to the GFA and national teams. Conversely, the Colts leagues have been unable to procure adequate funding and support to develop infrastructure at the grassroots level. In spite of this, the number of amateur clubs with associated academies throughout the country is rising. A new regulated and official national Colts league (including under 12, 14, and 17 – it is compulsory for clubs to have representative teams at all age levels) was launched in 2011. The GFA regional office in Accra estimates that the numbers in grassroots football have grown exponentially in the past two decades, with 700 clubs in 12 regional zones currently taking part in Colts

football – 240 of these clubs are located in Accra spread over 11 districts (Esson 2013b).

The total number of registered youth players in Ghana is unknown; however, the number of registered players in Accra alone is estimated at 20–25,000 (Esson 2015). The demographic of club owners at the amateur level has also changed post-1991, most notably since 2003, with the GFA detecting that Colts football is increasingly patronized by young males typically in their 20s to 40s who see owning and managing a team as a form of employment. In order to understand this upsurge in the numbers of players and the changing profile of club owners in Colts football, the remainder of the chapter explores the abovementioned shift from a footballing landscape geared toward the domestic scene to one where the development of footballers entails greater engagement with international actors.

3.1 Football as a Vehicle for Development

Since the 1970s when Ghana began to experience economic decline through to the present day, the dissolution of liberal welfare policies by various governments has been reasonably consistent (Langevang 2008). This reframing of the relationship between the state and its citizens places the duty of social and individual development on the shoulders of individuals, households, and informal networks (Obeng-Odoom 2013). The idea that young Ghanaians must take full responsibility for their own life chances has therefore superseded the notion that individuals live within extended communities and, in the post-independence era of president Kwame Nkrumah's social developmentalism discussed above, the idea that the state would assist in welfare provision. Accordingly, young males residing in contemporary Ghana, like their counterparts in other parts of sub-Saharan Africa, feel detached from post-independence narratives of national and social development discussed above (Simone 2005). In Ghana, this has resulted in a disposition akin to what Ferguson (2006) describes as faith in development through the deployment of individual autonomy.

It is often at this point that popular media representations and some academic studies will simply state that youth are forced to become footballers by poverty. This "escape from poverty discourse" is problematic because it smothers the agency of the very people analysts are often keen to understand and help. It does so by rendering young African footballers as passive victims to macroeconomic structures. This runs counter to insights derived from geographers such as Langevang (2008), who explores the complex ways in which young Ghanaians in contemporary Accra navigate their way through life in a city marked by economic hardship and neoliberal reform and explains that although young people encounter frustration and their futures look uncertain, they repeatedly highlight that they are "managing." This emphasis on the notion of "managing" was a way for youth to convey that they are to some extent taking charge of their own fate (Langevang 2008, p. 2014). Additionally, the escape from poverty discourse fails to consider an obvious but important question, namely: of all the possible careers available, why football? It is often

assumed that the answer to this question is self evident, i.e., fame and fortune. Yet a deeper analysis reveals a more nuanced picture that furthers geographical work on the agency and entrepreneurialism of young people in sub-Saharan Africa.

As noted by Van der Meij and Darby (2014), the decision to pursue a football career is often made as part of a household livelihood strategy, which points to a shift in the way football is perceived in comparison to the early independence era. Before the success of the national team at major youth tournaments in the early 1990s, parents and older family members would dissuade sons and nephews from involving themselves too deeply in football. This was based on the argument that attending school would lead to better life outcomes than a football career, a line of reasoning underpinned by notions of *koboloi* lifestyles and the related problems such behavior raises for fulfilling duties associated with intergenerational reciprocity. This argument was further strengthened by the difficulties facing the pre-1991 era of footballers, particularly those who played in Ghana's early independence national leagues. Leagues during that era were of an amateur nature as discussed above, and although the best players were offered basic remuneration, benefits such as a pension were nonexistent. Furthermore, many of these players lacked an educational background, and as a result became destitute when their playing careers came to an end and they were unable to embark on a different career path (Van der Meij and Darby 2014).

The football players who are wanted by high-profile corporate or Afro-European academies are often able to approach negotiations with their family members from a position of considerable power, as these institutions are now strongly associated with a transfer to a European club, which in turn is now synonymous with spatial mobility and the procurement of wealth (Esson 2015). However in most cases, the decision as to whether a young person can truly dedicate himself to football often hinges on the perspectives various family members have of football's ability to facilitate social mobility in comparison to a formal education (Van der Meij and Darby 2014). On the one hand, a successful career in professional football is now seen as providing a way for male youth to potentially satisfy their intergenerational contracts, particularly in light of perceived declines in returns from formal education. On the other, many players are confronted by parents and extended family members who advise them that pursuing a career in football at the expense of acquiring a good education is a risk akin to playing the lottery, with failure likely to result in psychological anguish and, even worse, a life as a *kobolo* (Esson 2013b; Van der Meij and Darby 2014).

The parables of plight facing the pre-1991 generation of footballers are now drowned out by anecdotes emerging via contemporary global information streams, and Ghanaians young and old alike are not only engrossed by the performances of the players on the pitch, they are also made aware of and captivated by the considerable material wealth and glamorous lifestyles associated with a professional football career. This has somewhat transformed football's historical association with poverty, and families are now more willing to support their sons' decisions to pursue a career in football than they were in the pre-SAP era. This change in attitudes is also strongly linked to the fact that the cost of completing one's formal education is rising, and the belief that education will lead to acceptable employment opportunities

is diminishing. It is worth noting that in some parts of the world, particularly industrialized countries in the Global North, geographers have highlighted how parents are actively seeking to ensure their children accumulate educational capital to help them become upwardly mobile and are willing to spend considerable sums of money to make this happen (Waters 2012).

In Ghana, the supply of educated labor is considered to exceed demand, and perceptions of “qualification inflation” have fueled a belief that returns from education are in decline or insufficient (Rolleston and Okech 2008). This is particularly troubling for low-income families who have to pay for postprimary education. Thus, the argument that investing in one’s human capital via formal education as a prerequisite for individual social mobility and national development, as espoused in the early independence era, is losing credibility among many young people and some adults. This fraught relationship between education and opportunities to earn a decent living is not unique to the case of would-be footballers in Ghana, as evidenced in studies addressing this issue in Bolivia (Punch 2015), Cambodia (Bylander 2015), the Gambia (Jones and Chant 2009), and India (Jeffrey 2011). A common thread running through much of this work is that young people’s vulnerability in relation to education is often the outcome of how changes to the practices associated with education interact with other structural forces (Jeffrey 2010).

The reason why some young Ghanaians are willing to take a gamble that pursuing a career in football will lead to better life chances than formal education is linked to their understanding of, and engagement with, structural changes taking place within society as discussed above, which encourages young people to be job creators not job seekers (Gough et al. 2013). The construction of young people as needing to be self-sufficient applies to both sexes, but young men are under extra pressure to be financially successful, because in Ghana monetary success is deemed an inherently masculine trait (Ungruhe 2010). Problematically, although the Ghanaian economy has grown at a rate of between 5 % and 11 % during the past decade (Obeng-Odoom 2013), much of this growth is tied to the discovery of oil and gas (Darkwah 2013). Meanwhile three decades of neoliberal reforms have resulted in a scenario whereby the informal sector constitutes an estimated 80 % of the economy and dominates the employment landscape (Obeng-Odoom 2013).

Faced with unfavorable labor market opportunities and a lack of state welfare provision, the dialectic of subjective hope and objective chances imprints definitions of the possible and impossible upon young Ghanaians, and from this they are able to decipher a future they believe will lead to an acceptable outcome. They appraise both the potential and the limitations of their spatial location and evaluate where and with whom prospects seem better. Accordingly, after doing so, a number of young people view a football career as a way to bypass an education system that will lead them into a maze of unacceptable unemployment they will struggle to find their way out of. Their reason for believing so is because Ghanaian youth concur that in contrast to unskilled individuals who remain at the mercy of others; those with appropriate human capital are able to take control of their own productivity and wealth creation. The crucial issue for these young people becomes deciding what form this investment should take, as opposed to limiting themselves to society’s default option of education.

Male Ghanaian would-be footballers realize that, as highlighted by Foucault (2008), if income in the form of wages is a return on human capital investment, then human capital becomes both that which makes a future possible income through a wage and inseparable from the person who possesses it. Therefore the holder of appropriate human capital is not only able to acquire a wage but can become “an entrepreneur of self, being for himself his own capital, being for himself his own producer, being for himself the source of his earnings” (Foucault 2008). This is because neoliberal capitalism’s model of exchange and value strives to extend itself to include the individual, but not necessarily as a partner of exchange facilitating a commodification of self; rather, the individual is encouraged to become the embodiment of entrepreneurialism.

Given that the economic model of choice in Ghana is neoliberalism, which as mentioned above goads young Ghanaians to be “job creates not job seekers,” a career as a footballer is very appealing and at the same time highly logical. One’s own body becomes the enterprise, and thus the source of one’s earnings, providing a way to enact development through the deployment of individual autonomy (Esson 2013a). Also, in comparison to other business opportunities and/or investing in your education, which may require start-up capital and entail costly fees (tuition, uniforms, food, books, etc.), football-related equipment is relatively cheap. Furthermore and perhaps most importantly, the earning potential and lifestyles enjoyed by professional footballers results in a scenario where young people feel there is less to lose and substantially more to gain by taking the risk on the chance one can make a living as a footballer (Esson 2013a).

It is not only by playing the game that young people attempt to earn an income through football. Scholars have highlighted how one of the strategies used by youth in the Global South who find themselves in challenging economic circumstances is to become an entrepreneur (Jeffrey and Dyson 2013; Langevang et al. 2012), i.e., a “person who sets up a business or businesses, taking on financial risks in the hope of profit” (Oxford English Dictionary cited in Jeffrey and Dyson 2013, p. 1). In contrast to the pre-SAP era, owning and running a Colts team is no longer considered a recreational activity or hobby. Instead, taking ownership of a Colts football club and setting up an academy is now pursued as part of a speculative strategy in the hope of making a profit (Esson 2015). This is because clubs and academies in both the amateur and professional leagues are now geared toward the development of football talents in order to transfer players to Europe, the Middle East, and Asia.

3.2 Financialization and Speculation in Colts Football

As highlighted above, the majority of Ghanaian players, like African players more generally, are purchased at an early age, with the intention being to increase their value and then sell them to more financially powerful clubs at a profit. Ghanaian players are now not only human resources for their respective clubs and academies. In certain moments and during certain transactions over their labor, footballers become commodity-like entities and sources of capital attributed valuations

according to their performances and marketability. To better understand this point, the following passage from Marx's *Capital* is quoted below:

Every product of labour is, in all states of society, a use value; but it is only at a definite historical epoch in a society's development that such a product becomes a commodity, viz at the epoch when the labour spent on the production of a useful article becomes expressed as one of the objective qualities of that article, i.e., as its value. (Marx 2012, p. 71)

This situation has arisen because although sports are specific practices situated initially within a unique "space of sports," they also exist within the wider "social space" and therefore function as a focal point for the ideological re/production of social orders (Bourdieu 1991). In the aftermath of structural adjustment, Ghanaian football has wholeheartedly embraced a capitalist-market-driven economic structure, and the time and labor spent on the production and development of a footballer has become one of the objective qualities of a football player. This is linked to transfer regulations introduced in 2001 by the major international actor in association football, FIFA. FIFA introduced regulations to deter clubs from signing players under the age of 18. A key component is a stipulation that clubs involved in the training and education of players between the ages of 12 and 23 have to receive financial compensation from the buying club. For the right player, this compensation can potentially reach upwards of one million US dollars.

Now that the time and investment spent on training a player at an academy is an objective quality of the player, Colts football has entered an era of financialization, with speculation centered on youth players and their registration cards, which are traded like commodities. This terminology may seem peculiar as young Ghanaian football academy owners are somewhat atypical of the financial intermediaries highlighted in geographical literature on financialization (see French et al. 2011). Nevertheless, the term is used here to depict how an increasing number of young people are flooding into the football industry and setting up clubs and academies, because a player's official association football registration card now acts as a document connecting the club and player. It allows the club's owner to receive financial compensation if or when the player moves on to a more financially powerful club as stated in the FIFA regulations discussed above. This speculative strategy is also informed by the landmark Bosman ruling, with academy owners believing they can make a profit by signing a player at an early age for a minimal investment, and then selling them to a second-tier European club for a profit.

The registration card has not only become a strategy for ensuring the time and money spent on developing a player is rewarded. Owners of Colts clubs and academies now attempt to sign as many players as they can irrespective of whether the player regularly plays or trains at the club, and these owners keep hoards of registration cards all in the hope that one will eventually become the next Michael Essien. Young people use the registration card like a financial bond, which is purchased with the hope of maturing as the player does (Esson 2015). In this sense, the growing reliance on the registration card mirrors that of securitized products and contracts associated with a transaction-driven mode of contemporary

capitalist financial activity (French et al. 2011). This situation results in a conflict of interests between club owners in the professional leagues and those in the amateur Colts division, as professional clubs scour the Colts league for young playing talent.

Further evidence of the increasing financialization of Colts football is found in the practices of local intermediaries known as “card dealers” and “managers.” Card dealers engage in financial speculation by purchasing player registration cards from club owners and moving them to a club they have an affiliation with. These transfers can cost the equivalent of 200–300 US dollars. A player cannot be forced into moving, but they are usually happy to do so as they receive financial gifts as part of a deal. In some cases these deals involve partnerships, with each investor’s respective percentage of ownership based on their financial input. Card dealers, who are invariably male and can be as young as their early twenties, become owners of the player’s registration in the hope of selling them to another local or ideally international club at profit. These financial practices are a small-scale version of “third-party ownership,” a controversial practice that has become part of the global economic organization of world football. Third-party ownership involves financially powerful investment companies and wealthy businessmen who engage in financial speculation by becoming the legal owners of a player’s footballing license, but, unlike in Ghanaian football, transactions tend to be in the hundreds of thousands and millions of US dollars.

The relationship between a Colts player and their manager differs to that between a player and a card dealer, in that a manager is more concerned with securing a percentage of a player’s future earnings. Young players proactively seek out managers because in exchange for a cut of their future earnings, a manager will provide boots, kit, training equipment, and in some cases supplement these items with a daily cash allowance. Crucially, the manager also provides collateral for the player to attend tournaments and trials that will increase the chances of interaction with actors associated with international clubs, which is considered vital to obtaining a lucrative transfer abroad and making the investment in a young player worthwhile. The practices of card dealers and managers provide an apt point at which to conclude this chapter, because the contrast between the early independence era and the present is so stark. When Ghana’s first president Kwame Nkrumah promoted football as a way to mobilize the nation around a shared identity alongside his developmental state policies, it is unlikely he could have envisioned that a little under six decades later, Colts football would function as a conduit where financial speculation is able to flourish.

4 Conclusion

Using Ghana as case study, this chapter has provided a counter narrative to the “escape from poverty” discourse and structural historical theories that dominate discussions on the development and recruitment of young African footballers. To be clear, it was not claimed that young people’s desire to improve their material condition plays no part in their pursuit of a football career or that changes in world

football and actors in the Global North were, or are, inconsequential to the economic organization of Ghanaian football. Rather, the chapter has explained why relying on these explanatory cruxes leaves much unexplained. It did so by illustrating how the continuity and change associated with the development and trade of young Ghanaian footballers interacts with the social realignments, economic liberalization, and global dynamics occurring within Ghana following independence from colonial rule. This enabled the chapter to further geographical debates over the agency and resourcefulness of young people in sub-Saharan Africa by highlighting how processes and events occurring at the local, national, and international scale materialize in the strategies used by male Ghanaian youth to improve their life chances through football.

This chapter has revealed how youth involved in football were historically, and still are, embroiled in an understanding of sport-based citizenship that results in a tension between education and intergenerational reciprocity. In the early independence era, when the development of players and the football industry took place as part of developmental state policies, this tension was accompanied by a belief that young Ghanaians would become adults and alter structures of inequality and transform society for the better alongside the state. Conversely, in contemporary neoliberal Ghana following the implementation of SAPs, football has fallen in line with neoliberal ideology being promoted throughout Ghanaian society in the aftermath of structural adjustment. Consequently, some young people have lost faith in this vision of collective developmental progress and also doubt formal education's ability to improve their life prospects. Instead, they view a football career as a way to become an "entrepreneur of self" and instigate development through the deployment of individual autonomy.

Ghanaian football is now geared toward the development of young players in order to transfer them to a foreign club for a profit, and there is greater interaction between local and international actors in order to make this happen. This has led to intense financial speculation centered on youthful talent, with young people taking ownership of football clubs and setting up academies in the amateur youth leagues in the hope of finding the next footballing prodigy for export. The agency and practices of young people who become involved with the amateur youth leagues as part of an entrepreneurial endeavor, and engage in financial speculation by taking ownership of youth academies and trading young playing talent, speaks to geographical debates seeking to understand how young people become entrepreneurs, and that questions the common assumption that young entrepreneurs in the Global South are either necessity- or opportunity-driven (Langevang et al. 2012). Moreover, the chapter's examination of how these young entrepreneurs interact with other local actors (e.g., club owners and card dealers) and international processes (e.g., FIFA regulations) resonates with broader discussions within the field of young people's geographies that encourages scholars to look beyond the microscale in order to expand or comprehend how economic globalization is transforming young people's lives (see Ansell 2009).

In contemporary Ghana, football is no longer associated with tackling the causes of inequality. Instead, governing bodies, institutions, clubs, intermediaries, and

players have embraced the economic principles that produce it. Yet young people's participation in the reproduction of established power structures through their football-related activities should not be reduced to an "escape from poverty" narrative nor understood as a consequence of "being simply brainwashed into doing what capitalism and associated disciplinary regimes tell them they should do" (Jeffrey 2011, p. 6). Rather, what makes the behavior and agency of the young Ghanaians discussed above fascinating is that in their own unique way these club owners and would-be footballers both imagine themselves as entrepreneurs. This sense of self has emerged through their resourceful interpretations of, and interactions with, free-market discourses percolating throughout Ghanaian society.

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Young People's Construction of Global Citizenship Through Internet Use

9

Ståle Angen Rye

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Abstract

This chapter develops current knowledge of how young people construct as global citizens through the use of the Internet. An important aspect of this construction is the way young people gain new experiences by reaching out to other peoples and societies, and both act and construct themselves as political subjects in ways that differ from those in conventional politics. However, it is argued that to engage in global issues and to feel a sense of global responsibility is not the same as having global citizenship. Accordingly, acquiring global citizenship is not a straightforward process, and young people need guidance on this journey. For schools, it implies that if the aim is to develop global citizenship, it is necessary to assist students when they engage in political actions and learn about the global political community of which they are a part. Students also need help to develop social interaction within the global community. The main argument presented in this chapter is that young people's experiences of space have changed due to their active use of the Internet and that as political subjects their

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understandings will change accordingly. Thus, the traditional state-based approach to citizenship is challenged as a frame for understanding how young people are constructed and act as global political subjects.

Keywords

Civic engagement • Education • Global citizenship • Globalization • The Internet • New media • Transnational relations • Young people

1 Introduction

Global citizenship is a contested field that recently has gained much attention in the media, in political discourses, and within geography and allied disciplines, including the geography of young people as political actors. However, few contributions to scholarly literature address the way the Internet influences the spatial manifestation of global citizenship among young people. Therefore, in this chapter, research on young people's civic engagement through the Internet, research on citizenship studies, and the growing literature on the political geography of young people are examined to provide a deeper understanding of the ways in which young people can construct global citizenship through Internet use.

The focal point of this chapter is recent societal changes of importance for this process of constructing citizenship. The following discussion starts by focusing on recent changes in youthhood due to globalization, as well as how Internet use has led to changes in young people's engagement in political issues. This chapter demonstrates the way these changes are related to a new form of territorial embeddedness of citizenship and new understandings of the political agency of young people. Thereafter, the discussion focuses on education as an important field for socialization and the ways in which the Internet may change how young people at school engage in what is distant. This chapter ends with a concluding consideration of what it means to be a global young citizen.

2 Being Young in a Digital and Global Society

By accessing the Internet at school, at home, or in public places, young people in many parts of the world today can connect to sources of information, people, and new experiences in ways that were once unimaginable. Although levels of access to the Internet have varied across space, both within and between countries, this situation is about to change. For example, in the early days of the Internet, young people in most countries in the Global South were left behind in terms of developments in Internet infrastructure, yet today young people in low- and middle-income countries are increasingly becoming connected to the global Internet infrastructure. Similarly, the digital divide is narrowing within most countries, particularly regarding access to the Internet (International Telecommunication Union (ITU) 2014).

One result of this increased connectivity is that young people's experiences of and within space have changed in many parts of the world and new ways of communicating have transformed their experiences of proximity and distance (Ruckenstein 2013). In many cases, what used to be regarded as distant has become close to young people's daily lives (Rye 2013a). Through their seminal work on the early stage of Internet development, Holloway and Valentine (2003) show how most young people today face a spatial reality that is very different from the past. This new spatial reality and the societal changes following the introduction of new forms of digital communication technology affect all of us, but are particularly relevant for young people as typically they are early adopters of new forms of technology and Internet use. Youth is characterized as a time when young people venture out to new places and meet new people. It is a time in life when borders of various kinds are crossed but also defined (Aitken and Plows 2010). One of the ways that young people cross borders is by utilizing the Internet in their daily life projects.

It is well known that young people spend much of their daily life online, through the use of computers, tablets, and smart phones to surf, shop, play, and communicate on the Internet. A particularly visible form of online life is evident in the relatively recent development in social media whereby young people (and others) engage in social interaction and thus explore own identity and position in society (Vromen et al. 2015). For youths, new media communication technologies are about reaching out to people and societies, including those at a distance, and exploring themselves as subjects in the process.

As part of the process of constructing themselves as subjects, young people may, in addition to using the Internet for entertainment, also use it as a means to support their own agency in terms of civic engagement. For example, Facebook, which is often associated with narcissistic individualism, may also be a place where young people can express themselves through political and civic engagement (Thorson 2014). Moreover, the political aspect of social media has recently become apparent in political movements around the world, such as through the "Arab Spring" whereby young people have used social media to contribute significantly to the protest against established power and institutions.

Lin et al. (2010), based on their research with youths in Hong Kong, Seoul, Singapore, Taipei, and Tokyo, claim that although entertainment-related activities such as downloading music or playing electronic games remain the most popular activities online, the Internet may also facilitate societal participation, engagement, and citizenship among youths. They argue that commercialization of online media does not necessarily diminish youths' civic-mindedness entirely. Rather, the Internet may potentially enable young people to interact, influence, and change their surroundings as well as what is distant (Lin et al. 2010). As will be discussed later, other researchers have also shown how young people in various ways, often through the use of the Internet, influence and change societies, in both their close surroundings and on a global scale (Bosco 2010; Jeffery 2012; Horschelmann and Refaie 2014).

However, the Internet is not only about reaching out; conversely, other people, institutions, and organizations want to gain access to young people's lives, to influence their thoughts or persuade them to part with their money, and are armed

with powerful new tools for the purpose. It is well known that young people are significant online consumers through, for example, online shopping and gaming (Buckingham 2007; Jenkins 2009). These activities certainly bring young people in touch with new experiences, but also make them easily accessible as consumers. By connecting to the global marketplace through digital networks and social media, young people become exposed to new forms of production, distribution, and consumption (Buckingham 2007; Ruckenstein 2013).

As Buckingham (2007) argues, children and young people's dealings with media are framed by the operations of the global media industries, and they are by no means simply free to make their own meanings in the way they choose. This underscores how particularly children, but also young people, may be in a vulnerable situation when using digital media for crossing borders in search of new experiences, identities, and belongings. It also serves to illustrate, as claimed by Skelton (2007), that adults should not exclude themselves from the responsibility of caring for children and young people, despite considering them competent actors that have the ability to change societies.

To explore the ways young people relate to society by means of the Internet, the next section looks at recent changes in the way young people engage in politics and how these changes may be related to the development of a global digital society.

3 Young People and a Changing Civic Engagement

Much recent research has highlighted how young people have become increasingly disillusioned with institutions and the practices of modern representative governments (Van Biezen et al. 2012). Researchers have suggested that in many countries young people are turning away from mainstream politics (Fieldhouse et al. 2007). Interestingly, this change has occurred simultaneously with new digital technologies becoming an essential part of young people's lives (Bennett et al. 2011). As a result, it has been suggested that young people are turning away from politics and instead favoring edutainment and leisure on the new media, such as through gaming and using Facebook or other social media (Loader 2007).

However, the idea of young people as politically apathetic and failing in their duty to participate in many democratic societies worldwide has been refuted by a growing number of academics in recent years (Loader 2007; Marsh et al. 2007; Rye and Rye 2011). Undoubtedly, many young citizens have become disenchanting with mainstream political parties and those who claim to speak on their behalf. Nevertheless, this should not be interpreted as a lack of interest in political issues that are part of their lifeworld. According to Loader et al. (2014), although young people today are less likely to become members of political or civic organizations such as parties and unions, they are more likely to participate as individuals in horizontal networks with less hierarchical compositions, often structured around social media use and the Internet. Loader et al. (2014) conceptualize new political practices of young people as networked citizenship.

Young people's participation in social movements, rallies, protests, and consumer boycotts points to the possible displacement of traditional models of representative democracy as the dominant cultural form of engagement. Further, such participation is apparently an alternative approach to politics that is increasingly characterized by networking practices (Castells 2013). The political identities and attitudes of young citizens are thus seen as increasingly shaped by social networks, which young people themselves have a significant part in constructing.

This new way of organizing civic engagement and actions may be understood through what Wellman and Rainie (2013) conceptualize as networked individualism. Through this concept, they show how people have become increasingly networked as individuals, rather than embedded in groups. In the world of networked individuals, it is the person who is the focus, more than the family, the work unit, the neighborhood, and the social group. Still they claim that networked individualism is not about loneliness, but rather it describes the ways in which people connect, communicate, and exchange information. Social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube then play an essential role in this new form of civic engagement, which appears in myriad forms and scales.

As a response to the individualization of civic engagement, Percy-Smith (2010) claims that in order to foster a culture of democratic participation, inclusion, and active citizenship among youths, there is a need to move away from the current emphasis on participation in formal, institutional public discussion processes. He further asserts that there is a need to focus more on the multiplicity of ways in which people act, contribute, and realize their own sense of agency in everyday contexts. For young people, this means public spaces, schools, neighborhoods, associations, and organizations in which they can engage, explore, learn, and develop their confidence and abilities so that they can increasingly acquire the capability to shape and influence their immediate environment, lives, and future. The Internet is increasingly a part of young people's daily practices and should therefore also be included in analyses of how young people develop as political subjects.

Young people's engagement in the politics of everyday life in their close surroundings, alongside their engagement in conventional politics, raises at least two broad issues for consideration. First, it may be claimed that by refusing to participate in established political structures, young people place their own agency outside arenas where political power is exercised. Their civic engagement then has little impact on society and may be considered more like a game or what some label as a trivialization of democracy (Loader et al. 2014). Young people may act toward injustice either in their close surroundings or on a global level, but are at risk of failing to direct their actions toward the institutions that have the power to change societies' socialities and secure the rights of citizens, namely, the state.

It should, however, be noted that, although many young people refuse to engage in conventional institutionalized politics, their actions may be directed toward challenging these institutions. Researchers have argued that through effective networking, young citizens have demonstrated an increasing capacity to hold representatives to account and critically monitor their political actions (Bennett and Segeberg 2012). For example, social media combined with other networking opportunities

enables networked young citizens to consider reflectively a wider range of political discourses and share those considerations with friends or to engage in a wide range of political actions (Bennett et al. 2011). Hence, rather than joining existing political institutions, young people may challenge established political structures through participating in distinct ways of doing politics, which hardly can be seen as apathy.

Second, focusing on young people's close surroundings as way of understanding their political agency may constrain researchers from considering the wide range of political activities that young people engage in through their networked practices and global orientation. A narrow perspective on physical proximity when studying young people's engagement may fail to take into consideration that through their active use of digital forms of communication, the online world has become a part of their everyday practices and experiences. These are practices that, as previously discussed, potentially have broad geographical reach. Hence, it is interesting to note Ansell's (2009) argument that localism in the study of children and young people is problematic because it leaves out many of the processes that affect children and young people across national and worldwide settings. Economic globalization and neoliberal politics are, as discussed above, transforming the lives of many young people but are often not considered in the many small-scale participatory projects (Ansell 2005). Accordingly, this also hinders a deeper understanding of how, through their connection to global networks, young people are formed as political subjects, whether through consumption, information searches, or social networking.

To elaborate further on young people's civic and political engagement in relation to globalization and the Internet, the next section examines the concept of citizenship and how this concept has been understood in terms of its territorial embeddedness. The discussion also focuses on the concept of global citizenship and how it relates to young people as political subjects.

4 Territoriality and New Notions of Citizenship

Citizenship is a contested concept that to some extent is intended to cover the relation between the individual as a political subject and society as a political community. Essential dimensions of citizenship are rights, duties, participation, and membership. What dimension is emphasized varies over time and according to various scholarly traditions. Briefly, the liberal tradition has emphasized individual rights and duties, and the republican tradition has emphasized citizens' active participation in their community. Both are rooted in the belief that individual rights, including rights to participation, are universal in character across space, communities, and cultures and closely related to the foundation and global spread of a modern liberal democracy. However, this individualistic and universal approach to citizenship has been challenged by the communitarian tradition, which emphasizes that communities and cultures are essential for how individuals develop and appear as citizens. From the communitarian perspective, it is argued that the meaning of citizenship also varies across space and between societies and cultures (Delanty 2007).

Irrespective of historical traditions, in modern times, the state has typically been a basic reference point for understanding citizenship, whereby rights, duties, participation, and membership are defined through more or less fixed spatial units and appear as politics of place (Delanty 2007). The state-based model of citizenship is particularly visible in the legacy of Thomas H. Marshall and the liberal foundation citizenship, which has been particularly influential in the European context (Isin and Turner 2007). In this model of citizenship, to be or to become a citizen has been closely related to the fixity of the nation-state and thus related to the maintenance of basic societal structures and institutions, including securing basic rights to welfare for its citizens. However, the focus on the state has been apparent also in the republican perspective of citizenship, and the strong association between citizenship and the state has meant that in many senses citizenship has become synonymous with nationality (Isin and Turner 2007).

In recent decades, the state-based model of citizenship has been subject to criticism, and new ways of understanding citizenship have challenged traditional ways of looking at relations between individuals and political communities (Delanty 2000; Isin and Turner 2007). A basic argument for redefining citizenship has been, as discussed earlier, that societies have become more complex and fluid, including greater social and cultural diversity and a more complex spatiality. Further, migration has challenged the degree of homogeneity within many nation-states and in turn challenged the close relation between citizenship and nationality (Isin and Turner 2007). By contrast, new digital communication technology has challenged the borders of the state by enabling individuals, including young people, to act at a distance and communities to develop across state borders. New media has (as discussed in the preceding section) also challenged established political institutions within the state, including conventional ways of doing politics.

From the above discussion, it may be argued that citizenship needs to be redefined in accordance with new spatial experiences in people's everyday lives (Isin and Wood 1999; Turner and Isin 2002; Urry 2004). In response, new ways of conceptualizing citizenship, such as digital, transnational, hybrid, and cultural citizenship, have emerged in academic literature. However, the concept of global citizenship has gained the most attention in researchers' efforts to challenge the traditional way of seeing citizenship. As Delanty (2000) argues, a possible reason for the attention is that the concept reflects the new spatial practices and experiences that most people face in their daily lives.

With regard to the topic of this chapter, it is particularly interesting to observe that the shift away from the state as a basic reference when understanding citizenship implies that citizenship today is less fixed and rather a constructivist process that begins at an early stage in life. Citizenship is not something that people "move into," but rather something that is developed by individuals in association with various communities (Delanty 2007). Delanty (2003) argues that this development represents a learning process, which is articulated around the perception of the self as an active agent and a social actor that is shaped by its relations to others. Today, identity, sense of belonging, and responsibility are less connected to physical proximity and

rather developed through the use of various digital media that may operate across space (Bennett 2008; Castells 1997).

Thus, the new spatiality of citizenship, as conceptualized through cultural citizenship, is about being and becoming able to deal with diversity within a political community (Delanty 2007). Such diversity is typically a product of globalization in terms of migration and transnational life that are maintained through various media. However, the new spatiality of citizenship is also about dealing with a form of diversity that exists outside the borders of the traditional and spatially fixed political communities such as the nation-state or the city. Such political units, including their citizens, are to an increasing degree interconnected with the wider world and the global thus becomes a basic political reference. The latter aspect of the new spatiality of politics forms the grounds for applying global citizenship as a concept for understanding how individuals engage in various communities. Hence, it may be claimed that through the globalization of politics all people are becoming types of global citizens regardless of whether this is desirable. Still, young people's communications across space through the new media make them exposed to the global in a way that differs from people from other age groups. Hence, globalization and the Internet are particularly relevant for understanding how young people develop as citizens, and especially the way they relate to a global political community. This includes an understanding of how young people's connections to the global flow of information influence their representation of distant others (Monk 2004; Sefton-Green 2006).

Nevertheless, the literature is vague about how new communication technology affects the way young people act and develop as global citizens (Haste 2010). Although many young people can connect to the wider world from their computers at home or at school, little is known about how such access contributes to the way they relate to distant people, places, and communities. This question is discussed later in this chapter, but the next section prepares for that discussion by examining what it means to be a young global citizen and how this identity has changed over time.

5 From Citizens in the Making to Active Political Participation

As noted by Mills (2013), some decades ago, Marshall stated that “children, by definition, cannot be citizens” and rather positioned them as “citizens in the making.” Accordingly, Marshall emphasized compulsory education as important in the training of the future citizens. According to Marshall, education should prepare young people for a future as full citizens, rather than turning them into young political actors. Thus, to be a young citizen is about growing into a more or less predefined society in which social integration relies upon a form of citizenship that is primarily concerned with reinforcing bonds and obligations between those who share religious, ethnic, linguistic, and moral traditions, typically under the frame of the nation-state (Gifford et al. 2014).

Moosa-Mitha (2005) relates the civic exclusion of children and youths to young people's nonparticipation in "adult" institutions such as the military, marriage, and work. Young people, at least the very youngest, have been excluded from formal democratic politics such as voting. Such exclusion has been based on a notion of young people as not being fully developed as rational individuals and thus not responsible for their own actions. According to Gifford et al. (2014), this view of young people has produced significant normative restrictions on the extent to which new generations can remake themselves in opposition to their predecessors, and as a result young people's autonomy and political agency have been denied. This way of approaching young people as citizens may, according to Skelton (2010), explain why young people for a long time were not visible in the literature on political geography. She therefore suggests that rather than viewing young people as political subjects "in waiting," young people should be recognized as political actors that have the ability and competence to change society (Skelton 2007). Further, she claims that although young people may not engage in society in the same way as adults, it does not mean that their political agency is less worthy of political analysis. Bartos (2012) echoes this stand and claims that children not only inherit the future given by their elders but are also important social actors in the present.

Following the critique of young people being denied agency, the political understanding of young people has recently received new interest. A major inspiration for this new interest in youths' agency is found in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, which came into force in 1989 (Kallio and Häkli 2013; Skelton 2007). An essential part of the convention is the recognition of young people as "persons in their own right." This perspective has recently attracted a large amount of interest within the social sciences, including in geography (Kallio and Häkli 2011). As a consequence, the concept of young people as active participants in society has been included in subdisciplines such as political geography and citizenship studies.

Interestingly, much of the research focusing on young people's political agency, including citizenship, has located young people's political interests and practices primarily on the scale of the "local" (Hörschelmann and Refaie 2014). Similarly, Ansell (2009) claims that much of the recent geography of young people is characterized by a preoccupation with the microscale, such as the neighborhood, playgrounds, shopping malls, and journeys to school. In this respect, it is interesting to note how scholars show that although young people are both associated with and concerned by the local, they also extensively engage in both national and global political issues (Hörschelmann and Refaie 2014; Jeffrey 2012). Further, Bosco (2010) emphasizes the global dimension of young people's agency by pointing to several examples where young people on their own initiative have participated in global political events. Hörschelmann and Refaie (2014) show how young people have been deeply concerned about the victims of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars. Jeffrey (2012) uses empirical research to demonstrate that young people have been at the vanguard of some extraordinary changes since the early 1980s, such as the global justice movement in Europe. Accordingly, Gifford et al. (2014) claim that there is an urgent need to rethink citizenship for new generations who are deeply affected by

events that are overtly global in cause and effect, such as terrorism, financial crises, and climate change.

As the Internet is an integrated part of political movements and the related issues that engage many young people worldwide, it should also be critically discussed when understanding young people as active global citizens (Gifford et al. 2014). By means of the Internet, young people have the capacity to define and organize collective projects around their individual interests and values in ways that challenge the constraints of pre-existing institutional frameworks (Castells 2013). This implies that young people should be considered as competent political actors, not only as individuals but also collectively as a group. Through the Internet they can create collective action that affects societies globally. In the remaining part of this chapter, the role of the Internet in young people's construction as global citizens is explored further by focusing on schooling as an important arena for socialization into society.

6 The Internet and the Changing Spatial Construction of the Classroom

Traditionally the classroom has been recognized as a closed space in which the main social interaction occurs within four walls (Leander et al. 2010). The territorial fixity of education is also apparent in the way that historically education has been closely related to the foundation of the nation-state and the creation of good national citizens. Leander et al. (2010) criticize this historical understanding of the classroom as a container for learning and suggest it should be replaced by viewing the classroom as an unsettled and dynamic place that is a point along a complex learning trajectory. The classroom then becomes a translocal space, which transcends traditional borders.

The new notion of the classroom finds support through how the spatial nature of schooling is changing as new media enables school students to act as global citizens and develop a cosmopolitan identity, including a global responsibility (Martin 2011). Accordingly it is proposed that today, education should be about helping students to gain information, knowledge, and understanding about what is happening outside the classroom and in distant places outside the national context (Lambert and Morgan 2010; Morgan 2011; Schmidt 2011). Similarly, Lambert and Morgan (2010) suggest that geography education is about developing the capability of young people to participate in the formation of society, including the world that exists beyond national borders.

Researchers have, however, explained how the construction of global citizenship through school activities is not a straightforward process, even in environments with well-developed Internet access. For example, Rye (2013b) shows in his study how young Norwegian students through their Internet searches for information about tropical rainforests and global climate change did not develop any direct contact with people and institutions located outside the national context, nor did they see any reason to do so. The students did not seem to develop any form of identification or sense of belonging related to those living in rainforest areas despite many of them

claiming that they cared about what happened in such areas. The Internet provided the students with information about distant places that they used in their schoolwork but that did not bring them closer in terms of a sense of belonging and identification. It is noteworthy that the students did not consider language to be a problem. Most of them claimed to have sufficient knowledge of English. For other languages the students pointed to various forms of digital translation tools.

What Rye (2013b) observed has much in common with what is described in the literature as orientalism (Said 1979). The students reviewed distant people and places as objects that need help. Boltanski (1999) describes such ways of engaging in what is distant as a politics of pity without basic emancipation for those who are subject to the politics. It may therefore be claimed that the students used the Internet to construct themselves as active subjects through the objectification of distant "others." This may further exemplify how Western actors throughout history have viewed what is distant through a construction of the exotic, the wild, and the primitive (Gullestad 2007). In terms of global citizenship, this observation is interesting as the students in Rye's (2013b) study did not seem to use the Internet to relate to or develop any form of political community at global level. This happened despite seeing themselves as potential political subjects with both rights and obligations to do politics at a distance.

A further observation in Rye's (2013b) study suggests that the students expressed that the Internet provided them with a lot of relevant information for their schoolwork. However, what they learned in their social studies (including geography) and the role of the teachers were not considered by the students to be particularly relevant when engaging with distant places through their schoolwork. As claimed by Delanty (2007), this finding is particularly relevant, since becoming a citizen is about learning through various experiences and global citizenship is about global experiences. Moreover, Lambert and Morgan (2010) argue that in order to enable students to become citizens, in geography education, teachers need to find ways to engage with the geographical imagination and ideas within the subject in order to develop a systematic understanding of geographical issues. This includes, as argued by Crossley (2001), the capacity to embrace the point of view of "the other." Hence, teaching is about going beyond the national domain and requires teachers to provide learning methods that connect students to distant places in more fundamental ways than just considering the distant as something "out there" that the students should know about.

Rye (2013b) found, however, that teachers of social studies did not actively facilitate students' connections to distant places to any extent but rather let them search the Internet by using Google. The students informed Rye that they were largely left to themselves (and Google), and the teachers were not particularly actively involved when the students were searching for information on the Internet. The Google search engine, in addition to Wikipedia, provided the students with web-based resources that typically were located within the national context and produced by various Norwegian actors, such as national media and national NGOs working on international issues such as rainforest protection. Interestingly, the few times the students referred to how they directly were engaging with digital sources

located in distant places this happened because the resources were facilitated to them by the teacher.

The above discussion suggests that the way the Internet is used in a school setting to connect to distant places and people depends on how the teacher structures the learning process. In order to enable students to develop direct connections, identification, and to understand distant others' perspectives, teachers probably have to be active in the students' learning process when they are engaging with what is distant. The teachers have to practice themselves as well as teach the students critical selection and effective use of the rich resources existing on the Internet (Bennett et al. 2011; Buckingham 2007). This may enable students to develop a sense of shared identity and belonging with distant others and thus prepare the ground for developing a shared identity with people living at a distance.

In the literature, there are several examples of how to engage with the global dimension in education and how to promote a greater awareness of distant others through education (see, e.g., Hicks and Holden 2007). Most of these efforts are, as argued by Pashby (2011), intended to promote global connectivity, to combat ignorance of global "others," and to engage students as political agents in global processes. Still, she claims that these efforts typically appear as extensions of, and thus rooted in, national citizenship and do not connect students to a global community. Indeed it is difficult to find research-based literature that highlights how educational programs using the Internet foster a kind of global identity and global community belonging.

7 Conclusion: What Does It Mean to Be a Young Global Citizen?

The first aspect to be summarized is how an essential part of young people's construction as citizens concerns questions about *being* and/or *becoming political subjects*. Young people are in a constant process of learning about themselves and about society around them. From a citizenship perspective, this implies the development of citizens through the acquisition of knowledge about what happens within the political communities which they are part of at any given time. However, it is also about constructing a sense of belonging and identity related to such communities (Delanty 2003). To construct global citizenship thus becomes a process whereby young people reach out through the use of the Internet and in the process construct themselves as political subjects.

The emphasis on young people as being in the process of developing as citizens should not deny the notion of young people as purposeful political actors with the capacity to influence the society in which they live. Rather, it may be argued that in order for a young person to develop as a citizen, they should be able to act like one, and in this regard, the Internet is probably a useful tool. Young people spend much of their time online and in a space that challenges traditional notions of proximity and distance, as well as conventional channels of political communication and participation. Accordingly, when young people are using the Internet, they are both in a

process of becoming citizens and acting on their own premises like full members of a political community. For young people to act as citizens and to construct citizenship may be the same. For schools, this implies that assisting young people in their development as citizens may include learning about the global political community of which they are part as well as helping them to develop social interaction with this community and supporting them when they engage in political actions.

The second aspect to be summarized concerns *what it means to be global*, which may be a particularly problematic element when aiming to understand the way young people construct global citizenship through the Internet. The main argument in this chapter has been that to a large extent a traditional state-based approach to citizenship fails to understand how young people (and others) are constructed and act as political subjects. This critique enables global citizenship to be used as a concept for understanding the new spatiality of young people's civic engagement. Still, global citizenship remains a problematic concept, for several reasons.

First, it is important to bear in mind that although the Internet has a global scope, this does not mean that everyone connected to the Internet is global in their actions. Although it is evident that many young people in many cases and in various ways use the Internet to engage in politics at a global level, such as concern about the victims from the Afghanistan wars to involvement in the global justice movement, the usage is mainly local in its reach and closely embedded in daily practices proximate to where the young people live. As argued by Rye (2013b), this is one of the reasons why young people need assistance from a teacher if they wish to connect to distant places through the Internet in school settings. Young people may be skilled Internet users, but that does not necessarily imply that they are skilled in connecting and communicating with what is distant.

Second, even if young people utilize the global reach of the Internet, this does not necessarily imply that they are global in terms of citizenship. Merely to gain information about and connect to distant events, people, and societies does not in itself constitute young people as global citizens. It may be argued that knowledge of global issues is an important precondition for global citizenship, but citizenship also implies that individuals as political subjects are connected to a form of political community through rights, duties, participation, and membership. Hence, if young people should develop global citizenship through Internet use, the practice should imply a form of political engagement concerning their own or others' rights and duties in relation to a global political community. This is a very complex process and most young people probably need some kind of guidance and support, for example, from a teacher.

The above discussion leads to the third and final aspect to be summarized, namely, *the question of membership*. New flexible understandings of citizenship imply that the construction of citizenship is not a question about what it means to be or not to be a member of a political community, but rather a question of constant negotiations of rights, identity, and belonging originating from experiences and knowledge produced by engaging and participating in various forms of political communities. In terms of global citizenship among young people, such negotiations of memberships imply being involved and participating in global politics, including

being part of a global political community as a space for political action, involvement, and responsibility.

Nevertheless, to engage in global politics and to feel a sense of global responsibility should be a part of being a global citizen, but is not the same as being a member of global political community. It may further be questioned whether it makes sense to talk about a global community at all. As membership of a global political community is not a formal agreement, it requires a type of common identification and belonging, which hardly can be developed based on the whole world as the primary unit. As a result, global citizenship may become a cosmopolitan imagination constructed by an elite that sees themselves as representing the world population. Typically, this is manifested as a “Western” representation of the Global South where “Western values” are universalized.

The process of young people being constructed as global political subjects through the use of the Internet is not necessarily a question of moving up in the hierarchy of scale, starting with the neighborhood and physical proximity and ending with abstract politics at a global scale. It is probably not a question of scale jumping in the sense that young people may engage in global politics at the expense of what young people experience in daily life practices. Rather, when understanding young people’s constructions as global political subjects through the Internet, Ansell’s (2009) notion of a flat ontology as a basic consideration when understanding young people as political subjects is relevant. This implies recognizing that young people may engage as citizens in relation to distant events, places, and people without being engaged with the world as a whole. Engaging in what is distant also implies engaging in the local and vice versa. Hence, the political communities preparing the ground for a type of global young citizenship may stretch across space and involve transnational relations and multilocal communities.

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Education, International Volunteering, and Citizenship: Young People's Subjectivities and Geographies of Development

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Abstract

This chapter explores the ways geographies of development intersect with the production of young people's "global" subjectivities and citizenship in the UK. Drawing on research on international volunteering, the "gap year," faith-based volunteering, global learning, and development education, the chapter analyzes the ways young people's subjectivities are produced both through and against popular development imaginaries. The growth of international volunteering and its connection to ideas of global citizenship, and the neoliberal professionalization of development education, are used to explore how development has become linked to youth subjectivities in the UK, and the policy framings that shape this. Geographies of religion, education, development, citizenship, and affect are brought together to explore the overlapping and interweaving ways young people's subjectivities and development can be linked, and how this opens and closes spaces for the emergence of more radical youthful citizenships. Research on university-based global citizenship education, faith-based volunteering, and the role of affect in international volunteering are used to show how young people negotiate and challenge neoliberal and popular framings of development and citizenship.

Keywords

Citizenship • Development • Youth • Subjectivity • International volunteering • Development education • Higher education • Faith • Affect

1 Introduction

This chapter explores the ways geographies of development intersect with the production of young people's "global" subjectivities and citizenships in the UK. As development has become increasingly popular, celebrityized, and "sexy" (Cameron and Haanstra 2008), it has come together with the state, civil society, and corporate efforts to promote diverse forms of global citizenship. This chapter analyzes how young people's "global" subjectivities are produced through and against these initiatives and changing development imaginaries. It draws on contemporary research on international volunteering, the "gap year," faith-based volunteering, development education, and global learning to analyze the ways UK young people's subjectivities can relate to ideas and practices of development. Geographies of development, education, religion, citizenship, and affect are brought together to show how the relationships between development and youth subjectivity are produced through the overlapping of different geographies. These geographies open and close opportunities for the emergence of more radical youthful citizenships that can challenge global inequality. In this sense, while it is important to acknowledge the ways in which increasingly "neoliberalized" global citizenships are produced through international volunteering (Baillie Smith and Laurie 2011) and development education (e.g., Humble 2013), this

does not mean denying the agency of young people in working against, subverting, or sidestepping these efforts.

This chapter brings together the diverse scholarships of each of the authors, as well as collaborative work between some them. Section 1 outlines how geographies of development are brought into dialogue with debates around subjectivities in the Global North, focusing on claims for the power of encounters with difference and inequality in shaping “global” citizenship. These debates are situated in relation to the resurgence of ideas of cosmopolitanism, and the connecting of cultural and lived experiences to broader geopolitical realities and possibilities. A critical exploration of ideas of “global citizenship” is then offered, identifying key theoretical underpinnings and pitfalls. Section 2 explores how the relationships between subjectivity and encounters with inequality and difference have become institutionalized in the UK, often through neoliberal policy agendas around skills enhancement and employability, as well as through neoliberal framings of global citizenship. Two case studies on international volunteering and the depoliticization of development education are used to illustrate this.

Section 3 moves beyond an institutional focus to consider the multiple geographies – both planned and accidental – that come together as young people negotiate development, difference, and inequality. The chapter shows how it is important to look beyond instrumental and programmatic “learning” to fully understand the ways young people’s subjectivities and citizenships are and can be shaped in relation to development. Three case studies are used to explore this: transformational learning, faith-based international volunteering, international volunteering and affect. The chapter concludes with an argument for greater attention to the multiple geographies that shape the relationships between young people’s subjectivities and international development, emphasizing the need for scholars to look beyond the dominance of popular development imaginaries and commonly held critiques of them.

2 Geographies of Development, Encounters, and Subjectivities

“D” development, as defined by Gillian Hart, has been interwoven with claims for and on subjectivities since its emergence in the postwar period. Hart distinguishes between:

‘big D’ Development defined as a post-second world war project of intervention in the ‘third world’ that emerged in the context of decolonization and the cold war, and ‘little d’ development of the development of capitalism as a geographically uneven, profoundly contradictory set of historical processes. (2001, p. 650)

While there is developing scholarship on volunteering and “D” and “d” development (e.g., Baillie Smith and Laurie 2013), the focus here is on “D” development, which from this point is written as Development. Interventions by postcolonial

(e.g., McEwan 2009) and post-development scholars (e.g., Escobar 1995) have particularly drawn out how Development has constructed subjectivities in Global South and North. In the context of geographies of young people, Ansell has identified the multiple ways, theories, and practices of development have shaped the lives and trajectories of young people in the Global South (Ansell 2005). Development has been intimately bound up with ideas and practices of “charity” and “responsibility,” the motif of the passive and/or needy victim in the Global South being a key feature of early Development policy and practice, mirrored by a Global North subjectivity premised on “care” for the distant less fortunate. Commitments to aid and Development can be seen as identity markers exciting particular types of political and emotional subjectivities, evidenced in popular Development fundraising spectacles such as “Comic Relief” as well as challenges to aid spending in the context of austerity. As the aid industry increasingly targets young people as participants, advocates for, and funders of global development initiatives, this presents an important site for development scholarship and work on the relationship between young people’s subjectivities and the politics of scale (Ansell 2009; Hopkins 2014). Development’s production and mobilization of subjectivities in Global South and North are not separate, but rather mutually reinforcing; as Korf (2007) discusses in relation to the Asian tsunami, decisions about activities on the ground at the site of the disaster were shaped by the need to produce representations of gratefulness for donors in the Global North.

Development is not only about mobilizing or producing particular subjectivities in the service of its own objectives. As is shown later, it can shape subjectivities through its role in enhancing employability and corporate citizenship in the context of international volunteering (Baillie Smith and Laurie 2011) or in educating young people to develop competencies for a global economy in the context of global learning and development education. In this way, a further layer of “transformation” is added to the relationship between Development and subjectivity. This comes not only in the ways particular subjectivities are assumed to have the agency to affect social, economic, or political transformations or the ways Development is premised on ideas of transforming citizens in the global South, but can be seen in how it is used to transform and produce Global North citizenships and not simply reflect them (Baillie Smith 2016). This is not new – colonial adventure and service played a key role in the formation of particular imperial subjectivities. But the multiple ways in which Development and subjectivity come together is significant. Recent debates on cosmopolitanism provide a useful lens through which to understand these processes.

Vertovec and Cohen (2002, pp. 8–22) offer a useful typology of cosmopolitanisms: “(a) a sociocultural condition, (b) a kind of philosophy or worldview, (c) a political project toward building transnational institutions, (d) a political project for recognizing multiple identities, (e) an attitudinal or dispositional orientation, and/or (f) a mode of practice or competence.” This diversity is reflected in explorations of cosmopolitanism in a range of contexts and settings. These include research on its relationship to both “D” and “d” development, such as on “subaltern” cosmopolitanism (e.g., Gidwani 2006); the cosmopolitanism of NGO workers at the interface

of global and local civil societies (Baillie Smith and Jenkins 2012); work on cosmopolitanism, world poverty, and human rights (Pogge 2002); and research on the ways encounters with poverty and inequality can shape cosmopolitan dispositions (Rovisco 2009; Baillie Smith et al. 2013). These varied approaches and understandings defy easy summary as they work across disciplines and reflect normative and positive positions. Nevertheless three key features of cosmopolitan thinking can be identified as central to its relationship with Development: the cosmopolitan position of equal recognition to all individuals regardless of nationality, celebration of “thinking and feeling beyond the nation,” and the valorization and normative commitment to political subjectivity beyond the nation-state.

Commitments to ending inequality within Development thinking and practice require a conception of the equality of all humans, and rhetorics exhorting support for aid frequently evoke a sense of shared humanity and fraternity, even while practice may fall short of this ideal. While contested, the practice of Development has been premised on a variety of readings of a Kantian-inspired idea of the “world citizen” – someone whose loyalties go beyond the nation-state and reflect a concern with the whole of humanity. This is not to say that the “nation” or national interests have always been displaced, as evidenced in the UK government’s increasing recasting of development as security and self-interest (Sharp et al. 2011). But Development has been bound up – if unevenly and inconsistently – with the idea that the nation is not the sole indicator in assessing the worth of political, economic, and social decision-making.

It is in exploring the relationship between cosmopolitan and global citizenship and Development that some of the key conceptual and empirical debates relevant to understanding the relationship between Development and UK youth subjectivities can be found. A useful starting point in this is Hannerz’ assertion that “the ability to make one’s way into other cultures, and the appreciative openness toward divergent cultural experiences, could be a resource for cosmopolitical commitments” (Hannerz 2006, p. 13). This coming together of cultural and political cosmopolitanisms can be found in the focus on the “encounter” with difference and Development that has come to play a central role in the relationships between youth subjectivities and Development. Engagement with and in Development has come to be seen as both an expression of global citizenship and also as a route into fostering and shaping global citizenship (e.g., Baillie Smith 2016). As Rovisco suggests, “. . . international volunteers are overtly exposed to cultures, values and places that they experience as alien vis-à-vis their own cultural frames of reference” (2009, p. 267). Encounters with the “otherness” of Development are then linked to the development of dispositions and orientations that can be associated with notions of global citizenship – “a significant identity, loyalty or commitment beyond the nation-state” (Dower 2002, p. 1). However, this is not straightforward either empirically or conceptually. The concept of global citizenship remains highly contested, without a recognizable political community or state authority and the continued importance of the nation-state. Secondly, what global citizenship means can vary widely. Jefferess notes how key political philosophers of global citizenship understand global citizenship in terms of responsibility “for” underscoring an association of global citizenship with acts of benevolence

(2008, p. 27). This can then underpin an uneven geography of global citizenship in which only some have agency and others are to be “cared for.”

In the context of global citizenship education, Andreotti (2006) provides a useful typology in which such a global citizenship might be located within a “soft” iteration that contrasts with a “critical” global citizenship that addresses power inequalities, justice, and ethical relationships to difference. At one level, this suggests a distinction between the global citizenships produced by global social movements or through formations such as the World Social Forum and more traditional “Development awareness” raising initiatives of NGOs or government-supported school curriculum guidance on citizenship. However, it is also important not to over-value seemingly more “critical” global citizenships and so obscure ongoing exclusions and dismiss less politically enticing subjectivities. The WSF, for example, remains a contested space (e.g., Smith 2004), and there is also evidence that Global South activists can be excluded from or only allowed temporary membership of emergent global civic spaces (e.g., Baillie Smith and Jenkins 2012). Perhaps a more helpful approach is to go beyond formal and legal understandings of citizenship and attend to the ordinariness of citizenship in which legal structures and norms interweave with the daily lives and experiences of individuals (Staeheli et al. 2012). This then means thinking less about global citizenship in terms of behaviors and status – not least given their temporality – and concentrating more on the processes that shape, constrain, and define citizenship (Staeheli 2011). This would include exploring the possibilities of global citizenship as a process of moving toward greater equality (Arneil 2007). It is toward this end and in the context of recognizing the dominance of charity-led framings of global citizenship that the chapter now turns to the ways in which the relationship between UK youth subjectivities and Development has become increasingly institutionalized, mainstreamed, and neoliberalized.

3 Institutionalizing and Instrumentalizing Young People and Global Citizenship

Despite the problems with “global citizenship” as a theoretical concept, in the UK, it has become an increasingly important feature in policy discourses and practice. Some of these policy framings ally global citizenship to forms of mobility, such as in the case of higher education “internationalization” agendas which emphasize student international mobility as part of developing graduate capabilities and, particularly, employability. Policy support for education partnerships between Global South and North has explicitly linked mobilities, encounters, and Development to education system efforts to produce global citizens. The UK government, through an initiative called Platform2 under the New Labour administration, and International Citizen Service, under the recent Conservative-led coalition, have linked youth international volunteering to visions of global citizenship that reflect their contrasting political positions on the strategic and global roles and responsibilities of the UK, as well as to agendas for social inclusion, prioritizing and financing participation from young people from marginalized communities (Baillie Smith and

Laurie 2011; Griffiths 2014). Other policy framings of global citizenship do not necessarily link to mobility and offer what Humble refers to as a “reproduced encounter” (Humble 2013, p. 43) in which intermediate actors – such as educators – foster engagement with issues of distant and local difference and inequality through targeted resources, rather than providing opportunities for mobility.

The above examples illustrate that global citizenship has also become an integral feature of mainstream education policy. In part this is the result of lobbying by development education organizations and international NGOs in the 1980s and 1990s, although Biccum has argued that the Department for International Development’s (DfID) “Development awareness” strategies and events such as Make Poverty History produce colonially rooted understandings of global citizenship very much in line with an emphasis on “care and responsibility for” and with little critical engagement with structural inequality (Biccum 2007). Beyond formal government policy making, other phenomena such as the “gap year” have entered popular culture and, promoted by commercial “voluntourism” actors, have become normalized and ordinary in some settings as overseas placements are increasingly being seen as a way to enhance global citizenship (Baillie Smith and Laurie 2013). However, the costs of engagement with private and some voluntary sector actors exclude significant numbers of young people, creating an unevenness to who can develop as global citizens in these ways, notwithstanding the targeting of marginalized groups in government-supported schemes. Although not specifically focused on engagement in Development or with global citizenship agendas, the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England reveals that only 3.7 % of “gap year” takers are classified as not in employment, education, or training (NEET) (Crawford and Cribb 2012, p. 55), indicating its prevalence among more affluent and educated groups.

To explore what these policy framings mean in more detail, three case studies now follow which focus on the ways youth subjectivities and encounters with Development have become linked to a series of wider (often neoliberal) policy agendas around employability, intercultural awareness, and citizenship, which are changing over time.

3.1 Case Study 1: International Volunteering and Development

Following the establishment of a Development industry from the 1950s onward, over recent decades, international volunteering has become increasingly institutionalized as it has mirrored and also to some extent helped shape Development approaches. An array of organizations and partnerships now exist to meet the growing demand for volunteering experiences from diverse populations in terms of age, place of origin, and professional backgrounds. Despite the changing emphases of volunteering goals and Development approaches over time, including through themes such as basic needs, governance, citizenship and ethno-development (Baillie Smith and Laurie 2011, p. 549), and the growing numbers of volunteers coming from different population cohorts, young people have always occupied an important

place on international volunteering agendas. This is because the various stakeholders involved in the sector value and target the characteristics they associate with “youth” according to their own interpretations of volunteering goals and Development. These ally and meld with the aspirations of young people themselves to differing degrees, depending on the factors shaping specific political, economic, social, and cultural moments as well as individual life-course trajectories and desires. For example, on the one hand, volunteering goals focused on personal development can take on greater importance because of structural issues, such as during economic recession in a home country, when the desire to volunteer and gain life experience can also usefully be allied to CV building. On the other hand, gaining a new skill may be more important to some individuals than others. For example, the opportunity to learn a language may be more relevant to someone wishing to study languages at university than to someone who is already bilingual as a result of their completed studies or because they are from a region, family, and/or diaspora background where fluency in two or more languages is the norm. In these different contexts, mutual learning in international settings through volunteering could be seen as a useful cross-cultural skill for the international job market but could be equally important as part of a faith-based/solidarity agenda as an activist or as an essential first step toward supporting rights-based Development approaches and/or making connections between diaspora communities. The meaning attributed to volunteering goals and also their link to particular Development approaches is therefore neither fixed nor uniform. Focusing on different stakeholders’ engagement with ideas of youth and young people’s identities through international volunteering can help unpick some of the ways in which youth subjectivities and encounters with Development have become linked in policy making.

The state, nongovernment organizations (NGOs), and the commercial sector have all become significant stakeholders in the international volunteering sector over recent years, sometimes working together in joint partnership initiatives such as ICS mentioned above (see also Baillie Smith and Laurie 2011 for other examples). Commercial interests in particular have played a significant role in the emergence of a competitive short-term volunteering market offering Development placements with “all-in packages” focused around specific projects and themes (e.g., conservation, working with children, infrastructure building projects, etc.). They see young people as individual consumers able to pay for a complete experience which comes with the reassurance of an organized activity, supervision, and a company brand. This sector is institutionally diverse, ranging from small one- or two-person organizations to large well-established companies with placements in many countries and a turnover of hundreds of volunteers annually. It is largely a self-regulating sector where potential volunteers are able to access a range of independent published guides in newspapers, online websites (e.g., www.gapyear.com/volunteering.html), and hard copy handbooks (e.g., Bindloss et al. 2005) in order to compare what is offered by different providers.

By contrast, the state, NGOs, and many faith-based groups have a less market-focused approach to international Development volunteering. Their emphasis is less

on young people as immediate consumers and more on their role as Development actors as they become “global citizens.” While as discussed above, understandings of global citizenship associated with colonial projects of nation and empire building have long been in circulation, current articulations of global citizenship involve different interpretations of cosmopolitanism. These mark a departure from understandings of Development associated with basic needs and modernization approaches where the role of volunteers as benevolent agents providing service and assistance (e.g., as teachers or technical experts in a specific field) has traditionally been emphasized by stakeholders. As the numbers of nonspecialist youthful volunteers has increased and knowledge transfer approaches toward Development have been replaced by notions of community empowerment through participatory Development, the goals of volunteering have also come to be questioned by scholars and practitioners increasingly sensitive to some of the limitations of – particularly nonspecialist – outsiders in enhancing Development. As a result, current rhetorics underpinning state and NGO engagement with international volunteering often reflect a rather different agenda. Rather than highlighting the immediate impact that volunteering activities will have on poverty reduction in the Global South, emphasis is increasingly being placed on “making a difference” through the longer-term engagement with Development issues that these experiences will generate – despite limited longitudinal evidence confirming this to be the case. The assumption is that international volunteering will create a sense of “global awareness” among young volunteers that they will take with them into later life, informing their professional careers and personal commitments in ways that support Development goals and actors over time. As such they become bearers of global citizenship, and the burden of the future care for the planet and its people is placed on their shoulders.

3.2 Case Study 2: Development Education and Global Learning

A significant contribution to shaping young people’s subjectivities in the UK has come through the ideas and activities associated with development education. Emerging in the UK through the early period of decolonization and linked both to Freirean ideas of education and the dependency critiques of modernization, development education has acted as an umbrella term for a range of strategies linking the education of young people in the UK to processes of Development and global interdependence. It has lacked definitional clarity (see Baillie Smith 2008) and has often become lost in normative claims for its value rather than demonstrations of what it has achieved. As we show here, the broader instrumentalizing of global citizenship has changed development education, which as a result is in the process of being recast as “global learning.” Nevertheless in the definition given below by what was then the Development Education Association (DEA 2007) and has since become the NGO Think Global, we can see how development education links understanding of the spatialities and relationalities of global inequality to shaping citizenship and subjectivities.

Development education:

- Explores the links between people living in the “developed” countries of the North with those of the “developing” South, enabling people to understand the links between their own lives and those of people throughout the world
- Increases understanding of the economic, social, political, and environmental forces which shape our lives
- Develops the skills, attitudes, and values which enable people to work together to take action to bring about change and take control of their own lives
- Works toward achieving a more just and a more sustainable world in which power and resources are more equitably shared (DEA 2007)

While this definition reflects an idea of what development education should be, as opposed to what it is on the ground, we can see within it important resonances with diverse ideas of cosmopolitanism and links between openness to difference, skills, and competencies for a global world and prioritizing humanity over nation in resource allocation.

Development education has been delivered by a variety of actors, including international NGOs and trade unions, but a key actor in its evolution and delivery in the UK has been Development Education Organisations (DEOs) and Centres. Located around the country – with 36 organizations currently listed as operating in England, for example (Think Global 2015) – they have particularly worked to generate understanding of Development “issues” and patterns of global interdependence among children and young people, linking this to the development of young people as global citizens. This has been positioned as contrasting with the dominant engagement approaches of international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), which have centered on fundraising and charity. There have been long-running debates around the different types of subject positions produced by these different strategies, although positing education and charity in such stark opposition obscures important overlaps, generalizes across very diverse practices, and offers a differentiation that says more about organizational programming than the messy realities of how people understand and engage with issues of global inequality and Development.

In the UK, DEOs have primarily worked through continuing professional development activities with teachers and educators including study visits, training and classroom resource production, conferences, and workshops. These activities are designed to enable educators to encounter complex issues of international Development and global justice and the everyday realities of our increasingly globalized and interconnected lives (Humble 2013). By engaging with themes such as inequality, citizenship, power, politics, justice, and related Development themes, DEOs inculcate specific knowledge, skills, and dispositions which, it is argued by proponents, can lead to positive global social change. Ethnographic research with a DEO (Humble 2013) reveals, however, that the institutionalizing of global citizenship, alongside the increasing popularizing of Development, has produced important changes in development education in recent times. The work of DEOs evolved from the 1970s onward as groups of teachers and educators

moved from wanting to create a space for Development within the education system to becoming expert organizations funded by government to “do” a form of development education that was more closely allied to the formal school curriculum. More recently, they have become seen by some as promoters of UK international “aid.” The arrival of UK government funding for “Development awareness” under New Labour meant that, by 2000, DEOs across the UK were being funded by the Department for International Development to work primarily with teachers and educators to support the development of:

locally owned strategies to achieve more comprehensive, high quality support to teachers for the delivery of the global dimension. Each strategy will focus on how global perspectives in the curriculum can be effectively delivered and supported, particularly through new partnerships and co-operative ways of working; and also how to access resources that support work in this area. The strategies will place schools in a stronger position to engage with and respond to the challenges of globalisation, sustainable development and active citizenship. (DfID 2003, p. 2)

The mainstreaming of development education, and its recasting in line with the development and education agendas of the state at this time, produced processes of neoliberal professionalization and depoliticization that have also been identified elsewhere in and beyond Development and development education (e.g., Bryan 2011; Laurie and Bondi 2006). Development education has become increasingly distant from its radical political roots, less engaged with the traditional preoccupations and debates of Development, and more closely linked to education goals and outcomes (Baillie Smith 2013), evidenced in the renaming of development education as global learning, as mentioned above, and defined by the NGO Think Global as “promoting education for a just and sustainable world” (www.think-global.org.uk). While development education in the formal sector continues to work through similar structures and practices, running study visits, support for teachers, and so on, the context and framing of DE have changed. We can understand this as a move away from a more political cosmopolitanism, concerned with justice and equality, toward a more “banal” form of cosmopolitanism (Beck 2002), centered on skills and competencies for the realities of an interconnected world in which Development has become popularized, but politically sanitized, for UK audiences.

Through these two case studies, we have shown how the coming together of Development and youth subjectivities is not new, predating the recent popularization of Development and its recasting as “sexy.” Changing understandings of Development, education, and citizenship have reframed the relationships between Development and young people, even while the “activities” – such as volunteering or learning about interdependence – appear similar. We can see in both examples tensions between the fostering of encounters which develop skills for a global economy and those which promote action on global justice. But it is too simple to suggest a strict delineation between the two – there are overlaps and contradictions, as well as spaces which can be “worked” (Laurie and Bondi 2006) by young people to subvert and challenge some of the ways global citizenship has become

institutionalized. This requires attention to the complexity of young people's subjectivities as they connect with Development.

4 Multiple Geographies of Development and Citizenship

The previous section foregrounded the institutionalization and programming of global citizenship through a bringing together of young people with the ideas and activities of Development. But while this is an important feature of how young people's subjectivities are being shaped in relation to Development, it risks obscuring the multiple geographies, planned and accidental, that come together as young people negotiate Development, difference, and inequality. It also removes young people's agencies, the ways subjectivities are multilayered and produced through contestation and negotiation. Through case studies on global citizenship in higher education, faith and volunteering and youth volunteering and affect, this section draws together geographies of citizenship, Development, and encounter, with geographies of religion, affect, and education, to explore the complex and multiple layers through which Development can shape UK youth subjectivities. It also foregrounds the possibility of contesting neoliberalized visions of citizenship and Development.

4.1 Case Study 3: Global Citizenship in Higher Education

Higher education has become an increasingly important site for the institutionalizing and instrumentalizing of global citizenship among young people. This process has taken place in the context of a growing emphasis on developing student employability. Popular Development imaginaries, associated with youth practices and rites of passage, are an important feature in this context as, for example, "gap years" provide particular forms of capital for new students and universities themselves encourage engagement with "other" contexts with contrasting economic fortunes (local, national, and international), including through volunteering.

In the UK, higher education is becoming an increasingly neoliberal experience, with students paying ever larger fees and expecting a certain type of "service provision" as a result. In an ever more competitive market, universities are increasingly interested in what they can offer to the student experience in addition to classroom teaching. Often the focus is on employability, understood narrowly as a "checklist" of skills perceived to be of value to prospective employers, with graduates "exhorted to continually develop their personal skills, qualities and experiences in order to compete in the graduate labour market" (Moreau and Leathwood 2006, p. 306). However, it is important not to reduce young people's agencies and subjectivities to this particular approach to citizenship. Many students are keen to make connections and "make a difference" or become "global citizens" by engaging with issues of social justice, through volunteering, awareness raising, or joining groups or societies that lobby or work on these issues. These efforts can both

resonate with and contest the dominant models of citizenship promoted by universities.

The ways higher education provides opportunities for learning and personal development outside the structures of the formal classroom is key to understanding this, although it is worth noting that such opportunities are harder to access for those needing to work long hours to support their study. Here, the spaces opened up are simultaneously enabled by a market-driven logic of personal development, but also provide scope for contestation. However, there is little evidence about the ways that these spaces may best create conditions for students to develop their capabilities and interests and flourish as positive members of a just society. Universities are in a position to “provide the enabling spaces and conditions for development and learning in the way that individuals cannot do alone” (Walker 2006, p. 37). But this then needs to be set in the context of the growing neoliberalization of universities and how this shapes young people’s ideas of their subjectivities and how this links to understandings of the role of a university degree.

An initiative taking shape in one UK university seeks to explore the ways that nonformal spaces can create conditions for such learning to occur by providing opportunities for students to develop capabilities, defined as their sense of agency and their “freedom to achieve well-being” (Sen 1992, p. 48). The initiative is a learning community with a focus on Development and human rights. It focuses on the way students engage with social justice issues and how they interpret their freedom to participate in a more just society. Therefore, in addition to gaining skills normally associated with employability, consideration is given to broader areas of value, such as confidence, agency, and social interactions, that contribute to students’ well-being and how these might impact on their experience of university and their freedom to make a positive contribution to society beyond university.

Students sign up to be part of the learning community at the beginning of the academic year. They meet regularly and come up with ways to foster their own learning, as well as activities to raise awareness about key Development or human rights issues among the wider student body. This space is opened and developed by faculty members, but led by the students and has the format of a focused learning community in which students and staff come together to engage with issues of social justice. Learning communities are structured with the purpose of encouraging students to connect ideas from different disciplines and of creating long-term, sustained social interactions (Zhao and Kuh 2004). This learning community was open to all students in one of the university’s colleges. It aims to provide participative and critical learning opportunities for a core group of students and considers student development based on a holistic concept of areas of life that a student has reason to value.

Nonformal (i.e., noncredit bearing and optional) interdisciplinary workshops are run for students who sign up to the community and networking events to facilitate links with international organizations, human rights activists, and local refugee groups to help the students self-organize and lead events and activities for further learning. In the first year of the community, the group ran a successful refugee week in the college, facilitating debates and quizzes as well as workshops and activities.

They also ran regular film nights, followed up by discussions of different global issues.

Current research, conducted by one of the authors (Brown), explores the degree to which this learning community enables students to develop capabilities to achieve agency and well-being (including opportunities to participate, gain new knowledge, improve their intercultural or professional skills, and other outcomes that they value). In this sense, the learning community works within and beyond more institutionalized approaches to foster global citizenship. Working without the hierarchical structures associated with most student clubs or societies gave the students in the learning community an opportunity to engage in genuine dialogue and negotiate meaning and understandings of development and rights as a group. Using a capability approach (Sen 1992) to consider the experiences of the students involved in the learning community differs from Development theories that measure education in terms of contribution to the economy, such as human capital theory, and allows us to explore the impact of a learning community from the perspective of what students value to have a “good life” (Sen 1999). By using multiple lenses to critically analyze the ways that students reflect on their learning, we can unpick students’ perceptions of the learning community as a space to learn, consider different attitudes, and acquire skills. Findings show that students value the opportunity to have support to develop their own interests and take the lead on a project they perceive to “make a difference” in some way. They developed their own direction, focusing on refugee issues, and found the networking events and workshops run through the learning community-offered ways for them to spend their time on something they saw as meaningful, with the development of transferable skills recognized as a means rather than an end.

This reveals how young people’s subjectivities are not necessarily uniform or coherent, with different and informal approaches sitting alongside, contesting but also affirming wider higher education HE models of an institutionalized citizenship. This is forged through engagement with an issue of local contestation, in contrast to the frequent emphasis on “global mobility” in HE efforts to inculcate global citizenship. The project also reveals the possibility of creating spaces within HE that may be framed by the neoliberal institutionalizing of global citizenship, but which also allow different citizenships to emerge that work across sites and scales identified by young people. This is not to romanticize the decision to focus on refugees nor to suggest there is no connection to CV enhancement but to acknowledge that the instrumentalizing of global citizenship can be contested and that a range of geographies come together to shape the relationship between youth subjectivities and Development.

4.2 Case Study 4: Faith-Based Volunteering Subjectivities and Development

Research on young people’s engagement in faith-based international volunteering in Latin America (Baillie Smith et al. 2013; Hopkins et al. 2015) shows how global

subjectivities are shaped by faith-based imaginaries of what a global community is. These imaginaries are not isolated from the sorts of popular understandings of Development circulating through events such as Comic Relief and Live8, as discussed earlier. Indeed in some cases, participants in the faith-based volunteering program studied seemed mainly to want a gap year with a Christian spin. However, the coming together of Development's "trendiness factor" and volunteering in this way can throw up interesting scenarios for understanding the basis on which the practice of global citizenship can be built in and through faith-based communities and in ways that both challenge and reinforce established approaches to global citizenship.

Religion comes together with Development in multiple ways and in diverse settings (Tomalin 2013). Christianity in particular has long been linked through missionary activities to ideas of Development and volunteering, not only as a cornerstone of Victorian era colonial projects but also in more recent solidarity activities covering the breadth of Christianity from liberation theology to numerous Christian faith-based NGOs, a growing number of which support international volunteer programs. In the case of the evangelical Development NGO Tearfund, this includes working in partnership with the UK government to offer placements in Bangladesh, Bolivia, Rwanda, and South Africa through the government-funded International Citizen Service (ICS) scheme. In such contexts, Olson's work on transnational religion and Development is helpful in examining how notions of successful/good Development are constructed relationally and articulated through religious values, theologies, institutions, and practices. She argues that "religious organizations mediate development through the production and enforcement of development truths – epistemologies – that are translated and contested within private and public spaces of faith and community" (Olson 2006, p. 886). Her research focuses on how particular understandings of what is successful Development are tied up with flows of knowledge and resources associated with transnational religion, something that resonates with the research on faith-based volunteering conducted by two of the authors (Baillie Smith and Laurie, with Elizabeth Olson and Peter Hopkins).

Before she left for her volunteering placement in Latin America, Karen, aged 22, one of the participants in the research, explained how she expected a shared understanding of faith to provide a specific context for her volunteering experience: "...between Christians it will be quite nice because it means you have something in common and you can be friends but I think it will be nice to share the Western Christianity with them without trying to overrule their ways." At first glance, her motivation to participate in a faith-based program could be interpreted as the desire for the security of a shared sense of sameness. However, she unsettles this sameness by advocating a clear understanding of the need to respect difference in intercultural settings, thereby suggesting perhaps a heightened awareness of the entangled colonial and Christian pasts and presents at work in contemporary "Development settings."

While on their placements in Latin America, participants in the research were also asked to keep a structured diary to help record their interactions, observations, and

moments and meditations. These diary sources provided a rich source of material on personal reflections and captured more nuanced thoughts than the interviews conducted before and after the placements were carried out. Diary entries indicated how intercultural encounters in volunteering settings unsettled volunteer understandings of what it means to be a global Christian. Illustrative of this type of reflection, Lynne, aged 19, recorded the following while in Ecuador.

I feel challenged in my faith. I think in Western society it is easier to soften the edges of Christianity to fit in with how we want to live, to justify our own wrong doings and bad attitudes because, one, Christians are a minority therefore are fully integrated into every aspect of society and two, we have little culture! – very few long standing traditions (apart from drinking). In Ecuador much of the bible is taken very literally, I believe rightly so, for generations and generations Christians here have not gone to discos etc. – s'pose our equivalent of going clubbing. They are much stricter with gambling and alcohol and dance. . . .Although some may find their strictness stupid or unnecessary I think it's both bold and pro-active. God does not want us getting drunk so they don't drink – at all.

Lynne's experiences of religious difference in Ecuador prompted her to rethink, at least in that moment, what she understood her own Christian values and those "at home" to be. Highlighting her experience reveals the importance of relational geographies in generating the context through which understandings of sameness and difference can shift in faith-based volunteering contexts.

4.3 Case Study 5: International Volunteering, Citizenship, and Affect

Following the wider trends in international volunteering and a longer history of Government iterations of global citizenship, volunteers on the UK Government's International Citizen Service program (ICS) are constructed as global citizens through a heavy emphasis on CV building and a conspicuously depoliticized Development imaginary. Attending to marketing and training material reveals a construction of volunteers as global citizens in very much the "soft" mode identified in Andreotti's typology (see Griffiths 2014; Andreotti 2006). The bounds of global citizenship, however, are not set by such constructions, and once research hits the ground, the "accidental" contrasts sharply with the "planned" as the agency of the body reveals a site of contestation and negotiation that may point to nascent alternative modes of subjectivity. This was the case in fieldwork carried out on six ICS projects in the Indian states of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

While some existing research on international volunteering has argued that the embodied experience of volunteers in the Global South plays out within a neoliberal ordering of the world (e.g., Mostafanezhad 2012), there is scope for attending to the body and its affective capacities as "autonomous" of impositions of power (Massumi 1995). This became most evident in the meeting of volunteers and hosts on placement in India where encounters unfolded on nonverbal, affective channels. The

field – in this case rural villages – presented a rich sensorium where the coming together of volunteers and hosts gave rise to an intensely affective space. This space emerged as its constituents ate together, danced together, and overcame language barriers through gestures and facial expression. They worked in the heat and slept in makeshift beds. They dug a toilet and shared it. Days on placement presented stress, sweat, laughs, clapping, and tears. These are intersubjectivities whose richness cannot be “captured” – not by neoliberalized prescriptions of global citizenship nor by an analytical frame of neoliberalization. There is a “more” to this embodied data: volunteers on the placements spoke passionately of “another dimension” to bonds with their poor hosts; encounters emerged as an assemblage of exchanges animated by “warmth,” “respect,” and “acceptance” and simultaneously dampened by “discomfort,” “shock,” and “speechlessness” (all of these terms were used by ICS volunteers). The feelings and senses beyond the words present a trace of this “other dimension,” and it is, in important ways, beyond the grasp of neoliberalized constructions of volunteering and global citizenship.

Recalling understandings of affect as emergent through the meetings of “autonomous” bodies means acknowledging affective experience as an “unstable object of governance” (Anderson 2007). This therefore lends scope to understanding such intersubjectivities from outside the frame of neoliberalization. As volunteers work and live in host communities, accidental affective bonds emerge that are in every sense – and by every sense – felt. As one volunteer eloquently put it while describing her growing closeness with a host family: “it [was] us and them and now it’s very much a *we are them* kind of thing,” something that may problematize established constructions of subjectivities, but then raises other questions around claims for affinity and sameness. This was a relationship that began hierarchized by the skewed geographies of Development and volunteering, but – through smiles, concern, and touch – the tidy contours of difference soften: that which makes volunteers volunteers and hosts hosts pales against a profound affective bond. Of course issues remain to do with the use of such temporally fleeting, nondiscursive data, and the speculation necessary to present findings (though this is never not the case) and the persistent problem of overly volunteer-centric research outputs (e.g., Baillie Smith and Laurie 2013), but there is also the need to acknowledge and explore affective experience as a potentially productive aspect of global citizenship. Carolyn Pedwell has argued that work in Development can produce a “radically ‘unsettling’ affective experience of empathy” and that this, crucially, could be “potentially generative of both personal and social change” as subjects “recognise their own complicity within transnational hierarchies of power” (2012, p. 166). If this is, for a moment, assumed to be true, then it is possible to imagine that affective bonds between volunteers and hosts give rise to a nascent version of global citizenship less concerned with “CV building” and apolitical engagement and more securely wedded to notions of solidarity, care, and – even – love. These are powerful forces that were evident on placement in Southern India, and they cannot be discounted in considerations of global citizenship, international volunteering for Development, and the important issue of more justice.

These three examples illustrate how attention to different geographies reveals the multiple ways in which established and dominant accounts of global citizenship and Development are contested. They also indicate the importance of paying attention to the different layers through which people's subjectivities emerge and the ways that institutional framings – whether through faith, through universities, or through Development institutions – can produce contradictory spaces and practices of citizenship that do not easily fit the dominant models.

5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored some of the ways Development and young people from the UK are brought together. The growing popularity of Development and the diverse ways in which global citizenship is being instrumentalized provide important contexts within which to understand this coming together. Through the examples of development education and international volunteering, the chapter has shown how the mainstreaming of global citizenship in diverse policy settings, alongside changes in Development practice, has shaped moves away from acting on poverty and injustice, toward building skills and competencies for an interconnected world. But at the same time, privileging these changes, and the increasing neoliberalization of education, volunteering, and Development, can obscure important contradictions. Through the examples of higher education, faith-based volunteering, and affect, the chapter has shown how young people contest and redefine policy framings of global citizenship and Development, even as they work within them.

This highlights the importance of recognizing the complex and diverse connections that are made between young people and Development, beyond encounters framed by voluntarism, “learning,” or charitable activity. Not only do these approaches run together and overlap, but they are joined by less formal, unplanned encounters, such as through travel, diasporic identities, faith connections such as church to church or mosque to mosque, or experiencing others who have worked in an increasingly large Development industry. These diverse scenarios raise methodological and epistemological issues, as young people's subjectivities emerge through and against a constellation of factors both connected to and remote from Development. Building new geographies of the relationship between youth subjectivities and Development means acknowledging both the power of established South North Development imaginaries and the degree to which they are being questioned, re-worked, and sidestepped by young people today.

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Africa's Vulnerable Children and the Millennium Development Goals: Experiences and Interventions in Malawi

11

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Abstract

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were established by the United Nations (UN) in 2000 to coordinate and monitor global efforts to advance social development by 2015. Child poverty is a core concern reflected in the MDGs' focus on children's access to food, education, and health care. This focus on children is intertwined with the evolution of the idea of the global child, a discursive figure that reflects abstract ideas about children in a global society but often obscures the material contexts of children's lived realities in diverse settings. Sub-Saharan Africa has lagged behind other regions in reaching their MDG targets and Malawi has lagged behind the average progress in sub-Saharan Africa. Malawi's exceptional difficulty in reaching MDG targets presents a

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valuable case study for examining the limitations of the MDGs at a finer grain of detail. This chapter demonstrates key discrepancies between global scale efforts to define and target child poverty through the MDGs and the contextual issues facing impoverished children in Malawi. The juxtaposition of Malawi's top-down Growth and Development Strategy, which tends to address the generic needs of the abstracted global child in Malawi, with an intervention rooted in context-specific problems identified by guardians of vulnerable children highlights the need to address multiple practical and strategic needs simultaneously to bring about lasting progress. Crucially, this includes the intellectual task of deconstructing the global child discourse and building understanding of the interrelated issues that create and sustain high levels of poverty in Malawian households and communities.

Keywords

Global child • International development • Africa • Global governance • Human rights • Education • Health • Food security • Malawi

1 Introduction

Children are a core concern in international development. Issues related to the wellbeing of young people – such as access to education, malnutrition, infectious diseases, and protection from violence – are at the forefront of concerns addressed by agencies at all scales, from community-based activists to the United Nations (UN). In 2000, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) articulated a set of targets to advance global social development by 2015 (Rigg 2014). The eight goals provide a guiding framework in global efforts to monitor and address child welfare at a global scale (Mapp 2014). This chapter presents the MDGs in the context of developmental discourses that rest on a particular idea of a “global child.” The global child is presented as universally relevant in global framework documents such as the MDGs, and yet it exists outside of any specific context of poverty. This chapter exposes limitations of the global child discourse and the MDGs by developing a case study of child poverty in the *context* of Malawi. The case study highlights the complexity of child poverty in Malawi, revealing the interrelatedness of several factors. It also reveals important discrepancies between global scale efforts to define and target child poverty through the MDGs and the contextual issues facing impoverished children in Malawi.

Geographers have been at the forefront of identifying and critiquing pernicious notions of the global child in academic and public policy discourses of children and development (Kesby et al. 2006; Punch 2003; Aitken 2001b). The global child signifies a particular set of qualities among children who are portrayed as innocent, helpless, and in need of protection. These qualities are commonly conveyed in images of poor children in developing countries and they often dramatize the problem of child poverty and thereby hinder opportunities to understand children's

problems in their proper context (Manzo 2008). This chapter addresses the need for further scholarship that emphasizes the linkages between two imagined poles: global scale discourses and local scale experiences (Ansell 2009). Fundamental to the analysis is the view that global discourses shape children's lives (in the case of MDGs by setting frameworks for development interventions) and that the experiences of children are crucial for understanding the relevance of global discourses (in this case exposing problems with the MDGs).

This chapter also highlights issues related to the position of the global child in the context of globalization; these issues center on the key question: who (or what entity) is responsible for the global child once he or she has been discursively produced? The MDGs suggest that child welfare is ultimately the responsibility of the global community (a discursive construct similar to the global child), even as many of the policies linked to MDGs place responsibility for children at the state, community, and household scales (Fukuda-Parr 2014). The MDGs are part of a long-term expansion of global governance, which along with global economic integration and increasing spread of cultures is reconfiguring notions of community, identity, boundaries, and responsibility for people in distant places (Katz 2004; Massey 2004). The implication of these trends most salient to this chapter is that increased attention to issues of child poverty has outpaced the understanding of why child poverty exists in different contexts. The global child is problematic when it evokes an impulse to transcend scale and distance to directly "save" the impoverished Malawian child without considering the complexity of the problems that create and sustain their impoverishment. The case study of Malawi describes some of the contextual factors related to child poverty and illustrates the need to engage stakeholders at multiple scales, including household, community, national, and international partners.

The following section traces the historical evolution of children's rights discourses at the global scale, a process that has underwritten the evolution of the global child. Section two also describes the MDGs in relation to child welfare. Section three describes child poverty in Malawi in the twenty-first century and examines the interrelated issues of food insecurity, lack of access to education, and the effects of infectious diseases including AIDS on child poverty. The final section juxtaposes the national-scale implementation of the MDGs with a community-based project to illustrate the abstraction of children's lives inherent in the national scale implementation of the MDGs relative to the locally sensitive interventions made possible by mobilizing actors at multiple scales *including* household and community scales.

2 The Evolution of Children's Rights and the MDGs

The twentieth century has been called the "Century of the Child" because child welfare and protection increasingly became a public concern through national laws and a series of international conventions that defined international standards for child welfare and protection (Wells 2009). The 1989 Convention on the Rights of the

Table 1 The evolution of global recognition of children's rights

1924 – Geneva declaration on the rights of the child
1946 – UNICEF created
1959 – UN declaration on the rights of the child
1978 – First proposal for a UN convention on children's rights
1979 – International year of the child
1989 – Convention on the rights of the child
1990 – African charter on the rights and welfare of the child (implemented in 1999)
1990 – Jomtien conference on education for all
1990 – World summit for children
1996 – OECD international development goals
2000 – Millennium declaration and MDGs adopted
2002 – “World fit for children” resolution

Child (CRC), which has been ratified by 194 countries, encapsulates the evolution of children's rights laws over the twentieth century. The CRC implicated the global community as having responsibility for defending the rights of children and for the first time codified a *universal* set of values. The notion of universal values underpinning the CRC obscures the distinctly Western origins of the idea that child protection should emanate from the international system rather than from different sources rooted in religion, tradition, or national laws.

The historical background to the CRC lies in Western international law (Holzcheiter 2010; Aitken 2001a). In Western Europe prior to World War I, public concern for children was expressed mainly through charities, workhouses, and national efforts to ban child labor and other forms of child exploitation. The idea of an international standard for child protection emerged after World War I, marked by the establishment of Save the Children International and the 1924 League of Nations Declaration on the Rights of the Child (Table 1) (Holzcheiter 2010). The League of Nations Declaration focused on child welfare and protection and on the duty of parents to ensure child welfare. The establishment of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) following the devastation of World War II was at first aimed at displaced and orphaned children. It soon took on an expanded role vis-à-vis the newly recognized developing world. In 1959, the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child mostly reiterated the welfare principles of the 1924 Declaration (Table 1) (Holzcheiter 2010). The key difference was that, unlike the League of Nations, the UN had an institutional mandate and capacity that facilitated greater action and intervention on behalf of children. Furthermore, in the context of the rapidly decolonizing world, the UN had increasing legitimacy with the assent of its member nations to speak as a global voice.

The UN declared in 1979 the “International Year of the Child,” which coincided with the first formal proposal for a convention on children's rights. The need to recognize special rights for children is often taken for granted, but there were two dominant arguments against a convention when it was proposed (Holzcheiter 2010):

- Children's rights were already enshrined in the declaration of human rights.
- A convention would impinge on cultural differences in the values and practices associated with family life and reify a Western focus on individualism.

These concerns continue to resonate in debates about whether the global child should be framed as an individual or a member of a group (such as a family or community). The CRC was passed by the UN General Assembly and ratified more quickly than even most of its advocates had anticipated, attesting to the broad consensus of the convention. Notably, many governments passed caveats when they ratified the CRC to preserve various national and religious values or customs (Holzcheiter 2010). The Organization of African Unity (the African Union) introduced the African Charter for the Rights and Welfare of Children in 1990 to provide further guidelines for the conceptualization and implementation of children's rights in African cultural contexts; Kaime (2009: 131) noted that key "peculiarities of the African situation omitted from the Convention" pertained to "the African conception of the community's responsibilities and duties" and "the role of the extended family in the upbringing of children," among other concerns related to gender discrimination, apartheid, and the impact of conflict on children.

The ratification of the CRC took place alongside other global events that provided a global framework for defining and defending children's rights. The 1990 World Summit for Children hosted by UNICEF set a ten-point "Plan of Action" for children that articulated broad goals such as health, education, and food security and recommended actions at national and international scales (UNICEF 1990). Also in 1990, the Jomtien Conference on Education for All brought together UN agencies, national governments, and civil society representatives to set and achieve national targets for universal primary enrollment (Unterhalter 2014). These overlapping events set a course for globally coordinated action to address child welfare in a post-Cold War geopolitical context. They reflect key aspects of contemporary discourses of children's rights and development, including:

- The unique and separate nature of children's rights within the broader human rights framework
- The need for a global consensus on how to define and realize these rights
- The central importance of helping children in order to positively influence global development in terms of economic growth, peace and security, health, and global gender equality, among other issues
- The ability for the UN, states, and civil society to cooperate and work toward a common goal

A prime example of this discursive framework was the 2002 document *A World Fit for Children*, which was prepared by the secretary-general of the UN in a consultative process that included child participants (Diaz-Martinez and Gibbons 2014). It represented children's influence at the highest level of global governance discourses and as such was a potent symbol of the prominence of the global child figure as a participant in international development policy development.

Table 2 The Millennium Development Goals (Rigg 2014)

Goal 1: eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	Target 1: halve the proportion of people whose income is less than 1 dollar per day (revised to \$1.25)
	Target 2: halve the proportion of people who suffer from hunger
Goal 2: achieve universal primary education	Target 3: ensure that boys and girls complete a full course of primary schooling
Goal 3: promote gender equality and empower women	Target 4: eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015
Goal 4: reduce child mortality	Target 5: reduce the under-five mortality rate by two-thirds
Goal 5: improve maternal health	Target 6: reduce the maternal mortality ratio by three-quarters
Goal 6: combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases	Target 7: halt and reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS
	Target 8: halt and begin to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases
Goal 7: ensure environmental sustainability	Target 9: integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programs
	Target 10: reduce by half the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water
	Target 11: achieve significant improvement in lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers, by 2020
Goal 8: develop a global partnership for development	Seven targets related to international cooperation, including with the private sector, to address the special needs of certain countries and groups

The MDGs, ratified in 2000, were closely related to the efforts to set international standards for child welfare. They were also rooted in an international consensus on social development priorities and maintained a focus on *measurable* targets to track progress on social development (Fukuda-Parr 2014). There are eight MDGs encompassing 18 targets and 48 indicators (Rigg 2014). Table 2 provides an outline of the eight goals and selected targets related to child welfare. Children figure prominently in the MDG targets in part because global goals and conventions related to child welfare, including those listed in Table 1, were already in place when the MDGs were designed. Children are directly implicated in goals related to education and child mortality, and indirectly implicated in all goals, including household poverty, disease eradication, and environmental sustainability. The most recent MDG report shows that many of the targets will be reached in 2015 at a global scale, but regional differences highlight that sub-Saharan Africa is the region that has seen the least progress (UN 2014). This result raises fundamental questions about biases built into the MDGs and the negative effects of measuring development in such a way that sub-Saharan Africa consistently appears as a failure (Easterly 2009).

While the MDGs have been widely embraced by development stakeholders at multiple scales, the approach has also been the subject of sustained debate (Poku and Whitman 2011; Diaz-Martinez and Gibbons 2014; Fukuda-Parr 2014; Fukuda-Parr et al. 2014). Some of the noted problems with the MDGs are:

- A focus on instrumentalist targets of limited scope rather than strategic or rights-based social change
- The predominance of technocratic solutions rather than political change
- Inconsistencies between targets and goals
- Universal application of targets that make progress in some regions, particularly sub-Saharan Africa, seem like a failure if the target is not reached
- A focus on monitoring targets rather than devising and implementing solutions
- A lack of context-specific considerations of challenges and opportunities
- Targets that reflect what can be easily measured, not what is most important
- Does not easily facilitate targeting most vulnerable groups (e.g., within a country or within a city) where aggregate successes can mask specific enduring challenges

Many of these problems are evident in the examination of child poverty in Malawi. The criticism of the MDGs coalesce around a broad critique of the notion that development can take place with a top-down, one-size-fits-all approach that evades both complex questions about specific contexts of poverty and messy questions about the need for substantive reforms to the global political economic order. Advocates of the MDGs note that they represent a watershed for global consensus and global coordination to improve child welfare, focus global attention on social development problems, and facilitate the mobilization and global coordination of resources for key child welfare issues at an unprecedented scale (Mapp 2014). The end of the MDG period in 2015 is an appropriate time to assess the merits and drawbacks of the MDGs, particularly in light of the case of Malawi where relatively little progress has been made.

3 The MDGs and Child Poverty in Malawi

The difficulty of achieving the MDGs for children in developing countries is well illustrated by the case of Malawi, a country that has received extensive international support in formulating youth policies and yet continues to host widespread child poverty (Ansell et al. 2012). Malawi is a peaceful, largely rural country in South Central Africa. It is one of the poorest countries in the world in terms of annual GDP per capita (US\$ 370) and one of the least developed countries in the world in terms of Human Development Index, ranking 171 out of 187 countries in 2011 (UNICEF 2013). One of Malawi's key developmental challenges is the burgeoning youthfulness of its population (Fig. 1). People under the age of 15 comprise nearly half of Malawi's population, making it one of the world's most youthful countries. The statistical evidence shows little sustained improvement in child welfare in Malawi since the MDGs were introduced (Table 3). The formal declaration of child rights and child-focused MDGs appear far removed from the daily problems faced by most children in Malawi, suggesting an inherent problem with the way that the problem has been approached in recent years. A critical appraisal of the MDGs as rooted in the abstract "global child" points to problems in the framing of MDG results and undermines the counterproductive narrative of Malawi's failure. This section discusses child welfare issues in Malawi, highlighting the issues of food insecurity,

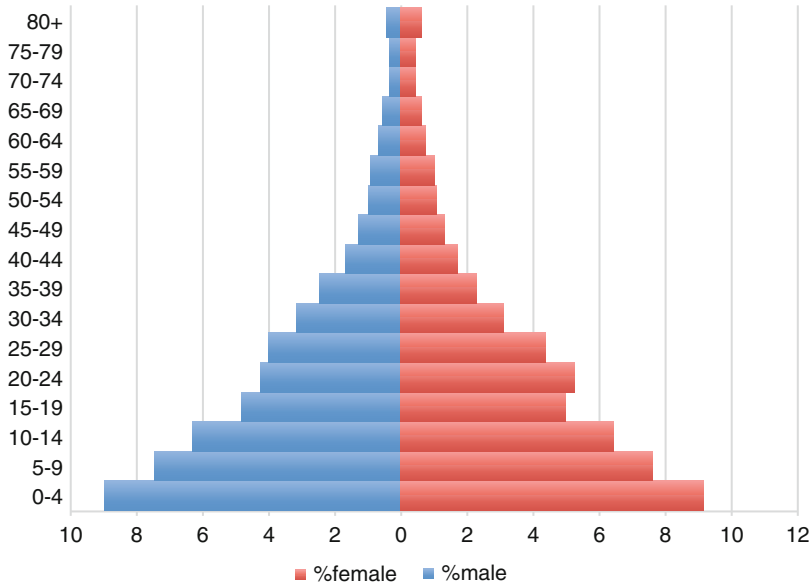


Fig. 1 Population pyramid for Malawi in 2008 (Malawi National Statistics Office 2008) (Data Source: National Statistics Office of Malawi 2008 Population and Housing Census Results (<http://www.nsomalawi.mw/2008-population-and-housing-census/107-2008-population-and-housing-census-results.html>))

access to education, and the impact of infectious diseases including AIDS. The detailed discussion helps to connect the MDG targets with interrelated contextual factors that continue to impede progress.

3.1 The State of Malawi's Children in the MDG Era

The 2013 UNICEF country report for Malawi painted a bleak picture of child poverty (Table 3). New and recurring political, economic, and environmental challenges are exacerbating poverty in a country that had long suffered from colonial exploitation of labor and resources, political repression under one party rule, an ongoing HIV/AIDS epidemic, and economic marginality in the global economy (Cammack 2012). The UNICEF report notes key points of progress, such as expanded access to improved water, a drastic reduction in new incidences of HIV infection and wider distribution of antiretroviral treatments, and the expansion of maternal health-care services. Progress cannot be overlooked, and many of these positive changes are related to the coordinated efforts motivated by the MDGs, and yet in many more areas the situation has barely improved for children in Malawi. Even after decades of concerted effort, almost half (47 %) of all children are malnourished, half of girls are married by the age of 18, and nearly two-thirds (64 %) of young people aged 15–19 have no educational qualifications (Table 3).

Table 3 Selected statistics on child poverty in Malawi related to MDGs (UNICEF 2013)

General	
	Fewer than 3 % of children have a birth certificate
	13 % of children have lost one or both parents to death (837,300 orphans)
MDG 1	
	39 % of households live on less than \$1 per day
	47 % of children are chronically malnourished
MDG 2	
	Average pupil: teacher ratio is 92:1
	64 % of youth aged 15–19 years old have no educational qualifications
	Literacy rate among 5–29 year olds is 68 %
	Primary enrollment is 83 %
MDG 3	
	9 % of girls are married by age 15 and at age 18, 50 % of girls are married
MDG 4	
	Under five mortality rate: 112 deaths/1,000 live births
	Infant mortality: 66 deaths/1,000 live births
MDG 5	
	11 % of all births are from 15 to 19 year olds
	Maternal mortality: 675/100,000 live births
MDG 6	
	180,000 children (0–14) living with HIV
	Half of all orphans lost one or both parents to AIDS-related mortality

A prominent crosscutting issue for children in Malawi is the high prevalence of orphanhood. There are approximately 837,300 orphans in Malawi, about half of whom have lost one or both parents to HIV/AIDS (UNICEF 2013). The UN definition of an orphan is a person under the age of 18 who has lost one or both parents to death, meaning that there are many additional young people whose parents are chronically sick or absent from home, and others who are no longer children but continue to be vulnerable because they do not have living parents. On the other hand, many of the young people classified as orphans do have loving caregivers and peers and community members who can mitigate the psychosocial effects of orphanhood (Riley and Lupafya 2011; Riley 2013). The HIV/AIDS epidemic and related issues of poverty, hunger, and underdevelopment have transformed family life in Malawi, creating the need for closer scrutiny of the causes of child poverty in relation to the MDGs and the values associated with the global child. The following three subsections examine the problems of food insecurity, education, and infectious diseases in relation to children and the MDGs.

3.2 Food Security

Food security is a perennial political issue in Malawi, where seasonal food shortages are common and most people have experienced hunger in their lifetime (Devereux

and Tiba 2007). The majority of Malawians (85 %) are rural and most rely on subsistence agriculture as their main source of livelihood. These rural subsistence households who have very limited access to cash income account for the high proportion (39 %) of households living off less than 1 dollar per day noted in Table 3. One dollar per day for an entire household is a staggeringly low income that is insufficient to meet a household's basic needs, meaning that many households are highly vulnerable to hunger as a consequence of natural disasters, loss of household labor through an illness, changing weather patterns, and other contingent events (Ansell et al. 2009; Andersson 2011). Food insecurity can have a range of effects on children: it compromises their health in the short and the long term, it limits their ability to learn, it creates demands on children to contribute to the household economies, and it creates a physical sense of deprivation and impoverishment.

Malawian children themselves have spoken to researchers about their experiences of food insecurity. One study conducted with orphans in rural northern Malawi found that most children had experienced hunger and many were chronically hungry (Riley 2013; Riley and Lupafya 2011). One 12-year-old boy said that he sometimes would go an entire day without eating a meal and that he had never eaten meat. The hunger was more due to the impoverishment of his village and his household than to his orphanhood status per se (Riley 2013). He told the researcher that when he complains about being hungry his guardians say "you don't have to be worried, that's how life is" (Riley 2013: 417). In another study, the authors heard from orphans who claimed that they were discriminated against when food was distributed within the household (Ansell and Young 2004). They quote Brenda in southern Malawi: "it was hard to stay with my uncle as he was just a cruel man. He had many children, and he favored them when we shared food and gifts, and I was overworked like a slave. The other children didn't do any work, just me" (Ansell and Young 2004: 5). The statistic presented in Table 3 that 47 % of children in Malawi are malnourished demonstrates that orphans and non-orphans alike suffer from hunger in Malawi.

These examples show that factors contributing to vulnerability to food insecurity among children in Malawi can vary even within households, and there is a compounded diversity of complicating factors among households, villages, and regions in the country. The 2014 MDG report notes the shortcomings of measuring hunger as it does with data on the prevalence of undernourished people, stating that this approach "does not capture the complexity of food security and its multiple dimensions" (UN 2014: 13). Critics argue that acknowledging this limitation of the MDG approach to monitoring progress on the reduction of food insecurity does not address the more pressing problem of an implicit depoliticization of hunger at the heart of the MDG framework (Fukuda-Parr and Orr 2014). In Malawi, food security is a highly political issue that invokes debates about the unequal distribution of resources, the lack of formal entitlements to social protection, and the failure of economic policies to improve livelihood security for the majority of residents (Devereux and Tiba 2007).

3.3 Education

Malawi was an early adopter of universal primary education policy following the 1990 Jomtien conference (Table 1). The removal of primary school fees in 1994 was linked to the transition to multiparty democracy in the same year, particularly in light of the assumed link between education and democratization (Kendall 2007). The policy of removing school fees to boost enrollment did not adequately account for the many other barriers to school attendance in addition to school fees, including prohibitive costs (uniforms, books, transport), poor quality (buildings, class sizes, teachers' skill levels), and competing demands on children's time (earning income, farming, household chores, providing care) (Kadzamira and Rose 2003). The removal of school fees without adequate investment in system expansion reduced the quality of public education, as evident in the student to teacher ratio of 92:1 (Table 3). Almost one-third of people between the ages of 5 and 29 are illiterate. Most of these people were born after the implementation of universal primary education in 1994.

Transportation to school is a significant problem in Malawi where the majority of the population lives in dispersed rural communities. One research study in southern Malawi accompanied a group of upper level primary school girls on their journey to school; the students could take a relatively direct 4 km route that crossed five streams or a circuitous route of 6 km along a "rough but motorable road" (Porter et al. 2010: 95). The streams were a hazard year-round, but during the rainy season they could be entirely impassable and the journey to school difficult enough to stop them from attending. Another study in southern Malawi highlighted the problem of competing demands on children's time (Ansell and Young 2004). This study focused on the experiences of migratory orphans, but the situation Edison (who was living in the city) reported to the researchers about the life he left behind in the rural areas applies to many children in rural agricultural households: "I didn't like going [living] there as I couldn't go on with school, because I left at 3 am to go to the fields and I got back at 11 am so school was already gone" (Ansell and Young 2004: 8).

One bright spot is that gender parity in school enrollment has been reached for primary school and is close to being reached for secondary school. The high rates of early marriage and pregnancy among girls and young women are important related problems (Table 3). For the typical low-income rural young woman, early marriage and motherhood limit future prospects drastically and reduce their educational opportunities. Adult illiteracy impacts children by limiting the livelihood opportunities of the household, constraining parents' access to health knowledge and parents' ability to guide children through school. A focus on children's enrollment in school risks obscuring the need to address the interrelated problem of adult illiteracy, which is a key facet of the Family Adoption Program (Table 5).

One of the most widely voiced and sustained critiques of MDG 2 has been a misalignment between the larger goal and the stated goal. The larger goal is to provide universal access to educational services that will allow young people to

reach their full potential in economic, cultural, and social terms and eventually contribute to social development through a virtuous cycle effect (Unterhalter 2014). The stated goal and target are too narrowly focused on enrollment of children in schools, which may or may not have the resources or cultural relevance to help reach the larger goal. A postcolonial perspective on education in much of the Global South emphasizes the inappropriateness of much of the curriculum to the types of challenges children will face as adults (Abdi et al. 2006). Furthermore, many educated young people face unemployment and continue to experience poverty as adults despite being educated. Educated young women face heightened challenges in obtaining employment because of gender-based discrimination, a fact that even more clearly exposes the narrowness of the focus on gender parity in education. The link between formal education and poverty reduction is not as unproblematic as is often suggested by the global consensus on the need for universal enrollment.

3.4 Infectious Diseases

Malawi is one of the countries most devastated by HIV/AIDS. The prevalence rate of about 10 % among people aged 15–49 is one of the highest in the world. The disease has profoundly shaped the economic, political, and social development of Malawi (Lwanda 2004; Ansell et al. 2009). UNICEF (2013: 14) estimates that there are 400,000 children in Malawi who have lost one or both parents to AIDS; along with the many young adults who lost parents since the epidemic began in the 1980s, these young people are at the crux of the epidemic's broad-based impact on social reproduction in Malawi. The HIV/AIDS epidemic hit Malawi particularly hard because it began at a time when the state was defunding social support programs, including public health and food subsidies, because of the contingencies of the structural adjustment reforms enforced by the international donor community (Lwanda 2004). At the same time that the responsibility for social reproduction was being offloaded from the state to communities and households, HIV/AIDS was depleting household labor. Furthermore, global trade disputes and other geopolitical factors meant that for decades there was far less access to treatment in Malawi than in more developed countries.

There are 180,000 children in Malawi living with HIV/AIDS (UNICEF 2013). Children living with HIV/AIDS and their caregivers face many challenges in accessing and providing consistent treatment according to a research project in northern Malawi with child HIV/AIDS patients and their caregivers (Sikstrom 2014). Even after the government began providing free antiretroviral treatments to all HIV-positive children in 2008, the conditions of poverty such as inadequate food, poor health of caregivers, and a lack of medical capacity to treat pediatric AIDS in the long term compromised HIV-positive children's health (Sikstrom 2014). Another research study, conducted with adolescent orphans in northern Malawi, found that the death or illness of guardians placed an economic pressure on young people that often led to risky sexual behavior with employers and increased risk of contracting HIV (Mkandawire et al. 2014). These studies demonstrate the vicious cycle of

poverty and illness that applies to health issues generally, but takes on unique dimensions in the context of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in southern Africa.

Malaria is another widespread disease in Malawi, responsible for 14 % of under-five deaths (UNICEF 2013). Malaria can be easily prevented through the use of insecticide-treated nets to prevent mosquito bites. While there has been widespread distribution of nets in Malawi, a 2014 survey found that only two-thirds (65.5 %) of children under 5 sleep under a treated net (Malawi National Statistics Office 2014). The same survey found that fewer than half (39.1 %) of children under 5 who had a fever in the 2 weeks prior to the survey received antimalarial treatment. Many rural communities are far from health facilities, making accessing health-care services and treatments logistically challenging as well as being expensive for households with very little cash income. The effects of diseases such as HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other highly fatal diseases like TB are exacerbated by the conditions of hunger and impoverishment, lack of state investment in a public health, and low rates of education and literacy among parents.

4 Frameworks for Ending Child Poverty in Malawi from Multiple Scales

The contextual factors underpinning child poverty in Malawi outline the monumentality of the task of understanding why child poverty persists in Malawi and how to address the underlying problems. The coordinated global action led by the MDGs brought little improvement to most children in Malawi, where poverty deepened over the same period that rapid progress was being made elsewhere in the developing world. The overarching question is whether Malawi failed to meet the MDGs or whether the MDGs failed to frame the problem of child poverty in a way that could lead sustainable progress. These two conclusions are valid from different perspectives, which broadly center on the “global child” as he or she experiences life in Malawi or the Malawian child as he or she is constructed in global development discourses of childhoods. The evidence presented in the previous section demonstrated the importance of centering analysis on the Malawian child to understand and address the uniquely configured set of challenges for ending child poverty in Malawi. At the same time, the MDGs and related international frameworks for children’s rights can provide important resources and policy tools that can be useful when applied to the contextual problems at the household and community scales.

This section focuses on how the MDGs shape policy and interventions aimed at reducing child poverty in Malawi. The first example is the Malawi Growth and Development Strategy II (the Development Strategy), Malawi’s national plan for achieving the MDGs (Table 4). The Development Strategy is rooted in the global child discourse and the MDG priorities for addressing child poverty. It outlines priorities and strategic areas for development and is not designed to provide specific policies or programs to achieve the MDGs. The Family Adoption Program (FAP) provides a more pragmatic example of how nongovernmental development agents are addressing child poverty issues within the MDG framework but with a focus on

Table 4 Malawi Growth and Development Strategy II (Government of Malawi 2012)

The Malawi Growth and Development Strategy II (2011–2016) is the third successive document to communicate a comprehensive national development strategy in line with the Millennium Development Goals. The Malawian Cabinet approved the strategy on April 17, 2012, after it was “thoroughly discussed and agreed upon by all stakeholders including the UN Country Team, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the European Union” (Government of Malawi 2012: 3)

The development strategy outlines roles for six key stakeholders in attaining the development goals (83):

- Government

- Parliament

- Private sector

- Civil society

- Donors, development, and cooperating partners

- Community

One of nine key priority areas is “child development, youth development, and empowerment.” The goal for children (ages 0–9) is to “ensure that children grow into productive and responsible citizens” and the goal for youth is “to enhance effective youth participation in economic activities” (Government of Malawi 2012: 74–75)

The eight priority issues for children and youth are the following:

- Early childhood development

- Child protection

- Child survival and development

- Child and youth participation

- Economic empowerment

- Youth health

- HIV protection among youth and adolescents

- Institutional capacity development and infrastructure development

the local configuration of integrated causal factors of child poverty. FAP is operated by a charitable NGO working at a small scale to address child poverty in multiple villages, with programming that blends international best practice with input from guardians and community leaders (Table 5).

The Development Strategy was the outcome of a collaborative policymaking effort involving the Government of Malawi, the United Nations, the international aid community, and civil society stakeholders (Table 4). Critics have questioned the effectiveness of planning documents like the Development Strategy to meet the real needs of vulnerable populations because they often provide a generic set of policies and goals more reflective of global development norms than national priorities (Morrison 2012). The Malawi Cabinet approved the Development Strategy after it was “thoroughly discussed and agreed upon” by a set of stakeholders based outside of the country, suggesting a top-down approach from the global to the national level (Government of Malawi 2012).

The top-down approach is reflected in the generic language about the goals for young people that could be applicable anywhere and are only vaguely related to the actual challenges faced by young people in Malawi. For example, the goal for

Table 5 Family Adoption Program

Stephanos Foundation is an NGO working in six districts in southern Malawi. It started as an orphanage in 1994 when Dutch Church groups donated money in response to the AIDS orphan crisis in Malawi. As Stephanos grew roots in the rural communities it served, and as its programming was increasingly influenced by community partners, it began to focus on collaborative community-based programming as an alternative to relocating orphans to orphanages

Stephanos has extended its influence in southern Malawi through an outreach program called the Family Adoption Program (FAP), which provides an integrated set of community empowerment initiatives to support orphans *and* other vulnerable children in their households and communities. Project programming is tailored to each community's needs and capacity, which are identified through consultations with household members, community leadership, and government officials

FAP engages in a suite of activities and programs that evolved from the need to simultaneously address children's practical needs in the near term and their strategic needs in the long term beyond childhood. It is therefore aimed at addressing the intersecting causes of poverty through integrated programming; for example, from the starting point of supporting children's education, FAP will work with communities to address the interrelated problems of food insecurity, adult illiteracy, and early childhood education

The goal of community independence from donor support is intrinsic to the FAP approach to program development in each participating community. As a result, small-scale economic development programs such as agricultural intensification, voluntary savings and loans, and marketing training are designed to strengthen the capacity of guardians to support vulnerable children

children under 10, to shape “productive and responsible citizens,” is open to a range of interpretations based on diverse socioeconomic contexts and cultural expectations of citizenship. The goal for youths (aged 10–29) to “enhance participation in economic activities” (Table 4) is also vague in relation to the multiple barriers to economic empowerment for most Malawian young people that are far more complex than this document suggests. The Development Strategy also provides “strategies for action” like “eliminate harmful cultural practices” and “promote youth participation in the decision-making process” (Government of Malawi 2012: 74–75), which seem as vague as the broad goals for children and youth. The goals and strategies in this document, which are designed to translate the MDGs into national planning for poverty reduction, are ill-equipped to address the deeply rooted and intricately intertwined factors that perpetuate child poverty in Malawi. The top-down planning process and focus on adherence to goals and policies designed for the “global child” are an important reason for the overall lack of progress in Malawi during the first MDG period.

FAP provides an example of an action plan to address child poverty that is rooted in the immediate and strategic needs of communities and households in which the children live but draws on policy tools and resources from national and international sources (Table 5). It is guided by the broad goals of the Development Strategy and works collaboratively with stakeholders at multiple scales, including: communities, whose members act as full partners in the planning, resourcing, and execution of programs; state actors, including elected officials and bureaucrats who provide resources, leadership, and guidance; and donors, who are mostly based in the

Netherlands and other developed countries. The strength of FAP lies partly in its focus on forging partnerships at multiple scales while privileging the need for dialogue with community-based partners to understand the interrelated causes of child poverty in their context. It is rooted in a sense of shared responsibility for child welfare among these partners, which, crucially, includes guardians who provide care directly to orphans and other vulnerable children.

A distinctive element of FAP is its integrated approach to helping children at risk by simultaneously addressing multiple needs related to the MDG vision for child welfare, including improving food security, supporting household livelihood activities, addressing pressing health needs, and facilitating access to education for boys and girls (Table 5). It offers a more locally focused approach because of the focus on addressing child poverty by addressing the relevant problems within their communities, as identified by community leaders and guardians. Like the Development Strategy, it includes stakeholders at multiple scales and ultimately refers to similar goals of giving equal opportunities for a productive and healthy life to all children. The contrast is in the relative importance of the children and their households in defining the *specific* goals and activities suited to their situation. This level of relevance to a specific set of circumstances at the scale of a household or a village is not possible in the MDGs because of the necessity to abstract children from their local contexts to formulate benchmarks, definitions, and monitoring tools that can be used at the global scale.

5 Conclusion

The case study of Malawi provides a necessary grounding of the global child figure in a national context with specific factors that contribute to the perpetuation of widespread child poverty. The MDGs appear to have had less impact in Malawi than elsewhere even though the country has not experienced the political instability and violence that helps to explain the perpetuation of child poverty in other countries in sub-Saharan Africa. The challenges for addressing child poverty in Malawi expose some of the limitations of the MDG approach that tends to foreground abstract and generic goals and obscure the daily lives and contexts of impoverished young people. The causes of child poverty include processes operating at multiple scales, but the immediately proximate factors are *at least* as important as the global frameworks and the mechanism for integrating specific local needs into broad-based discourse and action needs to be strengthened. This is particularly important in extremely vulnerable countries such as Malawi, which face a double burden of high rates of child poverty and an extremely youthful population.

The decontextualized global child might appear ready to receive help guided by the MDG framework, but when the issue of child poverty is placed in the context of Malawi, where social problems are clearly interrelated and poverty is deeply ingrained, the MDGs appear detached from the practical challenges of meeting children's needs in the immediate term and the long term. The examples of the Development Strategy and FAP help to illustrate the significance of how child

poverty is framed, with FAP's integrated approach holding greater potential to include children and their guardians in defining the problems and influencing how resources are deployed to address these problems. The examples do not negate the value of contributions from actors at various scales but rather they help to reveal the inadequacy (and in many cases the irrelevance) of top-down policies and guidelines designed for an imagined global child who happens to be situated in Malawi rather than a real Malawian child for whom promises of rights to food, education, and protection are mired in inappropriate policies and ineffective use of resources. FAP is not unique in forging collaborative relationships across multiple scales and distant places – many similar organizations exist in Malawi and elsewhere (and many more claim to be rooted in collaboration with community members) – but it is also not the mainstream approach to connecting abstract ideals of children's rights and welfare with the most challenging cases of child poverty such as those in Malawi.

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Childhood in “Crisis” in the Era of AIDS: Risk, Orphanhood, and Policy in Southern Africa

12

Amy Norman

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Abstract

In the wake of the AIDS epidemic in southern Africa, a “crisis of childhood” was presented, the result of a complex interplay between globalized notions of childhood, the international media, development policy, and global donor agendas. At the height of the AIDS epidemic in the early 2000s, dominant perceptions of children “at risk” provoked urgency for action within global research and policy agendas. However, at the time, conceptualizations of childhood were marred by “AIDS exceptionalism” at the expense of more nuanced understandings; and discourses were dominated by victimhood and crisis, rather than those which acknowledged agency, resiliency, and the “everyday” landscape of childhood. This chapter explores notions of “children in crisis” through the lens of children’s geographies and traces the recent example of children at the height of the AIDS epidemic in southern Africa in order to challenge conceptualizations of childhood and the importance of these to policy and the lived realities of children and their families.

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1 Introduction

Everyday discourses, such as those related to “AIDS orphans,” attempt to explain the “truth” of childhood through particular representations and knowledge seeking. This chapter traces the anatomy of the crisis and explores the ways in which the media, researchers, NGOs, and policy makers collectively produced a dominant discourse of childhood in crisis during the height of the AIDS epidemic in southern Africa. By taking a historical approach to conceptualizing both childhood and this particular crisis, this chapter demonstrates the importance of exploring how concerns about children are given meaning in time and place and how these impact the lived realities of children during these events.

The first section of the chapter explores the origins and meanings of successive and recurring translations of childhoods in crisis within contemporary society, both in the global north and south. The following section details the particular and significant example of childhood in crisis during the height of the AIDS epidemic in southern Africa, children who came to be known as the “AIDS generation.” The section traces the moment where children became the targets of research and intervention and how this played out on the ground. The chapter goes on to question whether we are now at the “end of the crisis” and questions the validity of crisis-making discourses in the first place, before offering an alternative for reconceptualizing childhood during this time period and place. The chapter concludes with a plea for more nuanced understandings of childhood and research and policy approaches during historical moments of panic and crisis, as well as placing children's own experiences and voices at the center of these discussions.

2 Childhoods in Crisis

Children are a source of concern over the world. Their development and well-being are universally highlighted by the media, vastly researched, and debated at every level. Beneath these landscapes of concern is an underlying western preoccupation with the nature of childhood and what childhood should be, namely, a time “for children to be children” who play, attend school, and live without poverty, violence, and what are seen to be adult challenges (James and Prout 1997). Anxieties about children are centered on the premise that the political and social condition of whole societies can be gauged by the status of “their children” (Boyden 1997). During particular events in time, such as political conflict, war, or when children are seen not to be behaving as children ought to (working as laborers, living on the street), childhood can be “corrupted,” “stolen,” or “lost” altogether (Boyden 1997; Foster et al. 2005; Kraftl 2010; Poretti et al. 2014).

This powerful rhetoric of loss or destruction suggests irreparable damage and an inherent need for (adult) action.

Groundswells of populist and political concern for children are neither new nor unique to particular geographic locations. Notions of crisis have persisted for decades, taking shape in various ways, across time and place. Peter Krafl's work (2010) has highlighted the temporal nature of childhood in crisis by arguing that childhood is thrown into stark relief at particular historical-geographical moments: each event marks a time and place where childhood *matters*. In contemporary western society, public discourses of childhood appear to be preoccupied by danger and safety (Kehily 2010). Gill Valentine has written extensively of the squeezing out of children in public space due to parental fears and the dominant perception of children as less competent, less knowledgeable, and naïve beings (Valentine 1997). She has argued for a radical geography which recognizes children's competence and values children's contribution and active participation in public life. In more recent examples, western childhood has been feared tainted by an over exposure to electronic media, lack of space to play, and an overemphasis on academic testing in schools (e.g., Brody 2015). In these instances, parents are concerned that their children are losing out on the bedrocks of their own traditional (and romanticized) childhoods, and the media in particular have led the way in calls for action by governments (Fenton 2006).

Sociologist Deborah Lupton (1999) has written extensively on risk in modern society and makes a number of useful contributions to this discussion. First is that the notion of risk is a political concept and is used to attribute blame and responsibility. Second, while all societies in human history have been challenged by threats and dangers, these had largely been seen as the outcome of the natural world. The difference today is that human responsibility is now attached to risk, such that people are seen to both *cause* risk and be *responsible* for its minimization (Lupton 1999, p. 12). Such views of risk have led to heightened worry and concern at all levels of society and therefore the potential for an increasing number of moral panics around childhood. Stanley Cohen's (1972) work in the UK was the first to formulate the childhood/youth in "crisis" thesis, highlighting the notion of moral panics – campaigns which raised the alarm over apparent chaos or breakdown of the social order, resulting in anxiety and hostility. Cohen found that moral panics tended to be short-lived, generated through publicly aired concerns about particular events or situations about which "something should be done" (Scott et al. 1998, p. 690). Such anxieties were expressed as a fear *for* children, but also as fear *of* children, or of what children might do if they are not kept within the boundaries of acceptable child conduct (Scott et al. 1998).

In 1994, Goode and Ben-Yehuda published *Moral Panics: The Social Construction of Deviance*. Here, the authors identified five defining elements of a moral panic: a heightened level of *concern* over the behavior of a certain group; an increased level of *hostility* toward the deviants; a certain level of *consensus* across society that the threat is real, serious, and caused by the wrongdoers; a notion of disproportionality in terms of the ways statistics are used; and a sense of *volatility* in terms of the fleeting nature of moral panics. Research into moral panics has also highlighted the

importance of labeling: how the same behavior can be treated differently according to its timing and place and how labeling processes have short- and long-term consequences, in particular for the deviant group of individuals. Most applications of the moral panic model have been restricted to contemporary events in western countries (drug use, street crime, immigration, media violence).

Indeed, in contrast to this discussion of concern, risk, and panic in the west, in the global south, childhood “in crisis” is a relatively recent application of the concept, the result of increasing globalization and politicization of conceptualizations of childhood. During the last 30 years, primarily as a result of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the discourses surrounding its near global adoption, childhood became an entity, the deprivation of which constituted a violation of universal rights (Burman 1994). The state of childhood became a primary indicator of the health of entire nations, and concern for the universal (and idealized) well-being of children was entrenched as a global priority.

In the last 30 years, the concept of “the world’s children” emerged in the official discourses of international agencies such as the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF). At the same time, affluent groups in western society confronted the chasm between their idealized concepts of childhood and the realities of many children’s lives in the “Third World” (Stephens 1995). Child vulnerability was seen to transcend culture and politics because although children faced suffering, they could never be responsible for its causes. Rights and welfare activists thus sought the introduction of measures to protect children from intolerable conditions on the grounds that children come into the world “defenceless in the face of an aggressive and violent society and that they are the first to suffer the terrible consequences of famine, war, and socioeconomic crisis” (Boyden, 1997, p.197). This echoed a moral framework in which “development” was repositioned as something that should also be *for* children (Jones 2005).

In placing children’s issues “on the map,” the dominance of particularly western conceptualizations of childhood concealed the fact that the institution of childhood itself is a social construction (James and Prout 1997). Samantha Punch (2003) has argued that because the majority of the world’s children live in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, the most common type of “childhood” is indeed that of “Third World” children. Yet children in the global south are often considered deviant when examined within parameters of a globalized model where notions that children should play and study, but not work, dominate. According to globalized ideals, a vast number of children in the majority world offer immediate cause for concern. Working children, street children, child soldiers, and “AIDS orphans” have all been universally accepted to be “deplorable breaches of childhood” (Hall and Montgomery 2000; Scott et al. 1998). Northern privilege has been inscribed in international policies, and children and families who fail to conform are either stigmatized or rendered invisible (Burman 1996).

Children’s geographers have been pivotal in arguing for more nuanced understandings of such categories of children, remaining highly critical of dominant models of ideal childhoods and challenging notions of innate vulnerabilities (Ansell and van Blerk 2004; Chizororo 2008; Evans and Becker 2009; Payne 2008;

van Blerk and Ansell 2006). For example, Evans has published widely on children caring for parents with HIV and AIDS (with Evans and Becker 2009). Evans argues that children are regularly involved in household and domestic chores and these responsibilities form an everyday part of children’s lives and social relationships with family members. Children are actively engaged in negotiating and renegotiating their duties with parents and others within their household. Such understandings of children challenge norms of childhood and youth, where childhood is viewed as a “special” and “protected” phase, a “temporal oasis of innocence” (Evans and Becker 2009, p. 2). Payne’s (2008) doctorate on child-headed households in Zambia also provides an important example of research which is fundamentally critical of the discourse children “in crisis” in the majority world. Payne explores constructions of child-headedness from within local communities and confronts the issue of agency by revealing the capabilities of children who have been conventionally constructed as innately vulnerable. Alongside other children’s geographers, Payne highlights the everyday nature of childhoods which would normally be perceived to be deviant in relation to global standards of idealized childhoods (e.g., Robson et al. 2007 in their work on child carers in southern Africa).

However, despite objections, moral panics and crisis narratives remain powerful and continue to persist within contemporary society both in the west and in the global south and often form the basis of policy and programming interventions. It is important for children’s geographers to continuously unravel and challenge the root of these in order to promote more nuanced conceptualizations of childhood. By presenting the example of AIDS orphans in South Africa, the following section explores the ways in which media texts, research articles, and policy documents collectively produced a dominant discourse, and resulting policy actions, and why it is critical that we look back in order to move forward our understandings of children’s lives.

3 The AIDS Epidemic and the “Crisis of a Generation”

In the 1980s, medical and health communities mobilized in response to the inception of the AIDS epidemic. As the epidemic progressed into the late 1990s, and with particular intensity on the African continent, AIDS was seen to be the making of a “development disaster,” and studies began to look at the socioeconomic impacts of AIDS on household livelihoods, economic costs to national budgets, and food security. By 2000, the epidemic was a critical priority on the international development agenda, where combating AIDS also became one of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) adopted by world leaders.

In the following decade, researchers and policy makers turned their attention to the impacts of the epidemic on children. In 2000, the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), and the US Agency for International Development (USAID) launched the first edition of the *Children on the Brink* publication to highlight and enumerate the situation of children orphaned by AIDS (Hunter and Williamson 2000). The research

agendas that followed almost exclusively focused on measuring orphan versus non-orphan indicators such as nutritional deficits, educational attainment, psychological consequences, and stigma (e.g., Crampin et al. 2003). Among policy makers, there was a constant need to enumerate the situation of children in order to create “workable” and “measurable indicators.”

Burgeoning statistics alongside media reports created a sense of urgency in responding to the “crisis of AIDS orphans” and placed the issue at the center of policy and programming debates. Within this landscape, the discourse centered prominently on the ubiquitous AIDS orphan, a term synonymous with vulnerability, abandonment, and need for adult action. Statements such as “AIDS has forever redefined the meaning of childhood” (Bauman et al. 2006, p. 56) and “AIDS poses a great threat to the future of our children” (Booyesen and Arntz 2002) permeated research articles and policy documents. In southern Africa, these children were presented as “the missing face of AIDS,” the ultimate victims of the pandemic, and living “on the brink” (Hunter and Williamson 2000; LaFraniere 2003).

Among the media, journalists visited orphanages and interviewed NGO workers, both in southern Africa and the charities who supported them abroad. The following quotation, taken from an Executive Director of UNICEF, and published in *The New York Times* (Greene 2002), is indicative of the tone of narratives at the time:

Almost without exception, children orphaned by AIDS are marginalized, stigmatized, malnourished, uneducated and psychologically damaged. They are affected by actions over which they have no control and in which they had no part. They deal with the most trauma, face the most dangerous threats and have the least protections. And because of all this, they, too, are very likely to become H.I.V. positive. . . the world will see an explosion in the number of child prostitutes, children living on the streets and child domestic workers.

Initially, the notion of a “crisis of childhood” was not questioned and became entrenched within the discursive landscape. Experiences of children orphaned by AIDS were singular and linear: children would increasingly take on “adult” household and caring responsibilities, leading to the deprivation of educational opportunities. Children would then face increasing destitution and stigmatization as households fell deeper into poverty, ultimately leading to family dissolution, with orphaned children left to fend for themselves on the street (for example, Booyesen and Arntz 2002). Due to this trajectory, AIDS orphans were seen to present a significant cost to the future of society, not only in terms of the provision of foster care, education, and other needs but also in terms of the potential for increased juvenile crime, the result of orphans’ inability to partake constructively in the economic and social life of society (Desmond and Gow 2002). Orphaned children became an entity, the “AIDS generation,” and targets of various prevention campaigns, donor-funded charity, and “child-oriented” policies and programs.

In the context of the epidemic, the globally circulated specter of the “AIDS orphan” was dominated by a perception of “children left behind,” abandoned, innately vulnerable, and in need of care. Such constructions were rooted in attachment theory, a highly influential theory of care which posits that healthy child development depends on the existence of an attachment relationship between child

and mother or permanent mother substitute (Ainsworth 1989). Theorists suggest that children who lack secure attachment are vulnerable to psychological challenges and impaired cognitive development. The responsibility for providing a suitable upbringing is thus placed unequivocally on parents who relate to a particular child, emphasizing both moral and economic responsibility (Panter-Brick 2000). Due to the hegemony of these vulnerability and protection discourses, the potential for the weakened capacity of adults due to HIV and AIDS was presented as threatening to children and their very well-being. Policy makers and NGOs thus constructed a "crisis of care" based on the assumption that parental care is the standard model. Without parents, it was asserted that children would be deprived of "love, attention, and affection" and the "interpersonal and environmental stimulation" necessary for child development (UNICEF 2004, p. 9). As in a number of constructions of children in the global south, children were disconnected from context, alone and with no available support mechanisms (Ruddick 2003). In the discourse of AIDS, the extended family was either absent or in crisis, as it overstretched and eroded, with a complete breakdown imminent.

During the height of the crisis, the plight of child-headed households was a prime example of how discourses took hold within research and policy (see Chizororo 2008 for further critique). These households were seen to be "particularly desperate. . . in many cases these orphans are isolated completely from their extended family" (Booyesen and Arntz 2002, p. 172). However, despite the fact that such households faced unique challenges and increased vulnerability (necessitating interventions and support), there existed a mass misconception about their prevalence and nature. At the time, across southern Africa, only very small numbers of orphaned children found themselves living without any resident adult caregiver (Hill et al. 2008). Indeed, while such households were found to emerge following the death of adult members, research also highlighted that they tended to be temporary, fluid, and transitional with adults moving in to care for children, or children moving to join other households (Chizororo 2008; Ford and Hosegood 2005).

The crisis of childhood narratives culminated around a concern of a generation "lost": they had lost their childhoods, their innate innocence through their witness to AIDS, their critical caregivers, their possibility of educational attainment, and their futures (in some cases through their vulnerability to transmission themselves or as "at-risk" youth). As with other crises, concern centered on future adult lives. At the height of the AIDS epidemic, children were quite, literally, the future. As Archbishop Desmond Tutu (in Foster et al. 2005) stated, "AIDS is not only taking away our children's present, it also has the potential to subtract from their future." In southern Africa, children were charged with "saving the nation": they were the generation that would learn from the mistakes of their parents and halt the spread of AIDS (Tortensson 2010). Children were encouraged to become agents of change within the health and prevention landscape: "we must actively begin to regard children as important protagonists in the fight against AIDS and seek to empower them to become agents of change" (Tortensson 2010, p. 6).

The condition of children was seen to determine not only their futures but also the futures of their families, communities, and societies as a whole. Potential

consequences were posited in the event that the AIDS generation was unsuccessful in their mission to halt the spread of HIV. For example, Booyesen and Arntz (2002, p. 175) posited that “these children (lacking in care) often resort to street life and turn to crime and prostitution to survive, which exposes children who are already vulnerable to further abuse and STD or HIV infection,” without any reference to studies which supported these statements. In some reports, orphaned children were seen to be a security threat: “on the streets of a growing number of nations, rootless, uneducated, unnurtured young people threaten to form a ‘lost generation’ of potential recruits for crime, military warlords, and terrorists” (Schneider and Moodie 2002, p. 5). The message of AIDS campaigning was that the future of the nation was in the hands of children. The consequences of large numbers of children being raised “without parents” were thus potentially costly, in terms of direct costs for relief, as well as indirect costs associated with an increased burden of ill health, social pathology, and opportunity costs associated with lost years of education and work preparedness.

The onset of the AIDS epidemic and increasing numbers of children orphaned by AIDS fostered an environment where operationalization and intervention became critical elements within international development agendas. The international media became involved with numerous stories of “lost children,” disconnected from families and communities, and in need of (adult) action (Greene 2002; LaFraniere 2003). These narratives centered on conceptualizations of victimhood, dependency, and a concern with “crisis” and the future potential of children. As with moral panics in the west, consensus was formed among the international NGO landscape, the global media, and local governments. Concern for “AIDS orphans” was at the top of the agenda for most of the decade. However, as the decade of the 2000s ended, the discourse shifted, and the loud voices chanting of a crisis within childhood seemed to quiet, with a new discourse presented seemingly overnight: that of the end of a crisis and the birth of the “AIDS-free generation.”

4 The End of a Crisis and the “AIDS-Free Generation”

The height of the “AIDS orphan crisis” occurred in the early 2000s and continued throughout much of the decade. Reports were drawn up, meetings were held, and photos of orphans were captured on the front pages of global newspapers. In recent years, a significant shift within the discursive landscape has occurred, which can be traced to a 2012 document released by the highly influential US President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), written as a foreword by Secretary of State Hilary Clinton:

What a difference a decade makes. Ten years ago, AIDS was wiping out a generation of individuals and reversing important health and development gains being made in Africa. . . AIDS threatened the very foundations of societies. It took people in the prime of their lives when they should have been caring for their families. It created millions of

orphans, unable to attend school without the support provided by their parents. (PEPFAR 2012)

The report goes on to state that an “AIDS-free generation” is within reach, one where “virtually no children are born with the virus” (PEPFAR 2012, p. 4). During a recent press conference for World AIDS Day in December, 2014, US President Obama took the opportunity to proclaim that “we’re closer than we’ve ever been to achieving the extraordinary: an AIDS-free generation” (Ferris 2014). While there are still clear challenges to fighting the epidemic, the “crisis” discourse has shifted to more hopeful proclamations. Orphans are no longer seen as at risk of “losing their childhoods” or being defined by the epidemic, but are seen as a generation of hope, one that will live without the specter of the disease. In taking a historical perspective on the “crisis,” the following section explores what we may have already known during this time, what information was lost within the emergency discourse, and what we can learn about conceptualizing childhood going forward.

5 Reconceptualizing the AIDS Orphan Crisis

Concepts of childhood are not constant; they are (re)constructed and (re)produced over time and space (Valentine 1997). During the height of the AIDS epidemic, conceptualizations of childhood were marred by crisis discourse; children were constructed as the “AIDS generation,” “a generation at risk,” and a “generation deprived of their childhood.” However, the very conceptualization of AIDS as creating inherent and unique vulnerabilities led to a mystified perception of childhood in countries affected by AIDS and a focus on nonnormative childhoods such as orphans and child-headed households. There existed a general failure of critical reflexivity in approaches to studying “the problem”: by beginning analyses with a focus on “crisis,” researchers marginalized “everyday” childhood experiences, children’s agency, and historical context.

Throughout this period, a minority of researchers and activists worked to combat this imagery and to present nuanced research about the state of childhood within the context of the AIDS epidemic (e.g., Ansell and van Blerk 2004; Bray 2003; Chazan 2008; Henderson 2006; Meintjes and Giese 2006; Payne 2008). One of the most critical issues was the gross misrepresentation when reporting statistics related to orphans. In a mass review of the utilization of the term “orphan” during this period within social science and medical journals, Sherr et al. (2008) found that over 70 % of studies did not differentiate or clearly define the term “orphan,” and in only 3.4 % of cases was the term utilized to describe children who had lost both parents. Although this definition was in line with UNICEF and UNAIDS guidelines, a lack of detailed explanations of these definitions led to misleading interpretations and presentations, particularly within the media and NGOs. The term itself and the visions that it conjured up were often disconnected from realities on the ground.

Second, crisis of care scenarios ignored a fundamental aspect of care in many societies in southern Africa where customary law dictates that children are the

responsibility of the extended rather than nuclear family, and the role of relatives other than parents in child care is vital. Prior to the advent of AIDS, in particular in countries such as South Africa where the colonial migratory labor system left many children separated from their biological parents, the very nature of the African extended family as “stretched,” “fluid,” “contingent, and hybrid” meant that it was able to provide consistent and sustainable care for children (Ansell and van Blerk 2004). Fluid patterns of child care were organized on ideals of reciprocity, where responsibility toward kin was a lifelong obligation, and an “ethic of care” emphasized interdependence (Bozalek 1999). In response to the AIDS epidemic, a number of studies have since found a historical continuity within gendered patterns of child care, as well as a notion of “fluid” families, communal responsibility for children, and children’s migration (Ford and Hosegood 2005; Norman 2011). Ultimately, while AIDS presented significant challenges for affected families, “the family” was not decimated, but remained resilient despite recurring waves of impacts, the AIDS epidemic being the most recent example.

A third fundamental flaw of the discourse was the hegemony of the “AIDS orphan” within the research and policy landscape. The focus on orphan vulnerability tended to displace attention from the broader arena of economic inequalities that affected adults as well as children, men and women, as well as boys and girls. Researchers have termed this process “AIDS exceptionalism,” where a focus on AIDS occurs over and above issues such as poverty, violence, or food insecurity (Chazan 2008). In part, the misleading nature was the result of the exclusion or marginalization of those actually “affected” by the epidemic. In two studies where communities *were* included, the term “vulnerable” was used to identify those who were particularly poor and in many cases not affected by AIDS at all (Henderson 2006; Norman 2011). Children themselves, who would be logical experts on their circumstances, were generally silenced in discussions altogether. In pursuing a singular focus on orphans, the extent to which other children shared aspects of vulnerability was lost entirely. Additionally, children who were identified within the program landscape as “AIDS orphans” were negatively typified as social casualties and repeatedly presented as disadvantaged in relation to other children, which arguably exacerbated any stigmatization they had already experienced through the loss of a parent (Meintjes and Giese 2006).

In response to “AIDS exceptionalism,” a number of researchers argued that in contexts where many children are marginalized due to poverty, the circumstances of poor, non-orphaned children may not be that different from those children who have lost one or both parents to AIDS (Meintjes and Giese 2006; Sherr et al. 2008). Rachel Bray (2003) stated that much less attention was directed toward the multiple layers of social, economic, and psychological disadvantage that not only affect orphaned children, but families and communities as a whole. For example, numerous studies of AIDS-affected households showed that nearly every factor identified as critical to fostering vulnerability in childhood had a financial aspect (e.g., Booysen and Arntz 2002; Chazan 2008; Norman 2011). Economic constraints were often responsible for barriers to the effective integration of orphans into extended family households, the discrimination or neglect of children orphaned by AIDS, conflicts

related to property, inadequate food and clothing, and the limited schooling of orphans.

Indeed, because orphaned children became the focus of donor and government intervention strategies, new struggles and inequities emerged. The "orphan" became a discursive category and a social phenomenon to which communities and individuals necessarily responded, while the orphaned child became a potential resource (Meintjes and Giese 2006). In Norman's (2011) thesis on childhood in the time of AIDS, a "child-headed AIDS orphan household" was identified by the community to participate in the research and initially identified itself as such. The author found that in the everyday sense, the household was run by the two eldest siblings, aged 14, who took care of their two other siblings, aged 10. However, the dynamics of this household were far more complex and demonstrated the adept use of resources by families, and in particular children themselves, in a landscape which favored "AIDS orphans" above other forms of vulnerability. In this household, the mother worked as a domestic worker in a neighboring city, but still made monthly visits, paid her children's school fees, and made large grocery purchases when she was home. The children also accessed water from their neighbor's taps and had free electricity through illegally spliced wiring. The NGO which had been supporting them through food parcels was under the impression that both of their parents had passed away, when in fact all biological parents were alive, although their fathers were entirely inactive and living elsewhere. The author also believed, even after an initial interview with the children, that they lived on their own and were only visited by their mother. However, it seemed that in addition to monthly visits, the house was really a family home within the extended family network, and other family members stayed at the house when they needed to, or were looking for work nearby, and took the opportunity to care for the children during these periods. Despite challenges related to poverty, vulnerabilities related to living in a violent part of the community, and psychosocial support mechanisms that were often lacking in their everyday lives, this family was not eligible for the aid it was receiving from the local NGO. However, in a time when resources were limited, and child-headed households were commanding great attention, this family negotiated this landscape adeptly. Indeed, the children themselves were agents within the navigation of this system.

Meintjes and Giese (2006) note that "becoming an orphan," i.e., self-identifying as an orphan in order to conform to donor notions of vulnerability and associated criteria for support, is particularly striking considering the local meanings and sentiments associated with the term in African languages and cultural practice. In South Africa, the label is associated with a lack of care and/or resources and is synonymous with being unloved, uncared for, and destitute, carrying with it great stigma and pity. However, in times of immense poverty and when there is great potential for reward, it is neither surprising nor striking that children themselves, or adults on their behalf, utilize this system in order to survive. What is arguably more disconcerting is that perhaps equally or more deserving children and families were not able to utilize this system and were further marginalized within the policy and program landscape.

Poretti et al.'s (2014) recent paper on the use of the term "stolen childhoods" within the international children's rights landscape presents a significant case study on the use of language and the impact on policy and program agendas. In their paper, the authors argue that figures such as street children and abandoned children figured prominently on the world stage in the 1990s, but then slowly disappeared from the agenda, and were replaced primarily by child victims of violence (primarily those in relation to war zones). The authors demonstrate that in order to reach international prominence, local claims about an issue must meet with the worldviews and demands of leading organizations and larger systems of values and beliefs. Thematic priorities at the top are influenced by considerations of efficacy, internal politics, media visibility, and competition for financial resources. As Keck and Sikkink (1998, p. 172) contend, human rights activities "cannot make just any category stick." In order to rise on the international agenda, issues must make sense and capture people's imagination.

Moreover, the impacts of language go beyond heightening various children's causes on various agendas. In the case of the AIDS epidemic, it can be argued that in constructing this crisis of care in particular, researchers, the media, and policy makers may have lost critical time in supporting extended families and communities that were already doing important work to support children impacted and orphaned by AIDS. A perpetuated belief that thousands or millions of orphaned children would end up on the street had the consequence of increasing the number of orphanages, which in many contexts were unnecessary and also presented major challenges to young children who would have been far better off living within their family networks and communities (Abdulla et al. 2007).

Richter and Norman (2010) have also written about the concomitant phenomenon of "AIDS orphan tourism," where individuals from western countries traveled to these residential care facilities, volunteering for primarily short periods of time as caregivers. During the height of the AIDS orphan crisis, volunteer tourists were encouraged to "make intimate connections" with previously neglected, abused, and abandoned young children. However, the authors argue that shortly after such connections were made, volunteers would depart, increasing the early adversity young children had already faced and putting their sociopsychological development at further risk. In a very real sense, for children living in residential care facilities, both the AIDS orphan crisis discourse perpetuated by the media and its outcome in terms of this type of tourism may have had profoundly negative consequences on children's lives in both the short and long term. This is another example of the power of discourse, the media, and how resources on the ground were reallocated based on perceptions of "crisis" and appropriate and "necessary" action.

AIDS exceptionalism was ultimately not an effective policy tool in many countries and communities. Labels of "vulnerability" and "orphan" often mystified rather than enlightened researchers and policy makers of the "real" challenges facing children in AIDS-affected communities. Today, a number of researchers and advocates have called for policies that lift entire communities and child populations out of poverty, rather than programming which targets AIDS-specific populations (Richter and Norman 2010; Richter and Desmond 2008). Examples such as the state welfare

system in South Africa have been enormously successful in decreasing vulnerabilities for *all* children in impoverished households and thus also for children affected by AIDS (Norman 2011).

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, it can be argued that the crisis discourse surrounding the epidemic in southern Africa became a justification for children becoming the subjects of politics without any real reference to them, a justification for emergency language and emergency responses, and the exclusion of children from debate and discussion. An insistence upon labeling children with various forms of vulnerability – “orphans” and “child-headed household” – emptied children of their knowledge and abilities (Henderson 2006). The “ultimate AIDS victim” denied children both agency and competency and marginalized other challenges faced by children in the region.

For those aiming to explore the lives of children within contexts of “concern,” one way to mitigate these tensions is to move away from discussions of “crisis” and “risk” toward an engagement with the “everyday.” John Horton and Peter Kraftl (2006, p. 71) have argued that much of the world has been neglected, underestimated, or lost in academic, institutionalized, and policy-oriented understandings of the world and that too much of what we do is ignored, because it seems too mundane, too obvious, or too insignificant to write about. A key feature of geographical research with children is that, in all its diversity, it is often characterized by “everydayness”: the detail of “the forms of life we routinely consider unremarkable and thus take for granted” (Chaney 2002, p. 10 in Horton and Kraftl 2006). Utilizing the concept of the everyday provides an opportunity to recognize agency and resiliency in situations where children have been constructed as either victim or “adult becomings.” In the context of AIDS, policies and NGO programs have been frequently centered on notions of “need” and “coping” and have thus paid too little attention to the fact that children adapt to and manage difficult situations (Bray 2003).

Notions of agency challenge the view of children as essentially powerless, changing emphasis from weak minors to active empowered young people (Robson et al. 2007). However, agency is also linked to the “powers” (or lack of them) of children to influence, organize, coordinate, and control events taking place in their everyday worlds (Alanen 2003, p. 42). Approaching power as a composite dynamic enables children and young people to be seen simultaneously as both subjected to and articulating power. This includes the daily ways young people navigate their responsibilities and social connection as well as more intermittent expressions of insistence or resistance that enable young people to socialize and claim space for themselves at irregular intervals (Panelli et al. 2007).

In an analysis of African child domestic workers, Klocker (2007) provides a very useful conceptualization of child agency, employing the terms “thick” and “thin” agency in order to acknowledge that even the seemingly disempowered possess an ability to act. In such situations, children can understand and actively negotiate the expectations and power relations that surround them while making decisions aimed at improving their own lives and those of their families. In Klocker’s (2007, p. 85) analysis, “thin” agency refers to “decisions and everyday actions that are carried out

within highly restrictive contexts, characterised by few alternatives, where ‘thick’ agency is having the latitude to act within a broad range of options.” Structures, contexts, and relationships act as “thinners” or “thickeners” of individuals’ agency by constraining or expanding their range of viable choices. Between “thin” and “thick” agency, there is a continuum along which all people are placed as actors with varying and dynamic capacities for voluntary and willed action. Benwell (2007) further suggests that issues of power and agency in adult-child relationships need to be thought of as multidirectional: it is not always simply a case of adults dominating, restricting, or subordinating children, and there may be instances where adults are constrained, directed, or manipulated by children. Conceptualizing agency as multidirectional and along a continuum enables acknowledgment both of the difficult circumstances and unequal relationships that children are often located within, as well as their efforts to survive and to build better lives (Klocker 2007).

6 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to explore the linkages between conceptualizations of crisis across time and trace the particular history of the discourse of “crisis in childhood” within the time of AIDS in southern Africa. In the wake of the AIDS epidemic in southern Africa in the 1990s, a “crisis of childhood” was presented, the result of a complex interplay between globalized notions of childhood, the international media, development policy, and donor agendas. Dominant narratives conceptualized the epidemic as causing devastating effects for “the most vulnerable members of society, children,” leading some to suggest the very “deprivation” of “childhood” itself (Barnett and Whiteside 2006; Chizororo 2008 p. 1). However, due to the inherent nature of this development-related focus, conceptualizations of childhood were marred by “crisis” discourse; children were constructed as “a generation at risk,” a “generation deprived of their childhood,” with an unrelenting focus on deviant childhoods such as “orphans” and “child-headed households” (Barnett and Whiteside 2006; Foster et al. 2005). While AIDS clearly had, and continues to have, an impact on children and childhood, the focus within research and advocacy ultimately marginalized wider landscapes of understanding, the multiplicity of childhood experiences, and historical context. Furthermore, being cast as the “ultimate HIV/AIDS victim” has denied children both agency and competency within their families and communities, both historically and today.

As in other contexts in modern history (street children, child laborers), ideas of “childhood” and the “AIDS generation” were deployed strategically, attracting immense political, journalistic, and public attention (Hall and Montgomery 2000). Indeed, within the AIDS research community, such attention illustrated an inherent paradox: the industry itself survives (thrives and prospers) by defining the “problem” in particular ways and contributes to and legitimizes particular constructions of the “problem.” That the epidemic put children “at risk” became self-evident and self-perpetuating, with little critical reflexivity for the ways in which children (and/or childhoods) are constructed in the first place. Meintjes and Giese (2006) have argued

that the image of the "AIDS orphan" was replicated and disseminated because it had economic valence, where orphanhood became a globally circulated commodity. Contradictory notions of orphans were constructed by the media, donor, and recipient organizations with the aim to induce an urgency to act. The consequence was that stereotypical images were not representative of the nuanced, everyday lives of the vast majority of children affected by AIDS and in the end were arguably less effective as they could have been to the most vulnerable.

By taking a historical approach to conceptualizing both childhood and this particular crisis, this chapter demonstrated the importance of exploring how concerns about children are given meaning in time and place and how these concerns impact the lived realities of children during these events. There are still many areas of children's lives we know very little about, and in the global south in particular, the "everyday" is often marginalized at the expense of issues which are deemed to be more important or of concern. By critically approaching the "crisis"-driven discourse which dominated the AIDS orphan landscape, this chapter encourages new ways of approaching children's lives in an era where moral panics and crisis of childhood discourses can dominate children's voices and nuanced everyday understandings.

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Governing the Global Child: Biopolitics and Liberal Subjectivities

13

Karen Wells

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Abstract

This chapter shows how governmentality theory can illuminate the processes through which childhood is governed on a global scale. It attends to the intersection between liberalism, capitalism, and the governing of childhood through an analysis of how NGOs, international law, and academic disciplines produce and circulate specific ideas about the figure of the child. Locating the analysis in a historical perspective, it demonstrates that the division between contemporary child rights and historical child saving is far from complete. It argues that child rights and child saving exist contemporaneously and construct the child as an immanently liberal subject. This liberal subject and the particular kinds of

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freedom that it affords are the figures through which the inequalities of global capitalism are partially obscured. For this reason, the chapter concludes researchers and practitioners may wish to consider (and resist) the ways that they are incorporated into the governing of contemporary childhoods.

Keywords

Governmentality • Liberalism • Biopolitics • NGOs • International law • Psychologies • New social studies of childhood

1 Introduction

This chapter aims to show how governmentality theory can illuminate the processes through which childhood is governed on a global scale. Its underlying argument is that the move toward child rights has elided the necessity of struggle and conflict and the importance of solidarity in undoing the multiple inequalities of global capitalism. The rights that are conferred on children through the various rationalities described here are not political rights but the right to self-govern in ways that are congruent with capitalist rule. If children's geographers want to engage with a radical politics of childhood, then it will be necessary to understand the part that academics play in constructing rationalities and technologies of government and to deploy alternatives to these. The focus on agency within the new social studies of childhood has, perhaps unintentionally, cohered with a liberal view of personhood that is autonomous, rational, and independent. A childhood study that wants to engage with the necessity of struggle and the importance of solidarity might instead develop an understanding of children – and indeed humans – as interdependent subjects.

The chapter is organized into two sections. The first section explicates governmentality theory and its key concepts and its relationship to biopolitics. The second section expands in detail on one of these concepts, rationalities of government, to explain how different governing forces have constructed the figure of the child as nonpolitical, rights bearing, developmental, and agential. These characteristics are often assumed to be mutually exclusive, with nonpolitical and developmental constructions belonging to an earlier period of child saving and the figure of a rights-bearing agential child to more contemporary child rights approaches. In contrast, this chapter argues that they form an assemblage that constitutes the child as an (immanently) liberal subject. Liberalism as a strategy of political economy facilitates the distribution of global capitalism and seeks to obscure the inequalities inherent within capitalism through its appeal to the possibility of freedom. In conclusion, this chapter suggests that researchers should attend to how the rationalities that they put into circulation have the potential to be deployed as part of the construction of the child as a liberal subject. Similarly, practitioners may want to consider how rationalities are operationalized in techniques of government intended to produce or realize these liberal “potentialities” in young subjects.

2 Governmentality Theory

Government, as a Foucauldian concept, means something far more than the institutions of state power. It includes all the “actors, organizations, and agencies concerned with exercising authority over the conduct of human beings” (Inda 2005, 6). These include nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), schools, and academics. Governmentality theory is concerned with a series of related questions: How does government conceptualize whom and what it governs and to what ends it governs? What technologies, in the broad sense of the term, are used to govern? How are these rationalities and technologies informed by ideas about the capacities of subjects, as well as constituting those subjects?

The first of these questions is about the framing or discourses that explain what governing is intended to achieve. It includes how knowledge is produced about what problems government needs to attend to; examples of this might include child soldiers, young refugees, truants, and teenage mothers. These frames or discourses assemble behaviors, dispositions, and actions into a specific object of concern. These forms of knowledge, discourses, and framings are termed “rationalities” by governmentality scholars. The second section of this chapter explains in some depth the rationalities that govern contemporary childhood and the role of NGOs, international law, and academic discourse in producing and circulating these rationalities.

The technologies that government (in the expanded, Foucauldian meaning of the term) deploys include all the means by which populations are made calculable and through which their conduct is shaped. These include examinations, statistics, regulations, and the organization of space and time. They can also include technologies in the conventional sense, that is, machines, analogue or digital, that are intended to shape conduct; examples of this might include body management apps on digital phones, electronic tagging of young offenders, or CCTV. Technologies provide the specific, discrete, and measurable interventions that target the problems identified by government discourses. They are:

that domain of practical mechanisms, devices, calculations, procedures, apparatuses, and documents “through which authorities of various sorts have sought to shape, normalize and instrumentalize the conduct, thought, decisions and aspirations of others in order to achieve the objectives they consider desirable. (Miller and Rose 1990: 8). [They] . . . translate thought into practice and thus actualize political reasons’. (Inda 2005, 9)

Many of the techniques of government that aim at the internalization of government norms, or the production of a self-governing subject, are obscure to normalized subjects because the hard edges of government are only made visible to those who have already escaped, or been expelled, from its normative fields. Children, like prisoners and other unruly subjects, are highly visible in the field of government.

The school, for example, can be understood as a technology for the governing of childhood. There is a significant body of literature on education as a governing

technology, principally from Australia (see Christie and Sidhu (2006) on the treatment of asylum-seeking children in education) where Foucauldian studies have been very influential, but also in the UK (Pike 2010) and Northern Europe (see Plum 2012 on Denmark; Haldar and Engebretsen 2014 in Norway and Australia). There are very few governmentality studies of education outside of the Global North; exceptions are Sanjay Srivastava (1998) on the Doon School (an elite boy school in India), Terry Woronov (2009) on discourses of educational quality in contemporary Beijing, Nicola Ansell (2015) on governing through education in the Global South, and Karen Wells' (2015) discourse analysis of NGOs' representation of schools in the Global South as sites of modernity. The main scope of this literature is to show that schools are sites that produce particular kinds of subjectivities through mundane practices like seating arrangements in classrooms and lunch halls, detention, rules about play, eating, queueing and talking, and wearing uniforms. Self-assessment, citizenship, and the personal, social, and health education (PSHE) curricula are analyzed as technologies informed by specific views of what constitutes a healthy mind and body and how the self should be positioned in relation to others.

The governmentality of education literature is less interested in the teaching of school subjects as content and more concerned with what kind of person the child is encouraged to become. This goes to the central interest of governmentality theory in the relationship between reasons and techniques of government and subject formation. Rationalities and technologies both constitute and respond to subjects; for example, if children are understood as vulnerable, innocent, and developing, this will inform how the problems mentioned above are framed as well as constituting children as vulnerable, innocent, and developing subjects. The legitimacy of governing childhood is grounded in the claim that the target of all these technologies is the increase in the health and well-being of children. Childhood is a particularly powerful site for regulating the "conduct of conduct" because interventions made on the grounds of being "in the best interests of the child" are difficult to contest while maintaining a claim to moral action. Furthermore, compliance with these technologies promises for both children and parents the possibility of a good childhood that has itself become the leitmotif of modernity.

Foucault is often criticized for a kind of totalizing vision that suggests humans are locked in a disciplinary grid that produces them as subjects. However, geographers have attempted a more critical engagement with Foucault's work, drawing on his suggestive remarks about resistance to explore how what governance wants is not always (perhaps even, often) what it gets. Morris (1998) suggests that one of the contradictory effects of the governance of migration is that undocumented migrants may go "under the radar" thereby escaping government regulation. Ettliger (2011) similarly suggests that there is scope for understanding how individuals can resist or evade becoming targets of government through the "care of the self." She suggests that the liberal mode of "governing at a distance" opens up a space for individuals to exercise a critical distance on governance. She contrasts the early work of Foucault which emphasizes disciplinary spaces and practices that capture the individual with the later Foucault's attention to the "hermeneutics of the self." In relation to children, we might think of the ways in which children in liberal polities are invited by their

parents and governing bodies (like school) to understand themselves as people with an interior life which needs attending to and cultivating. “Personal, social, and health care,” for example, a subject on the UK national curriculum, invites children to think about whether they are happy or sad, how they want others to treat them, and so on. Liberal parenting strategies like “time out” encourage children to understand their transgressions and not only *behave* differently but to *think* and *feel* differently.

The scope for resistance within liberal governmentality is partly an effect of the production of a “free” subject that is the aim of government. This governing through freedom and the encouragement for us to think of ourselves as free “multiplies the points at which a citizen has to play his or her part in the processes that govern him [sic]. And, in doing so, it also multiplies the points at which citizens are able to refuse, contest, challenge those demands placed upon them” (Rose 1999: xxiii cited in Gallagher 2008, 402). This attention to participation also resonates with Karen Smith’s (2012) concept of the Athenian child – a reflexive and responsible figure. Smith notes that “the idea of the competent, participative child opens up new opportunities for children while simultaneously facilitating forms of control which place potentially onerous responsibilities upon the young” (2012, 31). Her argument is that other models of childhood, the Dionysian and Apollonian childhood that Jenks (2005) speaks of or Valentine’s “little angels and little devils,” are being reworked toward a focus on the “responsible child.” These new forms of government “open up new opportunities for children, [but] they are also associated with a form of control, which, because it operates from ‘the inside’, is at once more insidious and extensive” (Smith 2014, 193).

Population is a key concept within governmentality theory that marks the shift from governing *over* a territory to governing *through* aggregates of people. There is a clear intersection between improving the productivity of the population and managing reproduction, maternal health, and children’s health. This intersection could be a promising area for children’s geographers to pursue. Although research on the intersection between children’s geographies and population geographies has tended to focus on the maternal figure (Moore 2013), control over reproduction (Thompson 2012, Purewal 2014), and the governing of women’s sexualities (Crowley and Kitchin 2008), there are theoretical and empirical questions raised by this literature that are very pertinent to children’s geographies. The governing of reproduction and infant health is discussed in these texts in relation to women and women’s bodies, but clearly, they also impact children (including babies) and children’s bodies. Refocusing on children raises theoretical questions about how control of reproduction and management of maternal health shaped how children’s capacities, competencies, and vulnerabilities were thought about and empirical questions about how children experienced, *inter alia*, the loss of their siblings, the changing gendered composition of their families, and separation from their young mothers.

In the move from governing over territory to governing through population, the power to “take life or let live” that characterizes sovereign rule is steadily replaced by the power to “give life or let die” that marks biopolitical governmentality. The rationale of government is no longer its own material or symbolic

self-aggrandizement. Instead, the aim of government is to secure the health and welfare of its population or to exercise power through the giving of life (Foucault 1978, 142). Government broadens its scope to constitute a field of power concerned with the “conduct of conduct” and in particular the constitution of self-governing, productive subjects. This attention to self-governance and the formation of docile but productive bodies explain the emergence of those mechanisms and institutions, including school, hospitals, police, and prisons that constitute the field of contemporary government (Foucault 2008; Gallagher 2008, 401–402; Inda 2005). This shift is not a total erasure of sovereignty and its replacement by biopolitics – if the sovereign punishes and the biopolitical disciplines, these two strategies coexist. At the heart of biopolitics is the aim of forming self-governing subjects, but when this fails, sovereignty and punishment return.

The objectives of a regulatory government focused on “the mechanics of life” and on securing increases in the health and welfare of the population are clearly relevant to the modern governing of childhood both generally and in the Global South. Foucault located the emergence of a contemporary rights discourse, one centered on claims about the right to health, happiness, and satisfaction of needs, to the emergence of a politics of life as the central problem and justification of government (Foucault 1978). In a liberal polity, the right of the state to intervene in the lives of citizens is constrained by the legitimating principle of limited government. This constraint however can be set aside if the objective is to secure the expansion of other “rights” – the right to health and the improvement of welfare. The justification for the expansion of government powers rests on the maxim that *Society Must Be Defended* (Foucault 2003) and children are one of the central figures through which society is constituted.

The classic focus of human rights claims was to protect subjects from encroachments by the sovereign. In contrast, contemporary human rights claims expand the state’s prerogative to rule in the name of securing life. In the frame of liberal biopolitics, rights are concerned with health and welfare and this is especially true of children’s rights. The expansion of education, which has become a cornerstone of children’s rights, is primarily directed toward ensuring the expansion of the health and welfare of the population. The right to education is compulsory: not only on governments to provide access to education but on children to be in school. This almost entirely reverses the meaning of rights in the classical sense in that, rather than protect citizens from the reach of the state, it obliges them to subject themselves to the state’s authority in the name of their own freedom and development. This is a process that has also been described as “governing through the social” (Rojas 2006). In the Global South, this is frequently done by humanitarian and developmental interventions of NGOs. This should not be taken to obscure or fundamentally alter its governing character.

So far then, this chapter has suggested that contemporary government is a politics of life or biopolitics in which the art of government has moved from extraction (taking life) to addition (giving life) within the frame of liberal ethics of freedom and development. Within that very broad concept of the purpose of governing, there are a variety of forms of knowledge about the objects of government (Inda 2005, 8), one

of which is child welfare and child development, produced by all sorts of experts. Central to these governing discourses is the formulation of phenomena as problems. The following sections of this chapter will show how NGOs, international law, and academic discourses are sites that produce knowledge about populations, in this case specifically children, their needs, and their capacities. These are the rationalities of government; they conceptualize the problem and circulate a discourse about it. It is these kinds of experts and institutions that Foucault refers to when he says that they (through the discourses that they put into circulation) produce the objects of which they speak. These institutions are then involved in generating and implementing the technologies of government that make its objects tangible and visible in material, pragmatic, and mundane ways. Reasons and techniques of government operate on the population and the individual and have as their goal the production of subjects who are first imagined by governmental rationalities. There is thus a circularity to governmentality. Through the activities of these institutions and agents, government identifies “abnormalities” in contemporary childhoods and organizes them into discrete objects that can be subjected to specific and targeted interventions. In this way, problems as objects (e.g., street children, orphans, child soldiers) are treated as a pathogen that infects the system rather than being integral to or produced by it. The intervention (the program) that is implemented in relation to the problem thus isolates the object of concern from the system and in addition seeks to change the conduct of individuals within the problem population in order to reshape the child’s subjectivity toward a liberal ethic that is understood as residing in or immanent to the child (Wells 2011).

3 Governing Rationalities

This chapter has so far explicated governmentality theory and its deployment in geography and the subdiscipline, children’s geographies. It has shown that governmentality theory deploys three key concepts: rationalities, technologies, and subjects. These concepts capture different practices. Rationalities are the frames or discourses that produce the objects of governance; technologies are the mundane practices through which these objects are made concrete and visible; and subjects are the identities or social positions that governance makes available to humans through the art of government. Central to the Foucauldian theorization of government is that governing is the art of organizing how the conduct of people is orchestrated. The dual meaning of “conduct” as an orchestration of others’ actions and “conduct” as behavior leads to Foucault’s formulation that governing is the art of managing the “conduct of conduct.” This emphasis on a dispersed art of government brings into view the role of actors and sites other than the agencies of the nation-state in orchestrating government or the “conduct of conduct.” A diverse range of sites and actors are involved in the rationalities and technologies of government and in regulating the subjects who are produced through these discourses and practices. These actors and sites include academics, professional bodies, not-for-profits,

charities and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), international fora, and international agencies.

Sites, institutions, and actors other than the governing bodies of the state are particularly pertinent to how childhood is governed in the Global South. NGOs and international law play a key role in supplementing governance in developing countries and orientating governance toward neoliberal practices, including the construction of neoliberal subjectivities. The significance of NGOs to governance in the Global South is indicated, for example, by the disbursal of aid through NGOs, circumventing the institutions of the state. International law is constructed in conformity with the norms of hegemonic states in the international system and provides a benchmark against which developing country governments measure their progress toward or distance from these hegemonic norms.

The rest of this chapter focuses on rationalities of government to show how extra-state actors or institutions, including academics, have been involved in the production of frames or discourses that imagine children as liberal subjects who should be encouraged to conduct themselves within the parameters of liberal ways of being. Within contemporary childhood studies, there is a presumption that governance has moved from practices of child saving to child rights. Child saving and child rights are generally understood to be distinct, and indeed oppositional, sets of practices: child saving involves philanthropic actors distributing charity to neglected subjects, and child rights involves governing actors distributing entitlements to empowered citizens. In attending to reasons or rationalities of government, this chapter shows that child saving and child rights are informed by a similar logic that constitutes the child as nonpolitical. Four sites are discussed: nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), international law, the psy-disciplines, and the new social studies of childhood. It is argued that each of these sites plays a significant role in how childhood is made available to government and how governing bodies imagine the child's capacities, competencies, and vulnerabilities and place within the architecture of governance.

4 Governing Rationalities 1: NGOs and the Emergence of the Nonpolitical Child

This section sets out the history of the development of child-saving NGOs and their precursors, philanthropic actors, and charities. The main argument here is that child saving developed out of two responses to new forms of inequality and conflict that accompanied the deepening of capitalism in Europe and the Americas. One response was a commitment to international socialist politics in which the figure of the exploited child is a signifier of the inhumanity and violence of capitalism; the other was a religious, specifically Christian response that understood the protection of innocent children as a religious duty. Despite their differences, they coalesced around a belief that concern for children could be mobilized to mitigate some of the worst impacts of capitalism and inter-imperialist rivalry. This mobilization of the figure of the child was gradually stripped of its radical political content in an effort to

secure the protection of children by insisting on their innocence (i.e., lack of guilt or culpability for conflict) and therefore their immanently nonpolitical nature. Hence, this section claims that NGOs and the charities and other philanthropic actors that preceded them have been central to the construction of children as nonpolitical figures.

The emergence of child-saving institutions in the nineteenth century was a response to the visibility of child poverty in conditions of urbanization and industrialization. Anxiety about how work, lack of education, exposure to dirt and disease, and overcrowded and unsanitary housing would impact on children's morality and shape their conduct was critical to the motivations of nineteenth-century "child-savers." These philanthropists, individually and through the organizations they founded, including Barnardo (1867) and the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (1889), claimed to know the truth about children – what kinds of people children were, what they needed to flourish, and what risks they were vulnerable to. Women played an important part in establishing and managing many of these new child-saving institutions. Child saving provided an entry point for women into political life (Chen 2005). The health of the nation was understood to be isomorphic with the health of children, so that healthy children are taken as a sign of the health of the nation. Child protection is connected to practices of nation building through practices of "scalar governmentalities" (Beckingham 2013 referencing (Legg 2012) through the scaling in of government to the level of the family and individual and the scaling out of government to the nation. In turn, colonial government used the figure of the child to construct a transnational humanitarian discourse, in which "child saving" became both the target and the legitimation of colonial rule (Pande 2012).

Child-saving organizations and individuals were part of a late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century loose network of missionaries, social scientists, philanthropists, senior civil servants, and politicians. These networks were often progressive in their political outlook and internationalist; they rejected both national identity and empire as a basis of political solidarity. Many of these organizations were internationalist from the outset, while others understood their religious duty to the "world's children" within imperial discourses of the civilizing mission of Christianity. These contrasting positions generated a peculiar tension between internationalist and imperialist discourses in the globalization of humanitarian action in the interwar years. Baughan (2013) notes that the Save the Children Fund (SCF) veered uneasily between these discourses. Although many of the SCF committee members were animated by a vision of child welfare work, as a mode through which solidarity and European civil society could be developed, they were concerned that their views would not resonate with "a British public who were often still hostile towards the 'former enemy nations'" (Baughan 2013, 124). It was this assessment of the nationalism of the British public that led to the Fund suppressing its socialist and anti-imperialist tendencies in favor of representing the figure of the child as an immanently humanitarian subject "entirely removed from questions of nationality or politics" (Baughan 2013, 124). Children could not be blamed for the war and should therefore not be left to suffer its effects (Roberts 2009, 182). Mahood and

Satzewich (2009) point out that the Fund's paper, *The Record*, continuously asserted the nonpolitical character of the SCF and of children. The SCF frequently quoted George Bernard Shaw's declaration, "I have no enemies under the age of seven" (Mahood and Satzewich 2009, 66). Children were also depicted in these representations and continue to be, as cosmopolitan subjects, "the world's children" (Mahood and Satzewich 2009, 79).

Save the Children established itself as part of the international governance of the "world's children" in 1924 when the Child Welfare Committee was created at the League of Nations and the then Save the Children International Union (SCIU) was given an advisory seat. In the same year, the Assembly of the League of Nations adopted Eglantyne Jebb's, the founder of the SCF, Declaration of the Rights of the Child (Marshall 2004, 276). Their interest in "the world's children" as an object of concern caused the SCF and other philanthropists to turn their attention to governing childhood in the colonies. To this end in 1931, the SCF convened the first conference on the African child. Two hundred delegates, including missionaries, social scientists, government officials, and philanthropists, attended this conference. Only seven of the delegates were Africans. Four years later, the invasion of Ethiopia and the Spanish Civil War ended the SCF's attention to the "problem" of the African child, and the Fund did not return to working in sub-Saharan Africa until the 1950s, alongside many other organizations including Oxfam and UNICEF (Marshall 2004, 275).

The turn to the African child and the 1931 conference can therefore be thought of as an internationalizing of child governance that far predates the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). This suggests that there is a continuity to the place of the child in international relations, indeed in the constitution of the international as a sphere of humanitarian action and certainly of international civil society. In the preliminary meeting for the conference, held in November 1928, three themes for future work were agreed on: "infant mortality, child labor in relation to education, and child marriage" (Marshall 2004, 278). It is worth pointing out that these remain central foci of contemporary global governance of the child; for instance, two of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) address child mortality and education, and child/forced marriage is a perennial theme of NGO campaigns. The comment of one of the delegates remains as pertinent today as it was in 1931: "the welfare of children with particular reference to infant mortality and to questions of education, economics and labor, was probably the only subject in the world on which [all the people interested in the future of Africa] could conceivably devise a concerted policy" (Marshall 2004, 281).

5 Governing Rationalities 2: International Law and the Formation of the Rights-Bearing Child

The history of NGOs and their role in conceptualizing children as nonpolitical went alongside a move to enter children into the public sphere through constituting them as citizens. This is often characterized as a distinct development, one in which the

object of child saving is transformed into the subject of child rights. However, the way in which rights are conceptualized in relation to children remains an essentially child-saving instrument.

The law is a technology of government in as much as it acts on the subject to procure specific behaviors and/or punishes transgression, but it is also a rationality of government in that it is through legal discourse that a society – here international society – comes to know the object it governs. Law establishes capacity and culpability and their limits. Furthermore, international law establishes and disseminates global norms about the objects it governs (Legg 2012), and in this sense, it is possible to argue that the figure of the child produces the international community; concern for the child becomes, for example, a symbol of statehood (as much as having a national education system, a national anthem, a flag, and an airport does) and a sign of belonging to the international community of states.

The history of international law governing childhood can be dated to adoption by the League of Nations in 1924 of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child. Minimum Age Conventions adopted in 1919 (industry) and 1921 (agriculture) by the International Labour Organization (ILO) may be seen as an indicator of a move toward the international governance of childhood, but they are much more limited in scope than the 1924 Declaration. The Minimum Age (industry) Convention (No. 5) was adopted in 1919 and ratified by the UK in 1921, the year it came into force, but it was not ratified by France until 1939 and was never ratified by the USA. The Minimum Age (agriculture) Convention (No.10) was adopted in 1921 but was not ratified by any of the major powers until several decades afterward (by the UK in 1963, France in 1951, and Germany in 1957). Furthermore, Convention 10 is concerned with ensuring that agricultural laborers under the age of 14 years could combine their work with their education. The Convention therefore continued to support the gradual expansion of school education and decline in child labor that accompanied the development of technology on the one hand and the increased need for numerate and literate citizens on the other.

The Declaration of the Rights of the Child, drafted by Eglantyne Jebb, continued in the construction of the child as a nonpolitical subject, one who “men and women of all nations” have a duty toward “beyond and above all considerations of race, nationality or creed.” The five articles of the declaration were simple and replaced a discourse of solidarity that had animated sections within the early child-saving moments (and arguably in the ILO Minimum Age Conventions), with one of quasi-religious sentiment:

1. “The child must be given the means requisite for its normal development, both materially and spiritually.”
2. “The child that is hungry must be fed; the child that is sick must be nursed; the child that is backward must be helped; the delinquent child must be reclaimed; and the orphan and the waif must be sheltered and succoured.”
3. “The child must be the first to receive relief in times of distress.”
4. “The child must be put in a position to earn a livelihood, and must be protected against every form of exploitation.”

5. “The child must be brought up in the consciousness that its talents must be devoted to the service of its fellow men.”

The Declaration was framed in the language of nineteenth-century child saving and a representation of the child as a nonpolitical figure. The Declaration was not enforceable in law and was endorsed by the League as a World Child Welfare Charter. Yet it also paved the way for the emergence of another rationality of government in relation to children: that of the rights-bearing child because it incorporates the child into law and into public life and sets the child outside of the sphere of the family. An expanded version of the League of Nations Declaration was adopted by the United Nations (UN) in 1959. This introduces the principle of “best interests” which is an important element in the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). It also removes the child’s right to work from the earlier Declaration (see point 4 above) replacing it with the entitlement to free and compulsory elementary education. The 1959 Declaration, however, continued to define the child as a nonpolitical figure, a position that gave the child a special place in law. It also defined the child as principally in need of protection and special consideration rather than as a rights-bearing individual.

The UNCRC is the first document of international law that expressly invests the child with political rights. Yet this chapter argues that this is not a historic and decisive break with earlier conceptions of the relationship of the public (civil society and government) to the child because it does not in fact invest the child with rights in the classical sense, as the following section will show. Cynthia Price Cohen who was involved in the drafting of the Convention held the view that the US delegation to the working party was instrumental in ensuring that the Convention shifted the understanding of children’s rights toward participation (Wells 2015a, 16). She notes that it was the USA that proposed the inclusion of articles on freedom of expression (Article 13), freedom of religion (Article 14), freedom of association and assembly (Article 15), and the right to privacy (Article 16). These are all classic liberal principles and it is fitting that the USA, which views itself as a quintessentially liberal state, should have introduced these articles into the UNCRC, even if it is at the same time ironic since the USA has never ratified the UNCRC. These Articles are intended to limit the power of the state over the individual, which is the classic aim of political rights. Furthermore, Article 12, which is usually cited as the Article that makes the UNCRC a participatory rights-bearing instrument and therefore limits the reach of the state over the lives of child citizens, does not, in fact, grant political rights in this sense to children. Article 12 says that:

States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.

For this purpose, the child shall in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative *proceedings affecting the child*, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law. (emphasis added)

Since the UNCRC is unenforceable unless it has been adopted into domestic law, the right to participation apparently made available by Article 12 is far from guaranteed. In addition to which, when children's participation is sought, it is generally an institution that initiates the opportunity for children to participate. Children who do participate in institutionally driven agendas often find the process tokenistic and in general cannot claim any representation for a wider group of children (Lyon 2007). Children are "typically recruited to participate in *distinct* ways on *selected* issues for the production of a *particular kind* of information"(Kallio 2012, 85, emphasis in the original). Further, Article 12 limits participation to "proceedings affecting the child," and this participation can be accomplished "either directly" or "through a representative or an appropriate body."

In 2012, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a third Optional Protocol to the UNCRC on a "communications procedure." This allows individual children, groups of children, or their representatives to bring complaints to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child about the violation of their rights as set out in the UNCRC and its Optional Protocols. These complaints, known in the language of the Optional Protocol as communications, can only be brought to the Committee if they have already tried to get satisfaction at the national level. Although this instrument gives children a more direct route to the satisfaction of the rights set out in the UNRCR, it does not alter the fact that those rights are largely organized around education, health, and welfare rather than classical political rights. Articles 13, 14, 15, and 16 (freedom of expression, religion, assembly, and privacy) are the articles that are within the scope of classical political rights; however,

the role accorded to parents and others responsible for the child under Article 5 . . . suggests, in practice, that children's enjoyment of these . . . rights may not be as expansive as that of adult-holders of similarly expressed rights under non-child-specific international human rights instruments. That is due to the fact that the exercise of civil and political rights accorded to adults under international human rights law is not linked to adults' evolving capacities. (Nolan 2011 cited in Langlaude 2010, 38)

In the UNCRC and in the international declarations that foreshadowed it, the child remains a special category of person who is entitled to protection from harm by virtue of their specific vulnerabilities. International law establishes who the child is: vulnerable and dependent but at the same time, an emergent liberal citizen.

6 Governing Rationalities 3: The Psy-sciences

NGOs and legal discourse drew on the discourses of the psy-disciplines in establishing their claim to "know" what children were and what they needed. The emergence of a psychological complex, what Nikolas Rose (1996) refers to as the psy-disciplines, has provided government with a core rationale for its attempts to govern childhood (Burman 1994; Rose 1999). Psychology and psychoanalysis, both

nineteenth-century disciplines, gave government the theoretical tools and empirical data with which to identify paths of normal and abnormal development. The idea that the child could be precocious – expressing developmentally inappropriate desire and knowledge – is simply not possible before the idea of the human as a developing potential is accepted as a common sense truth. Once this is “known,” it is the duty of government to separate children from exposure to developmentally inappropriate knowledge; failure to do so compromises the child to such an extent that, although biologically immature, they cease to be a child (Wells 2011). In relation to childhood, the psy-disciplines took two pathways. Developmental psychology, most well-known through the works of Piaget, established the child’s mind and cognition as being qualitatively different to that of adults. Psychology and psychoanalysis have been more concerned with charting the developing child’s sexuality, morality, and emotional health. Their developmental stages are more schematic than those of developmental psychology, but they share an understanding of an optimal outcome in a normal adult. The pathway from infancy (or even before birth) to adulthood is fraught with dangers that might block or pervert the child’s normal development. The task of the psy-disciplines is to distribute knowledge about what the child needs in order to negotiate or (preferably) avoid these dangers.

Contemporary NGOs continue to draw on, as well as contribute to, these discourses in establishing an epistemology of childhood. Indeed, in the penetration of early childhood development and education into developing countries, knowledge about the psyche has shifted into strong knowledge claims about neuroscience and the limited plasticity of the child’s brain (Engle et al. 2007, 230). This has produced an almost unchallengeable discourse about the necessity of the early separation of children from parental influence and their involvement with early years of education in developing countries, because of the danger of lack of stimulation resulting in the failure of neural pathways to form and the subsequent arrested development of the child’s brain. Nadesan (2002) has shown how the science of infant brain development has contributed to a discourse that facilitates and legitimizes the penetration of working class families by the state in contemporary governance, in much the way that Donzelot (1979) described in eighteenth-century France. These anxieties about the proper cognitive, moral, and political development of the child are also evident in one of the central tasks of child rights NGOs: to get children in developing countries into school. Through the combined activities of NGOs, legal compulsion, and discourses of normal and abnormal development, school attendance has become, globally, axiomatic of childhood. The extent to which this discourse, that a child can only flourish if they attend school, has become the common sense of our era is quite remarkable. A site which is about social control, the inculcation of specific forms of conduct, and the acquisition of skills that can be deployed for the benefit of the wider economy (i.e., the growth of GDP and the private accumulation of capital) is represented as a site of liberation, creativity, and the fullest expression of a good childhood.

NGOs also draw on the psy-sciences to frame how children are affected by war and political conflict and what interventions are needed as well as what kinds of effects these interventions are intended to have. The engagement of NGOs with the

psy-sciences is also informed by the long-standing assumption, as discussed above, that children are immanently nonpolitical. Sandy Marshall has shown how NGOs in Palestine view children's engagement with politics as a traumatic response to conflict. Their interventions are partly aimed at techniques for getting children to self-regulate their behaviors and respond rationally, that is, without anger and eschewing a political calculation, to the destruction of their homes and the death of their families and friends. Marshall (2014) argues that trauma relief for Palestinian children is intended to contain their trauma within the frame of personal loss and the restoration of childhood and prevent its translation into an engagement with political action. Although NGOs in Palestine recognize that children's trauma is a response to Israeli military attacks, they cannot countenance a political response on the part of Palestinian children as an effective, rational, or protective response to Israeli aggression.

7 Governing Rationalities 4: The New Social Studies of Childhood

In their seminal text, *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood*, Allison James and Alan Prout (1997, 8) remind readers of the double hermeneutics of the social sciences, that it investigates but at the same time constitutes the world of which it speaks. The intention of the new paradigm was not only to understand how childhood is constructed but to reconstruct childhood in society, to have children recognized as agents, and to value them as social-cultural actors. Children's geographies incorporated scale and space into this perspective and particularly through the contributions of development geographers emphasized children's agency in politics and economics (Ansell 2009; Evans 2012; Kahilo 2008; Punch and Sugden 2013; van Blerk 2011; Wells 2015). It is now over 20 years since the emergence of the new paradigm and children's geographies has taken stock of how the subdiscipline has shaped and been shaped by this. Reviewing 20 years of the "Not so 'new'," Kay Tisdall and Sam Punch (2012, 249) show that many of the principles set out by James and Prout have been very productive. Despite the critiques of the UNCRC as enforcing a Eurocentric ideal of childhood, ideas about social construction, voice, participation, and agency have been as influential in the conduct of research in the Global South as they have in the Global North. Although research on children in the Global South recognizes the limits of agency, and the failure of rights, it is still within the frame of rights and agency that the problem of childhood is framed (Bordonaro 2012; Bosco 2010; Habashi 2011; Jeffrey 2012; Jensen 2014; Johnson and Vindrola-Padros 2014; Morojele and Muthukrishna 2013; Payne 2012; Pells 2012; Seymour 2012). The new social studies of childhood have indeed constituted in part a new world in which the child is known as a person, who has agency, who is independent and competent, and who is the bearer of rights. The interpretation of the UNCRC as a participatory instrument is a claim that is partly grounded in the efforts of academics to foreground the agency of children. This view of children as agential

and capable has permeated the ethos of all the major NGOs who now rationalize their interventions in relation to the rights of the child.

Yet, when looked at more closely, there are similarities in the conceptualization of the child as a developing potential who is immanently nonpolitical and the post-UNCRC conceptualization of the child as rights bearing and agential. The rights-bearing agential child is essentially a liberal conceptualization of humanness that coheres with contemporary hegemonic global governing discourses. NGOs in an earlier period jettisoned solidarity and replaced it with sentimental and religious discourses. Contemporary rights discourses jettison the political conflict between the subject and the state that produced the concept of human rights. Classical human rights foregrounded justice and equality; contemporary rights have replaced this with a discourse that emphasizes agency without politics. So the point is not that the UNCRC is Eurocentric but that the rights it confers are either health or liberal freedoms. Political discourse that emphasizes struggle, conflict, solidarity, and the unequal distribution of power is eschewed. The rights that are conferred on children through the various rationalities described here are not political rights but the right to self-govern in ways that are congruent with capitalist rule.

8 Conclusion

Through the circulation of these different kinds of discourses, government comes to understand the contours of normal childhood and, crucially, deviations from the norm. Although these discourses are not seamlessly joined to one another and in fact are often in tension with one another, they, perhaps surprisingly, share or generate a unified figure of the right kind of child(hood). This is a childhood in which children are independent (to a degree commensurate with their age) and must be either protected from economic activity or if that fails demand their exclusion from economic activity as a right. Child rights give children the right to attend school; child saving uses a different language, the language of developmental damage, to insist on the necessity of school attendance. Although new social studies insist on the cultural specificity of childhood, this insight has been eroded as a consequence of the cross-fertilization of academic and NGO discourse which has produced an epistemology of childhood as agential, free, and the bearer of universal human “rights.”

This chapter has deployed the tools of governmentality theory to explore how rationalities of governance produced by non-state actors have put into circulation specific ideas about children’s competency, capacities, and vulnerabilities. It has suggested that the governance of global childhoods is enacted through a plethora of technologies (programs, reports, statistics) that make amenable to management and calculation an object (the child) that is constituted through governing rationalities at different scales. Governmentality theory is intended to illuminate practices of governing that produce specific subjectivities. To claim that governing entities generate and circulate discourses that produce the objects that they govern and then make these objects amenable to calculation and management through various technologies seems incontrovertible enough. The question is not how does

government govern but to what ends does government govern? In this case, what kind of child subject is intended to be the consequence of all this activity? This chapter has shown through this analysis that contemporary governance of childhood through rights has not made a decisive break from earlier modes of governance through child saving. Neither discourses of children as in special need of protection or discourses of children as the bearers of liberal rights illuminate how political economy unequally structures children's lives and the capacity of themselves and their families to care for them. With few exceptions, agency is not theorized within children's rights as political agency but simply as the capacity to act. Academic disciplines, within the perspective of governmentality theory, are part of the rationalities of governance. It is therefore essential that in theorizing children's lives, academics attend to the contribution that our theorizing makes to the construction of the child as a free agent.

The liberal conception of humans as free, autonomous, and rationally choosing subjects is a construction that propagates the fiction of capitalism as an economic system capable of delivering equality. In resisting these rationalities of liberal rule, academics might displace agency as a key focus of its research agendas and attend instead to the limits of individual agency and to deploying methods that lay bare the fictions of capitalism.

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Globalizing Education from Christian Missionaries to Corporate Finance: Global Actors, Global Agendas, and the Shaping of Global Childhoods

Nicola Ansell

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Abstract

Schooling has a prominent role in the lives of children around the world. The form that schooling takes reflects a series of global processes that have been operating over more than two centuries. European schooling was spread globally first by missionaries, intent on winning converts, then by colonial authorities seeking to produce compliant workers and subjects. In the twentieth century, international organizations promoting “development” began to play a role in shaping education, and, in recent years, transnational corporations and the finance sector have become involved, viewing education as a means of generating profit. These various actors and motives have always been complex and interconnected and the schooling children experience has never been an expression of a singular planned objective but rather the outcome of a series of complex, interrelated, and

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often contradictory processes. This chapter begins by outlining the approaches children's geographers have taken to schooling and education globally. It then explores four key sets of actors and processes that have contributed to the globalization of education: missionary activity, colonialism, intentional development, and corporate capitalism. Finally, conclusions are drawn for research by children's geographers.

Keywords

Colonialism • Corporations • Development • Finance • Globalisation • Missionaries • Schooling

1 Introduction

Throughout the world, a common feature of children's lives is education. Most children today spend a very large part of their childhoods in school, and schooling is becoming a defining feature of childhood in most societies. While children's geographers have given considerable attention to schooling, the ways in which children and youth engage with education, and the impacts of education on their broader lives, this chapter makes a case for greater attention to education as a global – and globalizing – phenomenon. It is in large degree through education and schooling that the lives of young people around the world – and childhood and youth as social phenomena – are produced through global social, economic, and political processes. Those processes merit greater attention.

Education, as distinct from schooling, has always been a global phenomenon insofar as every society has sought to educate its young people. In the past, societies developed their own distinctive systems for raising young people and inculcating in them the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values that were deemed appropriate to their context. Practices varied and in some instances this education would be delivered entirely through informal means: the family, kin, and community would teach children and youth in noninstitutional settings, as and when they were seen to be ready for, or to require, particular knowledge or skills. In other societies these informal practices were combined with more formalized processes of education, which might take the form of regular attendance at school, madrasah, or a more concentrated preparation for initiation into adult life (see Ansell 2004). In most societies education systems were not only distinctive but differentiated: the education provided for children differed by gender and by social class, delivering the learning that was perceived to be most appropriate for their anticipated adult lives.

While education may always have been globally ubiquitous, it was not always globalized; education in the past was neither uniform globally nor integrated transnationally. Over recent centuries, and increasingly since around 1800, education has become much more globalized, with more uniform experiences delivered to children worldwide. The systems that deliver education are also, in most instances, ever more part of an integrated whole. This globalization has been achieved through

a range of transnational processes – missionary activity, colonialism, international development, and today neoliberal corporate capitalism. Through these intersecting processes, systems of education have been exported and become rooted in very varied social and cultural milieu. The globalization of systems of education is thus a prime means through which childhoods are shaped, children’s lives produced, and in turn through which societies are transformed.

This chapter begins with a brief outline of the approaches children’s geographers have taken to schooling and education globally. It then explores four key sets of processes through which education has been and continues to be globalized. Two of these processes (missionary activity and colonialism) dominated the globalization of education until the mid-twentieth century; the other two (intentional development and corporate capitalism) have gained influence more recently. Finally, conclusions are drawn for research by children’s geographers.

2 Children’s Geographies, Education, and Globalization

Given the significance of schooling and education in the lives of young people globally, it is unsurprising that a great many publications in the field of children’s geographies relate to the subject in some way (see Vol. 10, “Laboring and Learning” of this work). Much geographical research with children is conducted in schools, which provide an abundant source of young people and institutionalized processes through which researchers can recruit participants. Research also often addresses aspects of children’s experiences of school such as their engagement with new discourses of gender (Ansell 2004) or aspiration (Cairns 2013). Schools are in many respects “children’s spaces” (Holloway et al. 2010). Understanding children’s lives requires attention to schools, not only because children spend so much time in them but also because they represent the key mechanism through which societies address and engage with young people and a setting in which children develop and express their own social and cultural practices.

Kong (2013) distinguishes social geographers’ “outward-looking” “macro” approaches to understanding the roles of education and education systems in societal change and economic transformation from more inward-looking, “micro” social-cultural approaches that focus on schools as institutions and spaces. Children’s geographers have given greater attention to the latter, with an emphasis on children as subjects rather than objects of education (Holloway et al. 2010). This responds to the concern of the “new social studies of childhood” that children should be understood primarily as social actors (James et al. 1998). Recognition is growing, however, that political-economic and social-cultural approaches to geographies of education need to be more closely integrated. Awareness of political and economic contexts and processes is required if the impacts of schooling are to be understood (Kong 2013). This chapter therefore adopts a “macro” approach, focusing on the global actors and (political, economic, and religious) agendas involved in shaping education globally, as these are crucial to understanding how education is shaping global childhoods today.

Research by geographers on political and economic aspects of education has broadly sought to relate national education systems to national economic formations (e.g., Mitchell 2003) and to explore the role of education in providing the conditions required by capitalism: reproducing inequality and class relations, for instance, rather simply producing labor for the economy. Practices of education (e.g., authority, categorization, regulation, subjectification) are understood to uphold existing power structures within the nation-state (Mitchell 2003).

Global or transnational aspects of education have received rather fragmented attention from geographers. Holloway et al. (2010) have pointed to the need to broaden the spatial lens of geographies of education to focus not only on schooling in Western societies but on more distant places. A number of geographers have explored the impacts of education in the context of neoliberal global economic change, as will be explored further below (see Jeffrey 2010).

Thematically, geographical research on education has been predominantly focused on spatial aspects. Research with a transnational focus has most commonly explored education-related mobility. Waters (2015), for instance, explores how parents in East Asia view transnational migration as a means of ensuring that their children acquire cultural and linguistic capital. Huang and Yeoh (2011) highlight how children are moved from China to Singapore for an overseas education in order to facilitate their longer-term migration. In the UK, international mobility programs have gained popularity among students, a trend Deakin (2014) understands in relation to a broader societal shift from viewing higher education as serving the public good toward an emphasis on individual employability. Such mobility tends to reinforce social and economic differentiation (Collins 2014). Weichbrodt (2014) notes the differentiating effects from long-term high school exchange programs that are undertaken by many German youth, which enhance the likelihood that the participants will be internationally mobile once they have left school. The international mobility of students has significant impacts on educational institutions, host communities, and urban space (Kong 2013).

Besides mobility, *per se*, geographers have studied schools as sites for encounters with difference (e.g., Wilson 2014). International migration brings children from diverse national and cultural backgrounds together in schools, particularly in urban communities, where they negotiate otherness in informal ways. There are also more formal mechanisms through which schools promote what in the UK is termed “global learning” (see Baillie-Smith et al. of this volume). School twinning programs and exchanges, citizenship, and geography lessons are used to ensure children raised in Western settings acquire diverse forms of knowledge of the world. Arguably this is intended primarily to build the skills and competences required of an elite workforce in the new global economy (Baillie-Smith et al. this volume).

International education has received much less attention from researchers than the international mobility of students (Kong 2013). In the current chapter, the emphasis is not on young people migrating for education but on the ways in which education itself moves around the world. Over the past two centuries or more, education systems, practices, and ideas have been exported globally in the service of four broad agendas. These are presented in turn below. However, they are not distinct

processes pursued by distinct actors; rather they are complex, changing, often contradictory, and strongly interrelated.

3 Globalizing Education Until the Mid-Twentieth Century: Religious and Colonial Motives

From the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, a similar form of schooling spread from Europe to most parts of the world (Gould 1993). In many societies, a large proportion of children were drawn into an institution that had been unheard of among earlier generations. There were two key sets of actors and motivations behind the dissemination of this form of education: Christian missionaries, eager to win converts, and colonial authorities, with goals relating to politics and trade. The schools that were established differed somewhat, depending on whether they were set up by missionaries or colonial authorities, as well as with the geographical origins of their instigators, the societies in which they were planted, and the time of their establishment. They not only embodied their creators' intended motives but also their social values and expectations, and thereby impacted on both everyday patterns of childhood and the capacities, ideas, and expectations of children.

3.1 Spreading Christianity

Education has long been used by proselytizing religions, most notably Islam and Christianity, as a means of winning religious converts. Over the course of more than 700 years, Koranic schools or madrasahs have been established across much of Asia and Africa. These have served to assist in spreading Islam from its original Middle Eastern origins and continue to be used to win allegiance to the religion. By the thirteenth century, for instance, the presence of madrasahs had grown in Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, and India (Kong 2013). Today they are found globally, and while in some cases they retain a largely religious purpose, in other situations, they provide both spiritual and secular education.

Christian missionaries have similarly established schools around the world in order to propagate Christianity. The European conquest of the Americas was accompanied by the establishment of mission schools. In eighteenth-century colonial northern Peru, for instance, the Catholic church established primary schools in indigenous communities and boarding schools for indigenous youth in the cities which were envisaged not only as a way of Christianizing the young people but also as a means of turning rebellious subjects into dutiful and productive citizens (Ramirez 2008).

During the nineteenth century, education played a key role in spreading the Christian religion through Africa. Missionaries wanted people not only to hear about the new religion but also to be able to read the Bible. Most mission stations therefore included elementary schools, where children of Christian converts were taught basic literacy and church doctrine (Wolhuter 2007). The education that was

introduced mirrored that provided to children of the lower classes in Europe, where school was increasingly viewed as the appropriate place for children (Ansell [forthcoming](#)). Initially the education provided was abstract and book-oriented, but over time agriculture and handicrafts were introduced (Wolhuter 2007). Moreover, at times, more radical educational innovations from Europe were introduced into missionary schools. Depaepe et al. (2015), for instance, describe how New Education, a child-centered pedagogic practice popular in interwar Belgium, was adopted by missionaries and influenced the education policy of the Belgian colony of Congo in the mid-twentieth century.

The principal aim of missionary education was to win religious converts. This was largely to be achieved through enabling children to read the Bible, but extended to other aspects of the curriculum and pedagogy. In India, for instance, Christian missionaries hoped that promulgating Western scholarship, saturated with Christian morals, would help them “prove” the falsehood of Indian religions (Bellenoit 2007).

The education of children in mission schools went beyond imparting literacy skills and a new religion. It had significant effects on the structure of society. Gender relations, in particular, were reshaped through education. In many parts of the world, girls were a particular target for schooling. Christian missionaries played a key role in developing mass female schooling in India, for instance, and achieved better outcomes for girls than the secular education provided by colonial authorities (Lankina and Getachew 2013). In Korea, where women had been excluded from formal education, the first formal educational institution for women was established in 1886 by a Methodist missionary (Rowe and Byong-Suh 1997). In southeastern Nigeria in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Church Missionary Society used schooling to convert Igbo young women. Bastian (2000, 145) notes that this produced a new category of Christian youth who “marked gender dichotomies differently than their unmissionized compatriots.”

The emphasis of missionaries on girls’ education was not concerned with securing gender equality, however. Rather, it is argued, the focus on girls’ schooling was more closely related to perceived male interests and needs. Leach (2008), for instance, suggests that early nineteenth-century missionaries in West Africa saw the education of girls as essential to the furtherance of Christianity. Educated girls, they believed, would provide moral and practical support to men in the new, monogamous family, raising their children as Christians. Girls were taught separately from boys, by female teachers with a curriculum dominated by sewing. A minority received more opportunity in order to make them suitable marriage partners for educated men.

Missionary education also intervened in the construction and sustenance of racial hierarchies. In South Australia, Schulz (2011) argues, Presbyterian missionary education represented a system of disciplinary control over indigenous bodies, minds, and souls and helped secure the racial order through repeated reference to hegemonic whiteness. Missionary education was largely modeled on European practices and imbued with European values; irrespective of the purposeful intentions of the missionaries, it shaped the lives and expectations of young people and in turn transformed their societies.

Missionary education was not, however, instituted in identical ways in all societies, nor did it secure the same reception everywhere. The influence of Christian missionaries was far from uniform. There were, for instance, significant differences in approach between British and French missionaries in West Africa with the French offering a more limited education (Ouedraogo 2010). Moreover, young people were not simply molded in the image of Europeans but engaged with the education process to produce new identities. De Leeuw (2007), for instance, details the ways in which those attending residential schools for First Nations children in British Columbia actively navigated and resisted the colonial project, including the assimilative educational process they were subjected to.

In sum, the spread of schooling inspired by religious motives has contributed to a certain level of global commonality in children's experiences of education and its role in their lives. The nature of education globally today strongly reflects the model exported from Europe in past centuries, and the globalization of schooling at that time led to increasing integration of systems and approaches. It was informed – albeit not always consciously – by Western values and preoccupations that went beyond explicitly religious ideals, and it fostered new forms of social and economic relations within societies. These local effects also facilitated the global economic transformations that were taking place and ultimately the advent and sustenance of colonialism.

3.2 Serving Colonialism

There is a strong overlap between the spread of missionary education worldwide and the development of colonialism, but also some significant contradictions and tensions. From the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, education was used as an instrument of European colonial policies to support economic and political agendas (Whitehead 2005a, b). Schooling was expected to make populations more governable and to create workers and consumers for the colonial economy, although too much or the wrong sort of education was to be avoided (Wolhuter 2007). The extent and form of involvement by colonial authorities varied over space and time, ranging from subsidizing and regulating missionary schools to creating new systems of education (Whitehead 2005b).

Education was used by authorities in order to consolidate political power and achieve a cultural transformation of societies under colonial rule. London (2002) reports how, in Trinidad and Tobago, the colonial curriculum and pedagogical practices were intended to promote attributes that would benefit the colonial state – notably habits of obedience, order, punctuality, and honesty and a willingness to occupy the lowest rungs on the occupational and social ladder. Colonial administrations in Africa provided education of just sufficient quantity and quality to train the clerical workers they required (Wolhuter 2007). Literacy widely became the basis for secular authority: written laws, treaties, and deeds needed to be accessible to at least part of the local population (Topping 1987). However, the level of education for most was quite rudimentary. In 1960, as colonial rule was coming to

an end in most of Africa, 44 % of children were enrolled in primary school but only 5 % in secondary school (Wolhuter 2007).

Beyond deliberately imparting the skills deemed necessary for the functioning of colonial states, colonial administrators and missionaries were imbued with the cultural imperialism, social class values, and gender ideologies of their own societies and schooling reflected and reproduced this in societies around the world (Jayaweera 1990). Schooling also served to incorporate populations into a monetary economy. Colonialists sought to create a pool of labor to produce goods for the colonial export market. Not only did education produce workers with the necessary skills and dispositions; it produced a demand for employment as wages allowed families to pay school fees in the hope that their offspring would secure higher status work in future years (Martin 1982).

Colonial education took various forms. For instance, French and British models of colonial education in sub-Saharan Africa differed. Where the British were generally happy for families to pay for their children to attend mission schools, the French were more concerned to retain direct control and to deliver high quality, free education, albeit to a smaller share of the population (White 1996). British approaches to colonial education also differed between contexts and over time. The British government took a deep interest in education in India, which remained contentious throughout the colonial era; in Africa and colonies elsewhere, however, control of education up to the 1920s was left largely to missionaries and to local initiatives. From the 1920s to the 1950s, Britain took a more active interest in shaping education policy in Africa. It became anxious about producing educated youths that the administration could not provide work for, as this would threaten stability (Whitehead 2005a, b). Relatedly, the policies of colonial authorities were more subtle than simply inculcating Western values. Such values in colonial subjects were not always considered necessary or even desirable. In India, colonial education policy – from its outset in 1813 – aimed at promoting Indian culture as well as Western science, though its success in this regard was arguably very limited (Whitehead 2005a). British authorities were generally concerned not to provoke hostility or resistance through their education policies and practices.

Relations between colonialists and missionaries were often uneasy. The British East India Company banned missionaries from their Indian territories prior to 1843 to avoid upsetting local religious sensibilities, and following the Indian Mutiny (1857–1858), missionaries were again held in check by the colonial state (Bellenoit 2007). Missionaries opposed the adoption of “adapted education” (meaning a more limited form of education) in British colonies, viewing this as segregationist and discriminatory (Krige 1997). Christian missionaries were excluded from British Somaliland; when the colonial government set up a school in 1938 with the intention of using written Somali rather than Arabic, opposition from local religious leaders led to a riot and the rapid closure of the school (Olden 2008). In mid-nineteenth-century Upper Burma, missionaries favored British colonial intervention as they felt restricted in their activities by the Burmese King, who wished to placate local Buddhists to maintain their support for his authority. However, the British authorities were unenthusiastic about the missionaries, who they believed contributed little to

their commercial and diplomatic objectives (Schendel 1999). Ultimately, however, many underresourced colonial education departments relied on missionaries for the provision and operation of schools (Bellenoit 2007).

An example of tensions between the colonial state and missionaries in the provision of education may be seen in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe – see Ansell [forthcoming](#)). The first mission school was founded at Inyati in 1883, but until British colonial rule began in 1890, missions had little success in teaching or evangelizing. With economic and political change in the 1890s, people embraced education. While the missionaries established schools to enable people to read the Bible and become evangelists, the colonial state wanted cheap pliable labor and was not convinced that this required education. A member of the Rhodesian legislature in 1905 explained that an “uneducated native was the most honest, trustworthy and useful” (cited in Ansell [forthcoming](#)). Unable to prohibit missionary education, the state, from 1899, employed a system of grants-in-aid in order to control schools. In return for British government funding for teachers’ salaries, mission schools were required to teach basic manual skills and diligence. Nonetheless, the government took over all urban schools in 1925 leaving the missions responsible for rural education. The white nationalist Rhodesia Front party, which came to power in 1962, sought further control over education. MP Andrew Skeen explained in a debate in 1969: “We in the Rhodesia Front Government are determined to control the rate of African political advancement by controlling their education. Moreover, we wish to retain the power to retard their educational development to ensure that the government remains in responsible hands” (cited in Ansell [forthcoming](#)). Primary education was subsequently reduced from 8 to 7 years, black access to secondary education seriously restricted, and the churches were forced to relinquish nearly 80 % of their schools (Ansell [forthcoming](#)).

Schooling, whether provided by missionaries or colonial authorities, had a transformative impact on social relations. Beyond reshaping gender relations and reinforcing racial hierarchies, education produced elites. The colonial curriculum in British West African colonies, for instance, transformed the social order. New local elites emerged with different sets of values and expectations and the ability to read, write, and speak European languages. Such “civilized” people often became estranged from their own societies (Ofori-Attah 2006). Colonial administrators may have seen education as a means of social control, but indigenous people saw it as a means of advancement. It quickly became a desirable (perhaps necessary) commodity and gained considerable status.

Due to the persistence of the association between education and elite status, the opposition of colonial authorities, and the willingness of missionaries to defend rights to education, education became a central demand in many independence struggles in the mid-twentieth century. This has generated a long-term legacy: it has proven very difficult to reform education provision in postcolonial societies where the status of those in power is shored up by their educational credentials and where colonial-style education is believed to represent a “gold standard” (Ofori-Attah 2006). Around the world, the form of education introduced in past centuries by missionaries and colonial authorities has become an immovable standard. Other

formats are largely unthinkable. This resilience of colonial education and its embrace by the elite is problematic. In Africa it has, according to Nyamnjoh (2012, 129), led to “a devaluation of African creativity, agency and value systems, and an internalized sense of inadequacy.” There are a small number of societies where the imposition of Western values through colonial education has bred long-lasting resentment: in Somaliland, for instance, the Al-Qaeda-linked killing of two British teachers in 2003 is said to be traceable to the anti-Western sentiment generated by colonial education in the mid-twentieth century (Olden 2008), and in northern Nigeria, the Islamist terrorist group Boko Haram defines itself in opposition to Western-style education (Peters 2014). In general, however, the globalization of education in the eighteenth to mid-twentieth centuries set the foundation for global education today, and thus continues to influence the meaning and experience of childhood worldwide.

4 Globalizing Education Since the Mid-Twentieth Century: International Development and the Emergence of Neoliberalism

During the nineteenth century in Latin America and the twentieth century across much of Asia and Africa, the transnational political structures of colonialism retreated. The significance of Christian missionaries also diminished with the increasing power of independent nation states. However, the mid-twentieth century gave birth to a new set of global institutions and practices which perpetuated the globalization of education in new ways. While there have always been different emphases from different institutions, the influence of neoliberal pressures on education has been ascendant and over the past decade or so, global corporate actors have become increasingly involved in the production and delivery of education worldwide.

4.1 International Development: A New Rationale and New Goals

In the mid-twentieth century, schooling came to be seen not merely as an instrument through which to propagate religious beliefs or to manage society but as a basic human right for children worldwide. The right to free and compulsory elementary education is enshrined in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (subsequently reinforced in the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child). Delivery of education was not to be left exclusively to national governments, but would be supported by a new set of global agencies. In particular, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was established with a mandate to promote international collaboration through education. UNESCO set the global educational agenda from 1950 to 1975, seeking to narrow the gap in school enrolments across the world, expand enrolments, and improve quality

through curriculum change and textbook development (Gould 1993). Essentially, it sought to extend the Western experience of education to communities that had not been reached by missionaries or colonial authorities.

Another global agency established in the 1940s that rapidly became involved in shaping education was the World Bank, which invested heavily in the sector from the 1960s, exercising influence in newly independent nations through project loans and program support. The World Bank saw education not as a human right but as fundamental to economic development – to modernization and the development of the global capitalist economy. While both approaches have generally favored investment in schooling, a tension between education as a global right and education as a servant of capitalism has characterized interventions by diverse international organizations over the past 70 years.

Although UNESCO had been the key agency in global education until the 1970s, the better endowed and more influential World Bank subsequently took on its mantle. In the 1980s, however, the Bank's influence on global education was far from benign. In response to the emerging debt crisis, it rescheduled many countries' debts, conditional on their adoption of Structural Adjustment Programmes. These programs generally required severe cuts in public spending on the education sector and the introduction of school fees aimed at achieving a degree of "cost recovery" (Ansell 2015). The 1980s were consequently an era in which the expansion of school enrolment diminished and in some cases went into reverse. National governments lacked resources to invest in education (even if were they permitted to do so) and since the World Bank was the major investor, governments could do little but follow its prescriptions. As a result, education policy became much more uniform and regressive in indebted countries around the world (Gould 1993).

The 1990s witnessed renewed investment in education, in large part because the World Bank reverted to its earlier view that education is essential for global economic growth. Four distinct trends emerged in the 1990s: the role of multilateral organizations, especially the World Bank, increased; education was increasingly seen as central to poverty reduction and development; human capital theory and the demands of the "knowledge economy" gained renewed influence; and the global education agenda narrowed its focus, emphasizing access to primary education and readily measurable outputs.

These trends date in particular to the 1990 World Conference on Education for All (EFA), which brought together representatives from 155 countries and 150 organizations at Jomtien in Thailand. The four lead agencies – UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF, and World Bank – had differing agendas. UNESCO pushed for a broad conception of "basic education," while the World Bank and UNICEF stressed primary schooling (King 2007). The representatives agreed to work for Universal Primary Education (UPE) by 2000, a target that proved overambitious but was reiterated at the World Education Forum in 2000, alongside five further goals to be met by 2015. Also in 2000, and more influentially, governments globally committed to invest in achieving eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), of which two focused on education.

Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education (Target: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling).

Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women (Target: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015) (UN 2015).

Like the EFA goals, the MDGs were drawn up by multinational agencies, with minimal involvement from southern governments. They have been immensely influential in directing World Bank and bilateral donor funding to increasing school enrolment around the world and encouraging governments to make this a priority. One key area of investment has been Free Primary Education programs which have abolished fees and other education-related costs such as charges for textbooks in most low-income countries. As a consequence, the number of out-of-school children of primary school age fell from 100 million in 2000 to 57 million in 2015 (UN 2015). In sub-Saharan Africa, the net primary enrolment rate rose from 52 % in 1990 to 80 % by 2015 (UN 2015).

Directing development finance to education has thus transformed childhoods around the world. Schooling now occupies a very large amount of time for most children worldwide, but also “provides children with a space in which they can identify with the parameters of modern childhood. It makes possible negotiations with elders for better clothes and food; time for school, homework, and recreation; and often payment for domestic work” (Nieuwenhuys 1996, 244–245). Experience of schooling is highly influential in shaping young people’s identities. Young people who have attended school often see themselves differently and have different expectations of their future lives compared with those who have not attended school.

While attending school shapes children’s lives in many ways, it does not necessarily provide them with the formal learning that is expected. The near-exclusive focus on enrolment often led to crowded classrooms, insufficient qualified teachers, and a neglect of the form and content of education. UNESCO (2012) reported that although only 57 million children worldwide were out-of-school, 250 million were unable to read and write by the time they should reach grade 4. This is because, of 650 million primary school age children worldwide, 120 million were failing to reach grade 4, and a further 130 million remained in school but failed to acquire basic skills (UNESCO 2012).

Approaches to enhancing learning vary. UNICEF, for instance, recommends that in place of the traditional colonial-style education that remains particularly dominant in poorer countries, child-centered learning offers a means of democratizing learning environments, while enhancing achievement and student retention (Sriprakash 2010). Social constructivist approaches that privilege active, enquiry-based learning are also increasingly favored by development organizations. However, student-centered constructivist approaches are often resisted by teachers and viewed as Western impositions that are inappropriate to local contexts or cultural expectations. Kanu (2005), for instance, highlights challenges of cross-cultural knowledge transfer in Pakistan, where Western expatriates are increasingly involved in curriculum development. In Tanzania, efforts to shift from content-based to competency-based

curricula and teacher-centered to student-centered pedagogy are confounded by the nature of exam systems, material infrastructure of classrooms, and the length and quality of teacher education programs, a situation that is exacerbated by cuts being made to teacher education, also on the basis of international advice (Vavrus 2009).

Another response to the perceived failures of education in poorer countries has been to focus on “learning outcomes” and to employ international measures of performance. Instruments such as the OECS’s Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement’s Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) are now widely administered to 15 year olds in order to assess the level of skills in a workforce, as they are believed to relate more closely to economic outcomes than average schooling levels. In lower and middle income countries, with the exception of China and Vietnam, performance is consistently below the OECD average (OECD 2013).

Donors increasingly believe that as investment has not raised learning outcomes, they need to look beyond inputs, and even beyond the curriculum and pedagogy, to focus on the reform of national education systems.

The term “education system” typically refers to the public schools, universities, and training programs that provide education services. In this strategy, “education system” includes the full range of learning opportunities available in a country, whether they are provided or financed by the public or private sector (including religious, nonprofit, and for-profit organizations). It includes formal and nonformal programs, plus the full range of beneficiaries of and stakeholders in these programs – teachers, trainers, administrators, employees, students, and their families, and employers. It also includes the rules, policies, and accountability mechanisms that bind an education system together, as well as the resources and financing mechanisms that sustain it. (World Bank 2011, 5).

The World Bank and other donors are exploring the impacts of teacher training reforms, use of performance incentives, innovations such as group learning, the provision of information and communications technology (ICT) as well as reforms to governance and accountability. Interest is extending beyond primary provision into other sectors and there is a growing recognition that specific policies and interventions interact with contextual dynamics in complex ways. It seems likely that further homogenization of education will take place in the construction and operation of national systems, although this does not imply that all children will receive the same type of education, or experience and be able to use it in similar ways. In an increasingly unequal world, education is likely to advantage some children more than others.

4.2 Neoliberalism and Transnational Corporate Power

The interventions of international agencies in global education over recent decades may in part be inspired by the idea that education serves to promote “international development,” understood in terms of human rights, gender equality, and poverty

reduction. They may also be understood to serve a broader neoliberal agenda. There are two key aspects to this: first, education is increasingly geared to the demands of a neoliberalizing global economy (which is promoted directly and indirectly by the World Bank and many other donor agencies) and second, education itself is becoming increasingly part of a corporate marketplace, with global corporations competing to make money from the sector in countries around the world. These two elements are not unrelated: global agencies are welcoming and facilitating private investment in education, as the earlier quotation from the World Bank about education systems indicates.

Mapping onto this twofold distinction, the World Bank's education policies focus both on increasing the competitiveness of labor in the global economy and on finance-driven reforms (Tarabini 2010). Investment in education is founded in part on the idea that with globalization, human capital has become much more significant in wealth accumulation and economic growth. Expansion in the global economy is now focused more on knowledge-based activities than material production and labor markets are increasingly flexible, unstable, and competitive. In this context, education is seen as crucial to gaining economic advantage. Geographers in the Global North have examined the ways in which neoliberal education restructuring has responded to economic change and the demand for a skilled workforce (Holloway and Pimlott-Wilson 2014), but there has been less attention to the global dimensions of this process.

The attributes required of labor in a neoliberal economy are not only skills of literacy and numeracy, or the obedience, punctuality, discipline, and honesty that colonial education sought to instill. A knowledge economy demands flexibility, entrepreneurship, and a willingness to take responsibility for the self. Student-centered constructivist approaches to learning may be seen as contributing to the production of neoliberal subjects (Vavrus 2009). Numerous examples have been explored by geographers, again largely in the Global North. Cairns (2013), for instance, investigates a career education program used in Canada that encourages flexibility, mobility, and self-improvement, idealizing the self-reliant, future-oriented subject but also encouraging students to internalize uncertainty as insecurities that need to be managed individually. Gagen (2015) examines how the labor government's introduction of Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning to secondary schools in England and Wales used the popularization of neuroscientific understandings of emotions to encourage a view that it is possible for individuals to manage their own emotions as a form of self-government. Radcliffe and Webb (2016) point to the impacts of neoliberal education on the way indigenous Mapuche teenagers in Chile view their future lives. While skeptical of the futures mapped out for them, they are not unaffected by the intended goals of becoming responsible entrepreneurs, producers, and consumers.

Neoliberalism is characterized by subtle but pervasive means for governing the lives of individuals and populations. Education is such a means through which power can be exercised; it enables both governments and international agencies to exercise control over children and childhoods and ultimately over entire populations. The concept of "governmentality" has been deployed as a lens by a number of

geographers seeking to elaborate how schooling systems shape childhoods. Governmentality refers to the means by which states or other institutions shape the behavior of populations, governing not through force but through techniques that elicit in people both the right desires and the self-discipline to pursue them (Li 2007). Schreiber et al. (2015) for instance, explore how crime prevention programs within the German education sector represent a new mode of governing childhood. Ultimately, young people are persuaded through their schooling to take responsibility for their own lives, directing their energies to passing examinations and acting in the ways that their teachers and their governments wish them to act (Holloway and Pimlott-Wilson 2012).

While the World Bank has demonstrated a recent enthusiasm to invest in education in order to secure the flexible, self-governing labor required in a neoliberal global economy, it simultaneously pursues the classic finance-driven elements of neoliberalism: liberalization, privatization, and deregulation. Ong (2007) refers to this as “big-N” Neoliberalism, the economization of social life, as opposed to “small-n” neoliberalism, the production of self-governing entrepreneurial subjects.

The “big-N” Neoliberal transformation of education has received much less attention than its production of subjectivities, particularly from geographers. Yet these processes are having a profound impact on education worldwide. One scholar who has undertaken detailed analysis is Stephen Ball (2012). He suggests that networks involving business, social enterprise, philanthropic individuals and organizations, education consultants, transnational advocacy networks, and policy entrepreneurs are now the key actors shaping education. The role of the state in determining the shape of education, even in Europe and North America, is diminishing and is shifting from “government” to “governance” – from the production of policy and delivery of services to contracting other organizations to undertake both roles. Global education problems are identified (or discursively constructed) and solutions developed and disseminated globally by “edupreneurs” and “knowledge companies.” Ultimately, education (and its diverse components) are not only commodified and sold but represent an offering for financial markets to invest in and profit from.

Globally, the economization of education continues to be driven to a large degree by the international financial institutions. Besides the World Bank, the other Bretton Woods institutions pursue the same agenda. The International Monetary Fund, for instance, continues to push for a reduced role for the state, while the World Trade Organization (WTO) views education as a service and is eager to create a free global market in education. Under the WTO’s General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), countries are required to open their “education markets” to private capital. Countries may be required to allow foreign operators to provide distance education, e-learning, teaching aids, and examinations, to establish universities and colleges (directly or through franchising) or other forms of training within their borders. GATS defines five education sectors (preschool and primary, secondary, vocational and higher, adult, and “other” education) and several WTO members have made commitments to open at least one of these for foreign investment (Moutsios 2009).

One “knowledge company” that has taken advantage of the growing global education market is Pearson. This major UK company, which also owns Penguin Books and until very recently the Financial Times newspaper, sells a wide range of education services. It owns the examination board, Edexcel, whose school examinations are taken in 94 countries and which claims to have marked over 5.7 million scripts across the world in the 2010/2011 academic year (Pearson 2014). Although it may not dictate the content of curricula, this involvement in assessing students’ learning undoubtedly gives it power over what is taught in many schools worldwide, and impacts on children’s experiences of education.

Pearson also has more direct involvement in schooling in some countries. In 2010, it paid £326 million for Sistemas do Brasil SA. “Sistemas” are integrated learning systems that include curriculum design, teacher support and training, print and digital content, technology platforms, assessment, and other services. Pearson provides these systems to both government and private preschools and primary and secondary schools, serving more than 450,000 Brazilian students. It also offers undergraduate and graduate programs to 9,000 students, as well as distance learning courses, and directly operates 31 schools in the country (Pearson 2010).

In Africa and Asia Pearson owns and operates chains of low-cost fee-paying schools. One of these, Bridge International Academies, has 130 schools in Kenya with over 50,000 students that charge \$5 a month. Bridge operates a standardized curriculum, and scripted lesson plans, delivered by tablet, detail what teachers should do and say at every moment of each class. The tablets are also used to monitor lesson pacing, record attendance, and track assessment (CEI 2014). Pearson also owns Omega schools, a chain of more than 20 for-profit schools in Ghana that serve 12,000 students from nursery to Junior High School. Students pay \$0.75 a day and, like Bridge, Omega operates a “school-in-a-box” approach with standardized operations manuals and teaching materials. Teachers are senior high school graduates who receive 1 week of preservice training and 2–3 days per term of in-service training (CEI 2014).

Both Bridge and Omega are among 22 private school chains supported by the Center for Education Innovations which is funded by the UK’s Department for International Development (DFID) (CEI 2014). Bilateral donor agencies, like the World Bank, increasingly favor the marketization of education, and specifically the involvement of transnational corporations. Their education-related programs often facilitate the involvement of transnational capital in low-income countries around the world. DFID’s Girls’ Education Challenge, a £355 million program, is managed by Price Waterhouse Coopers and has Coca-Cola as one of its key partners (Curtis 2015). In fact, DFID and Coca-Cola are jointly investing in an education project in Nigeria that will promote “the economic empowerment of five million female entrepreneurs across the global Coca-Cola value chain” (cited by Curtis 2015, 8).

Educational restructuring in response to neoliberal agendas and the privatization of school curricula are altering young people’s experiences of growing up (see Jeffrey 2010). Worldwide, growing numbers of children have their education designed by companies based in Western countries and which are motivated by profit. In some respects the situation is a little different from that which prevailed

200 years ago, but today the speed of change is rapid and the uniformity of service provision is much greater.

5 Conclusions

This chapter has argued that over the past two centuries, global actors with diverse motives have shaped education systems across the world in profound ways. It has traced four broad sets of transnational actors, each with their own motivations. Importantly, none of the actors engaged in shaping education employed a definitive set of policies or implemented a coherent education system exclusively serving their own agenda. All of the regimes represent complex, unstable, often contradictory but intersecting processes. The most recent, neoliberalism, is perhaps the hardest to pin down. Transnational actors and processes are becoming ever more salient. Not only are national governments losing control over education within their territories (in the Global North, where transnational corporations are taking on roles previously performed by the state, as well as in the Global South); international organizations, too, are no longer coherent policy-making and funding bodies. Rather, education is shaped through networks of organizations and individuals (what Ball (2012) terms “heterarchies”), driven largely by a profit motive but with no central locus of control.

The chapter has responded to calls for children’s geographies to adopt a wider scale of analysis and give greater attention to structural processes operating transnationally (e.g., Ansell 2009). It is clear that in relation to education, children and childhood are directly implicated in global processes: they serve global agendas and are reconstructed in the process. These processes and the changing extent and character of education undoubtedly have consequences for the lives of young people and for what childhood and youth mean in diverse contexts around the world. The specific impacts on children’s experiences and on constructions of childhood are beyond the chapter’s remit, but merit attention from geographers. As Holloway and Pimlott-Wilson (2014) point out, it is important to engage with children as subjects of neoliberal education policy because their attitudes affect the ways in which it is implemented. Research is therefore needed that explores global processes from young people’s own perspectives. However, geographers also need to continue to look beyond children’s own understandings, in order to gain an adequate picture of the processes that shape their lives.

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Part II

Environmental Knowledge, Change, and Issues

Child Health and Survival in a Changing Climate: Vulnerability, Mitigation, and Adaptation

15

Briony Towers, Kevin Ronan, and Mayeda Rashid

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Abstract

The effects of climate change include increased frequency and intensity of extreme weather events as well as adverse changes in air pollution, increased spread of climate-sensitive disease, and heightened food insecurity. All of these effects are predicted to have a significant impact on global mortality and morbidity, and the available evidence indicates that children are most at risk. In order to protect child health, immediate action to both mitigate further climate change and adapt to existing and expected impacts is required. This chapter reviews the existing literature on the health impacts of climate change on children. It identifies children as key stakeholders in action and decision-making for mitigation and adaptation at a variety of scales. It also highlights how child participation in research, policy, and practice will increase the effectiveness and sustainability of solutions for addressing the health impacts of climate change. The chapter concludes with a call for the climate change community to make a more concerted effort to incorporate the needs and capacities of children into its core agenda.

Keywords

Children • Health • Climate change • Hazards • Disasters • Mitigation • Adaptation • Child rights • Child participation

1 Introduction

In the *Climate Change 2014 Synthesis Report*, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) confirms that human influence on the climate system is clear and growing, with impacts observed across all continents and oceans (IPCC 2014). The report states that many of the observed changes since the 1950s are unprecedented over decades to millennia, and it is now 95 % certain that humans are the main cause. In addition, the report finds that the more human activities disrupt the climate, the greater the risks of severe, pervasive, and irreversible impacts for people and ecosystems and long-lasting changes in all components of the climate system. The effects of climate change include increased frequency and intensity of extreme weather events as well as adverse changes in air pollution, increased spread of climate-sensitive disease, and heightened food insecurity (Smith et al. 2014; Watts et al. 2015). All of these effects are predicted to have a significant impact on global mortality and morbidity, and it is increasingly recognized that children are most at risk (Sheffield and Landrigan 2011; WHO 2009a; Xu et al. 2012).

This chapter presents a focused discussion of child health and climate change. It first reviews the existing research on child vulnerability to both extreme weather events and climate-sensitive disease and finds that while numerous uncertainties and knowledge gaps need to be addressed, urgent action to protect child health is required. It then explores the two major pathways for action – climate change mitigation and climate change adaptation. Throughout the chapter, the importance

and value of child participation in knowledge generation and decision-making are emphasized. While children are often viewed as helpless victims of climate change, who rely on others for their health and survival, an emergent literature is highlighting children's capacities for contributing to sustainable and effective action at the global, national, and local level. The chapter concludes with a call for an increased focus on child health across research, policy, and practice and a recommendation for increased child participation across these three domains.

2 Child Vulnerability to the Health Impacts of Climate Change

The health impacts of climate change include increased morbidity and mortality due to more frequent and intense extreme weather events such as heat waves, floods, droughts, and tropical cyclones (Smith et al. 2014; Watts et al. 2015). They also include increasing incidences of climate-sensitive disease such as malaria, dengue fever, diarrhea, and respiratory illness (Smith et al. 2014; Watts et al. 2015). Due to a variety of physiological, behavioral, and social characteristics, extreme weather events and climate-sensitive diseases tend to impact most heavily on children, so it is likely that a substantial proportion of the morbidity and mortality burden due to climate change will be borne by this group (Sheffield and Landrigan 2011; WHO 2009a). In the absence of future projections that focus specifically on children, this section combines data from existing climate change scenarios, future projections of population health, and the current state of child health to highlight child vulnerability to the full range of extreme weather events and climate-sensitive diseases.

2.1 Drought

While a lack of observational data precludes definitive statements about causality, there is mounting evidence that climate change is increasing both the likelihood and intensity of drought events around the world (Smith et al. 2014; Watts et al. 2015). Since 1950, some regions have experienced longer, more intense droughts, and current projections indicate that droughts will continue to intensify throughout the twenty-first century (IPCC 2012). This is expected to significantly reduce yields of staple crops and drive up food prices (Smith et al. 2014; Nelson et al. 2009). In low-income countries, this will ultimately affect food availability and access, which will, in turn, exacerbate rates of undernutrition (Stanke et al. 2013).

The World Health Organization (2009a) asserts that undernutrition in developing countries constitutes the largest single negative impact of climate change and that children will be worst affected. Nelson et al. (2009) estimate that by 2050, declining food security in developing countries will increase child undernutrition by 20 % relative to a world with no climate change, which equates to an additional 25 million children affected. Across the developing world, the impacts of undernutrition on child mortality and morbidity are profound (Black et al. 2013; WHO 2009a).

In 2011, undernutrition was the cause of 3.1 million child deaths or 45 % of all child deaths (Black et al. 2013). In children aged under 2 years, undernutrition also causes stunting (low height for age), a permanent condition which impedes physical, cognitive, and psychomotor development (Black et al. 2013). Several longitudinal studies show that stunting before the age of 3 years predicts poorer cognitive and educational outcomes in later childhood and adolescence and reduced economic productivity in adulthood (Grantham-McGregor et al. 2007; Black et al. 2013). It also has intergenerational effects – the offspring of stunted women typically have a lower birth weight which makes them more susceptible to various forms of illness and disease (Grantham-McGregor et al. 2007). It is estimated that by 2050, declining food security and nutrition may increase severe stunting by up to 55 % in sub-Saharan Africa and 61 % in South Asia which has serious implications for the acquisition of human capital in these regions (Lloyd et al. 2011).

2.2 Floods

At the global level, floods are the most frequently occurring type of natural hazard and have the largest impact in terms of both fatalities and people affected (Doocy et al. 2013). Between 2010 and 2015, flood events caused 33,616 deaths and affected over 1.5 billion people (CRED 2015). Under most climate change scenarios, more frequent intense rainfall events are expected in most parts of the world, causing more frequent riverine floods in small catchments (IPCC 2012). It is also expected that increasing heat waves, glacial retreat, and/or permafrost degradation will affect high mountain phenomena such as slope instabilities, mass movements, and glacial lake outburst floods (IPCC 2012). It is also very likely that mean sea level rise will contribute to upward trends in extreme coastal high water levels and tidal flooding (IPCC 2012). On this basis, a dramatic increase in flood-related health impacts are expected, unless serious adaptation measures are taken (Smith et al. 2014; Watts et al. 2015).

The immediate health impacts of floods include drowning, injuries, and water- and vector-borne diseases, while the longer-term impacts include mental health issues, malnutrition, and poor birth outcomes (Alderman et al. 2012; Smith et al. 2014). Although these impacts have been observed in both high- and low-income countries, it is clear that the latter bear the global burden of flood-related mortality and morbidity (Alderman et al. 2012). While flood fatality reports are rarely disaggregated by age (Doocy et al. 2013), there is growing evidence that children are at a heightened risk. In an epidemiological study of the 1993 flood disaster in Sarlahi, Nepal, Pradhan et al. (2007) found that the risk of death for those aged between 2 and 9 years was twice that of those aged 15 years and older. Additionally, the risk of death for preschool-aged girls was one and half times that for preschool-aged boys. Children are also more likely to contract and succumb to the waterborne diseases that proliferate in flooded communities, and in regions where food security is volatile, flood-related destruction of crops and livestock can increase rates of child undernutrition and stunting (Fischer-Walker et al. 2014).

2.3 Tropical Storms

Since 1990, tropical storms have killed over 300,000 people (CRED 2015). The deadliest events have all occurred in Southeast Asia: in 2008, Cyclone Nargis in Myanmar killed 138,666; the 1991 cyclone in Bangladesh killed 138,886; and in 2013, Super Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines killed 4354 (CRED 2015). While climate change is not expected to affect the frequency of tropical storms, it will increase cyclone precipitation rates and maximum wind speed, creating the conditions for more destructive events (IPCC 2012). In addition, sea level rise, coupled with a likely increase in cyclonic wind speed, will exacerbate storm surge and increase the magnitude of coastal inundation (IPCC 2013). Using a spatially explicit mortality model of 577 coastal cities in 84 different countries, Dasgupta et al. (2009) modeled 1-in-100-year storm-surge events accounting for 1 m sea level rise and a 10 % increase in cyclone intensity. Across the 84 countries, it was projected that by 2100, an additional 52 million people and 30,000 km² will be affected by coastal inundation.

Like floods, tropical cyclones adversely affect mortality and morbidity through drowning, injuries, and infectious diseases, and there is some evidence that children are at an increased risk (Chowdury et al. 1993). In an epidemiological study of the 1991 cyclone disaster in Bangladesh, Chowdury et al. (1993) found that three quarters of fatalities were children under 15 years of age. They also found that among children under 5 years of age, the death rate for females was 15 % higher than their male counterparts. While not statistically significant, this finding does raise questions about the protections afforded to girls during a disaster event. However, the evidence of children's increased risk is equivocal. For example, in an analysis of hospitalizations for injuries following Typhoon Ranim, which struck the coast of China in 2004, the rate of injuries increased according to age (from 20 per 100,000 for those <20 years of age to 75 per 100,000 for those >70 years) (Gong et al. 2007). Other population-based studies that disaggregate fatalities by age are scarce, and hence, it is not possible to clearly delineate children's risk relative to other age groups. However, given their increased vulnerability to the disease outbreaks and food shortages that commonly proceed major storm events, it can be reasonably expected that they bear a disproportionate share of the mortality and morbidity burden.

2.4 Heat Waves

While definitions of a heat wave vary, it can generally be defined as “a period of at least 3 days where the combined effect of excess heat and heat stress is unusual with respect to the local climate” (Nairn and Fawcett 2013, p. 13). According to the IPCC, it is very likely that there has been an overall increase in the number of warm days and nights at the global scale, and it is more likely than not that anthropogenic climate change is the cause of this increase (IPCC 2014). Christidis et al. (2012) concluded that it is extremely likely (probability greater than 95 %) that

anthropogenic climate change at least quadrupled the risk of extreme summer heat events in Europe in the decade 1999–2008. In terms of future projections, it is very likely that the length, frequency, and intensity of warm spells or heat waves will increase over most land areas (Smith et al. 2014; IPCC 2013), and by the end of the twenty-first century, a 1-in-20-year annual hottest day is likely to become a 1-in-2-year annual extreme in most regions (IPCC 2013).

Heat waves are a significant threat to human health and they typically increase the overall death rate of a population (Smith et al. 2014). The European heat wave of 2003 caused an estimated 22,000–70,000 deaths, with 14,800 deaths in France alone (IPCC 2007; Kravchenko et al. 2013). While the majority of epidemiological studies find that the elderly have the highest mortality risk, there is emerging evidence that infants and young children are also vulnerable (Xu et al. 2014). Kysely and Kim (2009) found that during the South Korean heat wave of 1994, mortality in children aged 0–14 years increased by 27.5 % which was the largest relative increase of any age group. Hajat et al. (2005) found that during a period of high ambient temperature in Delhi, children younger than 15 years old accounted for 48 % of deaths. According to the 2011 census (Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi 2012), children under 15 account for just 26 % of Delhi's overall population which would suggest that this age group was disproportionately represented in the fatality data.

3 Vector-Borne Diseases

3.1 Malaria

Malaria is among the most widespread diseases in the world (WHO 2014a). In 2013, an estimated 198 million cases of malaria led to 584,000 deaths (WHO 2014a). The burden of disease is heaviest in Africa, where an estimated 90 % of malaria deaths occur, and in children under aged 5 years, who account for 78 % of all deaths globally (WHO 2014a). Children under 5 are highly susceptible to the disease because they have not yet developed the naturally acquired immunity that results from repeated infections (Doolan et al. 2009). For children who survive the disease, neurological and cognitive development can be severely affected. Recent evidence from Uganda suggests that asymptomatic malaria infection is related to lower sustained attention and abstract reasoning abilities (Nankabirwa et al. 2013). Meanwhile, cerebral malaria can lead to acquired language disorders and neurological disorders including epilepsy and cerebral palsy (Idro et al. 2010). Although morbidity and mortality is most concentrated in children under 5, research suggests that infection in school-age children results in increased school absenteeism, repetition of school years, and increased dropout rates (Thuilliez et al. 2010; Zuilkowski and Jukes 2014).

Climate conditions affect the survival and reproductive rates of malarial mosquitoes and also affect the life cycle of the parasitic protozoa responsible for malaria, which in turn influences the distribution, abundance, intensity, and annual temporal

patterns of mosquito activity (particularly biting rates) (Yu et al. 2015; Watts et al. 2015). Holding socioeconomic development constant, Béguin et al. (2011) estimate that predicted increases in temperature and precipitation will result in a geographic expansion of malaria, increasing the global population at risk from 4.61 billion in 2030 to 5.20 billion in 2050. Thus, in regions where climate is currently the limiting factor, there will be a likely increase in the incidence of the disease (Watts et al. 2015; Yu et al. 2015). Expansion into previously non-endemic regions is a major concern because levels of naturally acquired immunity will be much lower than in endemic regions (Béguin et al. 2011; Yu et al. 2015). While research is yet to specifically examine how these changes will affect children, the existing evidence indicates that they will bear a substantial proportion of the disease burden (Doolan et al. 2009).

3.2 Dengue

Dengue is the most rapidly spreading mosquito-borne viral disease in the world (WHO 2015). Over the past 50 years, there has been a 30-fold increase in global incidence, and there has been a significant expansion of the geographic area affected (WHO 2015). While dengue cases are often underreported or misclassified, estimates indicate that dengue transmission is ubiquitous throughout the tropical regions of the Americas and Asia (Bhatt et al. 2013). It is also estimated that risk in Africa, though more unevenly distributed than in other tropical regions, is much more widespread than suggested previously. One global estimate indicates 390 million dengue infections per year, of which 96 million manifest clinically (Bhatt et al. 2013). As with malaria, climate change is expected to drive a geographic expansion of dengue. Hales et al. (2002) estimate that by 2055, population growth alone will increase the population at risk to 3.2 billion people (34 % of the global population), but the additional influence of climate change will increase the population at risk to 4.1 billion people (44 % of the global population).

The dengue virus causes a spectrum of clinical disease ranging from dengue fever – usually characterized by arthralgia, myalgia, and headache – to the more serious dengue hemorrhagic fever (DHF) and dengue shock syndrome (DSS), both of which can be fatal (Bhatt et al. 2013; Hammond et al. 2005). In addition to socioeconomic factors, age is thought to be a major determinant for more serious forms of dengue (Kyle and Harris 2008). Most epidemiologic studies find that children under age 15 are at increased risk for both DHF and DSS which may be due to their increased capillary fragility and decreased tolerance for insult to microvascular integrity (Kyle and Harris 2008). In a 3-year hospital-based study in Nicaragua (Hammond et al. 2005), the incidence of the disease was highest in children aged 5–9 years old (58 % of all cases). Moreover, infants aged 0–11 months and children aged 4–6 years were significantly more likely than adults to develop the more serious clinical manifestations of DHF and DSS. Over the course of the study, children were also more likely to succumb to the disease and accounted for 77 % of the 13 dengue-related deaths. Thus, as climate change drives an increase in the

population at risk of contracting dengue fever, it is likely that children will bear a substantial proportion of the disease burden.

4 Waterborne Diseases

Waterborne diseases caused by viruses, bacteria, and protozoa are spread through contaminated drinking water or recreational water and most commonly result in diarrhea (Schuster-Wallace et al. 2014). Among children under 5, diarrhea continues to be the second most common cause of mortality globally and accounts for at least 11 % of the mortality burden (UNICEF 2012). In 2010 alone, nearly 801,000 children under 5 succumbed to diarrhea, mostly in developing countries (UNICEF 2012). Children under 2 are particularly vulnerable with 72 % of diarrheal deaths occurring within the first 2 years of life (Fischer-Walker et al. 2013). Children are especially vulnerable to diarrheal disease because they must consume more water per body mass than adults, which results in greater exposure to waterborne pathogens (Fischer-Walker et al. 2013; Bennett and Friel 2014). Once exposed, children's immature immune systems are less able to resist infection, while their small body size means that they become dangerously dehydrated very quickly (Bennett and Friel 2014).

The waterborne pathogens that cause diarrheal disease are highly sensitive to meteorological conditions (Moors et al. 2013; Fischer-Walker et al. 2013). There is general consensus that climate change will result in a substantial increase in the incidence of diarrheal disease, and both WHO and the IPCC have identified this as one of the most important future health effects of climate change (WHO 2009a; Smith et al. 2014). Climate projections for assessing the global risk of diarrhea as a result of higher temperatures have estimated an increase of 8–11 % by the 2030s (Kolstad and Johansson 2011). However, other modeling demonstrates that increases are spatially variable. Applying climate projections for Northern India in 2040, Moors et al. (2013) found that increases ranged from no change in the northwest to 13 % in the Ganges River basin to 21 % in the high mountain regions of the Himalayas. In a country where 200,000 children die of diarrhea every year, this represents a major public health concern (Liu et al. 2012).

5 Respiratory Illnesses

Respiratory illnesses, such as pneumonia, are the leading cause of death in children (WHO 2014b; UNICEF 2006). Globally, over two million children die of pneumonia every year, accounting for 20 % of all child deaths (UNICEF 2006). While most healthy children can fight pneumonia infection with their own defenses, children with compromised immune function are at a higher risk of contracting the disease and of succumbing to complications. Children suffering from undernutrition are at a particularly high risk, and 44 % of pneumonia deaths in children are attributed to undernutrition (Paynter et al. 2010, 2013). Susceptibility is also exacerbated by

overcrowded living conditions and indoor air pollution caused by cooking and heating with coal and other biomass fuels, such as wood or dung (WHO 2009a). For this reason, children in developing countries bear a substantial proportion of the global disease burden of pneumonia. For example, in 2011, sub-Saharan Africa accounted for 43 % of all global pneumonia deaths in children aged under 4 years, while Southeast Asia accounted for 35 % (Fischer-Walker et al. 2013). Despite the impacts of pneumonia on child mortality, little attention is given to the disease, and for this reason it is often referred to as the “forgotten killer” (UNICEF 2006).

It is well established that pneumonia follows seasonal patterns – in temperate settings, the incidence increases in the winter months, while in tropical settings, incidence increases during the rainy season (Paynter et al. 2013). In the Gambia, for example, the incidence of clinical pneumonia in children was 409 (per 1000 person years) in the rainy season; 243 in the hot, dry season; and 160 in the cool, dry season (Paynter et al. 2010). While future projections are currently lacking, Paynter et al. (2010) assert that climate change will increase the incidence of childhood pneumonia in tropical settings and propose three mechanisms through which this would occur: (1) more time indoors or undercover because of increased rainfall will increase crowding and exposure to particulate matter from burning coal and biomass; (2) the stability of the virus in aerosols might increase in higher humidity; and (3) undernutrition caused by decreased food security will increase susceptibility to infection. However, all three mechanisms, and their relationship to the incidence of pneumonia in children, are yet to be subjected to empirical scrutiny.

6 Key Uncertainties and Knowledge Gaps

While available evidence indicates that children will be among the worst affected by the health impacts of climate change, there are several knowledge gaps and uncertainties concerning the precise nature of children’s exposure and vulnerability (Sheffield and Landrigan 2011). Across the broader literature on the health impacts of climate change, the only study that specifically models impacts on children is Nelson et al.’s (2009) global projection for child undernutrition. A major barrier to projecting future impacts on children is a lack of global and national data on child morbidity and mortality due to climate-sensitive diseases and extreme events (WHO 2009a; Xu et al. 2012). While morbidity and mortality data does exist, it is rarely disaggregated by age, and this is impeding the development of future projections that specifically address child morbidity and mortality under future climate change scenarios.

A major step forward in this domain is the Global Initiative on Children’s Environmental Health Indicators (CEHIs), an initiative led by the World Health Organization aimed at improving the assessment of children’s environmental health, monitoring the effects of interventions to improve children’s health in relation to the environment and reporting on the state of children’s environmental health (WHO 2009b). The initiative has three key objectives: (1) develop and promote the use of

children's environmental health indicators; (2) improve the assessment of children's environmental health and monitor the success or failure of interventions; (3) and provide data to inform policymakers and to allow measurement of the effectiveness of policies and programs to improve environmental conditions for children (WHO 2009b). Importantly, the indicators incorporate all of the major health impacts of climate change, including perinatal diseases, respiratory diseases, diarrheal diseases, insect-borne diseases, and physical injuries. However, the extent to which the CEHIs have translated into operational monitoring and surveillance programs is unclear. In most countries there are no good registers of environmentally determined diseases in children, and increased political will and financing are required to ensure this occurs (WHO 2010).

Another issue with the CEHIs is that children are categorized into two main groups of 0–4-year-olds and 5–14-year-olds (Xu et al. 2012). However, these broad categorizations fail to reflect the heterogeneity of children's exposures and vulnerabilities within these groupings. Levels of exposure and vulnerability for a 5-year-old are likely to differ to those for a 14-year-old and likewise for a 1-year-old as compared to a 4-year-old. Thus, there is an ongoing need for research that disaggregates the broad category of "children" at a higher level of precision and increases understanding of the specific health risks that apply to children of different ages. There is also a need to better understand the social determinants of children's exposure and vulnerability to climate-related health risks. While it is clear that poverty and inequality are major determinants of child health and survival (WHO 2009b), there is a need for rigorous research on how individual characteristics such as race, class, gender, and disability influence children's vulnerability to both extreme events and climate-sensitive disease. Such information would help to ensure that resources are allocated to those children who are most at risk. It would also provide an evidence base for addressing the underlying causes of child morbidity and mortality in high-risk groups.

Importantly, this research endeavor will need to provide children with genuine opportunity to actively participate in the process of knowledge and data generation. At present, the bulk of research on children's exposure and vulnerability to the health impacts of climate change is being conducted from the perspectives of adults. As a consequence, children have become what anthropologist Charlotte Hardman (1973) refers to as a "muted group." This dominance of adult voices most likely stems from the long-held assumption that children are unreliable or incompetent informants of their own knowledge and experiences (James and Prout 2004). Over the last decade, however, leading scholars of childhood have concluded that delimiting the emergence of children's own knowledge and experience through the use of adult-centered positivistic methodologies not only creates a false picture of children's experiences but serves to underestimate their competence and agency (Boyden 2003). The adoption of inductive, hermeneutical methodologies that enable children to articulate their experiences from their own perspectives will enhance understanding of the actual and expected impacts of climate change on child health and provide a more rigorous evidence base for the development of policy and programming that meets children's needs.

7 Protecting Child Health and Survival in a Changing Climate

Although current knowledge is characterized by numerous gaps and uncertainties, this must not be seen as a reason to delay action on protecting child health and survival. On the contrary, the potential risks to child health posed by climate change require the application of the “precautionary principle” which states that “Where there are threats of serious or irreversible damage, lack of full scientific certainty shall not be used as a reason for postponing cost-effective measures to prevent environmental degradation” (UNCED 1992, Principle 15). Action to protect child health and survival is supported by Article 24 of the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* which clearly states that children have the right to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health and to facilities for the treatment of illness and rehabilitation of health (United Nations 1989). Also relevant in this context is Article 27 which states that children have the right to a standard of living that is good enough to meet their physical and mental needs (United Nations 1989). In the context of climate change, Pursuing the full implementation of this right requires immediate and drastic actions to both reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions (climate change mitigation) and to assist communities to cope with and adapt to the actual and expected consequences of increasing temperatures (climate change adaptation).

7.1 Climate Change Mitigation

Climate change mitigation refers to efforts to reduce or prevent greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions (Smith et al. 2014). Mitigation can mean using new technologies and renewable energies, making older equipment more energy efficient or changing management practices or consumer behavior (IPCC 2014). Protecting carbon sinks like forests and oceans are also elements of mitigation (IPCC 2014). Substantial emission reductions over the next few decades can reduce climate risks in the twenty-first century and beyond, increase prospects for effective adaptation, reduce the costs and challenges of mitigation in the longer term, and contribute to climate-resilient pathways for sustainable development (IPCC 2014). The IPCC states with high confidence that without additional efforts to reduce GHG emissions beyond those in place today, population growth and economic activities will lead to an increase in global mean surface temperature of up to 4.8 °C in 2100 (IPCC 2014). The risks associated with temperatures at or above 4 °C include substantial species extinction, global and regional food insecurity, consequential constraints on common human activities and potentially catastrophic effects on human health in both developing and developed nations (IPCC 2014; WHO 2009a; Watts et al. 2015).

Among the scientific community, there is general agreement that the catastrophic impacts of climate change can be avoided if the global temperature rise is kept to no more than 2 °C above preindustrial levels (IPCC 2014; Watts et al. 2015). This will require substantial emission reductions over the next few decades and near-zero

emissions of greenhouse gases by the end of the century (IPCC 2014). Implementing such reductions poses substantial technological, economic, social, and institutional challenges at both national and international levels and involves some level of risks due to adverse side effects (i.e., devaluing of fossil fuel assets and reduced revenues for fossil fuel exporters) (IPCC 2014). However, these risks do not involve the same possibility of severe, widespread, and irreversible impacts as risks from climate change (IPCC 2014). In addition to preventing catastrophic climate change, reducing greenhouse gas emissions will have major “co-benefits” across different sectors, including public health (IPCC 2014; Watts et al. 2015; WHO 2009a). The public health co-benefits of mitigation exist across five main categories, all of which have particular relevance to protecting child health:

- *Household energy.* In developing countries, enabling households to move from inefficient burning of coal and biomass fuels for domestic use to cleaner sources of energy would significantly reduce greenhouse gas emissions and would also reduce the estimated two million annual deaths from indoor air pollution (WHO 2009a).
- *Electricity generation.* A shift toward renewable energy sources for electricity generation would cut greenhouse gas emissions as well as reduce the current 1.2 million annual deaths from outdoor urban air pollution (WHO 2009a).
- *Urban transport systems.* Promotion of safe and sustainable public transport systems would dramatically cut carbon emissions and would also help to reduce the 3.2 million annual deaths from noncommunicable diseases associated with physical inactivity. It would help to reduce the 1.3 million annual deaths from road traffic accidents (WHO 2009a). A chapter in this volume by Paul Tranter and Scott Sharpe reflects in more detail on this issue and its relevance to children.
- *Food and agriculture.* The food and agriculture sector contributes about 10–12 % of global greenhouse gas emissions, with additional contributions from associated land-use change (e.g., deforestation) (Watts et al. 2015; IPCC 2014). Moderating meat consumption and increasing intake of foods that are lower on the food chain has the potential both to enhance health and reduce greenhouse gas emissions (Smith et al. 2014; WHO 2009a).

Taken together, these health co-benefits have the potential to offset a large part of the financial cost of GHG emission reduction policies (WHO 2009a). Several cost-benefit analyses show that shifts to a low-carbon economy are paid for by subsequent improvements in public health. In a cost-benefit analysis of the United States Clean Air Act, every dollar invested in implementation generated 42 dollars in societal gains, a large proportion of which was gained through health benefits (EPA 2011). The 2007 IPCC report also showed that the costs of many climate change mitigation interventions would be partly or wholly compensated for by the associated health benefits (IPCC 2007). While this point is rarely raised in debates about the economics of climate change mitigation, it offers a way of securing a broad and inclusive platform of public and political support for action (Bennett and Friel 2014; Watts et al. 2015). As such, the health community should play a more active role in the

design of greenhouse gas mitigation policies: failure to select the most health-enhancing actions for mitigation would be a lost opportunity for present and future generation and would reduce the return on investment in low-carbon and renewable energy sources (WHO 2009a; Watts et al. 2015).

Another way of securing support for climate change mitigation is by representing it in ways that anchor it in positive emotions and by framing it in ways that connect with people's core values and identities (Watts et al. 2015; Markowitz and Shariff 2012). A leading example involves framing climate change as an issue of intergenerational justice (Gibbons 2014; see also Davies et al. in this volume). The principle of intergenerational justice argues that there should be distributive justice between generations and that the rights of generations should be considered equal over time (Stone and Lofts 2009). Gibbons (2014) has argued that children alive today and those not yet born have a claim to climate justice, both within their own countries and internationally. This claim is currently being tested in a range of countries, where lawyers are working with children and youth to advance of a variety of science-based legal actions to compel government action on climate change (Children's Climate Trust 2015). While the outcomes of these cases are still pending, they have done much to increase public discussions of intergenerational justice and the moral rights of children and youth in present and future generations.

Principles of intergenerational justice have also been used to increase child representation and participation in global negotiations on climate mitigation. Intergenerational justice requires that agreements for mitigation ensure not only that the rights of future generations are fulfilled but also that the decision-making process includes the views of children (Walden et al. 2009). Importantly, children's right to be heard in global climate negotiations is upheld by Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child which clearly states that children have a right to participate in decision-making that affects them (UN 1989). In the lead up to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) 15th Conference of the Parties (COP15) in 2010, international child-rights advocates called on decision-makers to acknowledge children as official stakeholders, provide formal mechanisms for children and youth to participate in formal negotiation processes, and contribute to decision-making on climate change (Walden et al. 2009).

In response to this call, the UNFCCC secretariat granted a provisional constituency status to youth aged between 15 and 24 years old (UNFCCC 2012). As reported by the UNFCCC (2012), this constituency, referred to as YOUNGO (Youth Non-Governmental Organizations), has provided a conduit for the exchange of official information between young people and the secretariat; assisted the secretariat in ensuring effective participation by youth appropriate to an intergovernmental meeting; coordinated young people's interaction at sessions including convening constituency meetings and organizing meetings with officials; and provided logistical support to youth during sessions (UNFCCC 2012). In practical terms, YOUNGO is given the opportunity to address the plenary, high-level segment of a COP, make submissions (individual youth organizations can also do so), attend workshops, and

meet with officials of the convention such as chairs of the subsidiary bodies and the COP Presidency (UNFCCC 2012). However, academic literature on the adequacy or efficacy of these processes is lacking. To date, no published studies critically evaluate children's experiences of participating in these processes or the extent to which children's views have informed actions and outcomes. It is also worth noting that the YOUNGO constituency is for 15–24-year-olds, and, hence, there is no formal mechanism for the participation of younger children. In this respect, fulfilling Article 12 of the UNCRC is an ongoing project.

7.2 Climate Change Adaptation

In parallel to mitigation, adaptation is regarded as an integral part of climate policy (IPCC 2014). The emphasis on adaptation is partially due to the time lag between current emissions and the projection of increased greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere (IPCC 2014). Even if greenhouse gas emissions were to halt immediately, temperatures would be expected to rise by over 0.6 °C in this century (WHO 2009a). If the world was to place a high priority on shifting to sustainable and renewable energy over the next several decades, temperatures are still expected to rise by 1.8 °C (likely range: 1.1–2.9 °C) (WHO 2009a). There is scientific consensus that even a 2 °C rise will result in insecurity for millions of people in terms of food, water, and shelter, with all of the attendant risks for child health (Smith et al. 2014). Thus, strategies that facilitate adaptation and build resilience are required. In the climate change literature, adaptation refers to “the process of adjustment to actual or expected climate and its effects, in human systems in order to moderate harm or exploit beneficial opportunities, and in natural systems human intervention may facilitate adjustment to expected climate change” (Watts et al. 2015, p. 15). Resilience, meanwhile, refers to “the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganise while undergoing change, so as to still retain essentially the same function, structure, identity and feedbacks” (Watts et al. 2015, p. 15).

Over the last decade, adaptation and resilience have received substantial attention in both policy and research, and more recently adaptation and resilience for human health have emerged as a focal point in the adaptation discourse (Bowen and Friel 2012; Watts et al. 2015). However, despite their well-documented vulnerability to the health impacts of climate change, children have not featured prominently in such literature (Xu et al. 2012). Yet, adaptations to climate change will be less than adequate if they fail to take account the particular vulnerabilities of children, the protective factors that can best support their resilience and their capacities to contribute to adaptation (Mitchell and Borchard 2014).

As several authors point out, there are strong synergies between what children need to thrive and become healthy adults and the adaptations that are required to reduce the health risks of climate change (Bennett and Friel 2014). The social and economic determinants of child mortality and morbidity are well known and include poverty, hunger, and lack of access to clean water and sanitation (WHO 2009a; Sheffield and Landrigan 2011). Over the last 15 years, since the inception of the

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), major progress has been made across these areas: the number of people living in extreme poverty has been halved; the number of undernourished people has fallen from 23.3 % to 12.9 %; the number of people using an improved drinking water source has increased from 76 % to 91 %; and the number of people practicing open defecation has been reduced significantly (UN 2015). However, as highlighted in the final report for the MDGs, progress has been uneven, and in developing regions significant inequities exist between the poorest and richest households and between rural and urban areas (UN 2015). While protecting child health will require a significant reduction in these inequities, climate change is expected to exacerbate them even further (Bennett and Friel 2014).

Climate change will strain health systems of those countries that already face the public health challenges of poor health infrastructure, poverty, and inequality (Watts et al. 2015). Populations that do not have access to good quality health care and essential public health services are more likely to be adversely affected by climate variability and climate change (Frumkin and McMichael 2008). Therefore, strengthening of public health systems needs to be a central component of adaptation to climate change (Watts et al. 2015; WHO 2009a; Smith et al. 2014). In regions where the health impacts of climate change are expected to be most severe, broadening the coverage of available health programs and interventions would greatly improve current child health status and, combined with forward planning, would increase adaptive capacity for dealing with future challenges (WHO 2009a). This will require significant investment, particularly in developing countries. Watts et al. (2015) argue that donor countries have a responsibility to support measures which reduce the impacts of climate change on human health and build adaptive capacity. Given the increased vulnerability of children, beneficiary countries also have a responsibility to prioritize investment in health services that address the current and future health-care needs of this group (WHO 2009a).

Many of the most important adaptive actions for protecting child health are public health interventions of proven effectiveness. For example, malaria interventions are highly effective and affordable (WHO 2009a). The main interventions comprise vector control (which reduces transmission by the mosquito vector from humans to mosquitoes and then back to humans), achieved using insecticide-treated mosquito nets (ITNs) or indoor residual spraying (IRS); chemoprevention (which prevents the blood stage infections in humans); and case management (which includes diagnosis and treatment of infections) (WHO 2009a). In sub-Saharan Africa, ITNs are estimated to reduce malaria mortality rates by 55 % in children under 5 years of age (WHO 2014a). Their public health impact is due to a reduction in malaria deaths and to reductions in child deaths from other causes that are associated with, or exacerbated by, malaria (e.g., acute respiratory infection, low birth weight, and malnutrition) (WHO 2009a). Chemoprevention is particularly effective in pregnant women and young children, and WHO (2009a) estimates that seasonal malaria chemoprevention for children aged 3–59 months could avert millions of cases and thousands of deaths in children living in areas of highly seasonal malaria transmission in Africa's Sahel subregion.

Climate change adaptation also requires strengthening health systems to deal with the predicted increases in the intensity and frequency of extreme weather events. Acute shocks such as natural disasters and disease epidemics can overload the capacities of health systems in even the most developed nations (WHO 2009a). There is an urgent need to increase the capacity of health systems to ensure that people are better protected from the increasing hazards of extreme weather events (WHO 2009a). Approaches to the health management of extreme weather events involve improving forecasting and early warning systems, predicting possible health outcomes, contingency planning, and identifying the most vulnerable (i.e., children) (Watts et al. 2015). Despite their well-documented vulnerabilities to extreme events and the associated health impacts, children are often overlooked in disaster risk management policies and plans. The US National Commission on Children and Disasters (2010) found that very few states had school evacuation and family reunification plans, and only 6 % of hospital emergency departments had supplies and equipment to treat children. In Australia, a recent analysis of local government emergency management plans found that the needs of pets and livestock were mentioned more regularly than the needs of children (Save the Children 2013).

Access to education also has a major role to play in building adaptive capacities. Toya and Skidmore (2007) found a significant role for education in reducing vulnerability to hazard impacts, and Watts et al. (2015) assert that education levels are important in the ability of societies to cope with extreme events. Educating girls appears to be particularly beneficial, and there is some evidence that education levels of women are a critical factor in reducing household vulnerability to death and injury in weather-related disasters (Toya and Skidmore 2007). This evidence is consistent with an extensive literature documenting the effects of female education on community-level social capital and health-related indices, such as life expectancy (King and Mason 2001). As Blankespoor et al. (2010) note, educating young women and girls is also one of the major determinants, if not *the* major determinant, of sustainable development. Curricula that provide the requisite knowledge and skills for effective adaptation are also essential (Anderson 2010). While progress is being made in this domain (e.g., Selby and Kagawa 2013; Kagawa and Selby 2010), the work remains ad hoc, and climate change education is rarely identified as a key priority in national or local adaptation plans. If present and future generations are to find effective and sustainable solutions for adaptation, a more systematic approach to climate change education is required (Kagawa and Selby 2010; Selby and Kagawa 2014).

The fundamental importance of climate change education is highlighted in the rapidly expanding literature on community-based climate change adaptation which emphasizes the fundamental importance of public participation in the design and implementation of adaptation activities at the local level (Reid et al. 2009). A burgeoning literature demonstrates that for solutions to be effective and sustainable, they must be informed by the knowledge and experience of local people (Schipper et al. 2014). There is also growing evidence that children's participation in local adaptation activities not only protects child health and survival but provides benefits to entire communities (Mitchell and Borchard 2014; Tanner et al. 2009;

Tanner 2010; Mitchell et al. 2008). Mitchell and Borchard (2014) cite several compelling anecdotal examples, including one from Kenya, where school children have learned about the impacts of climate change on water and food security and have grown vegetables in “gunny sacks” (large bags used to transport grain), which uses less water than traditional methods; they have also experimented with drought-tolerant crops and shared the results with transitioning pastoralists.

A growing body of academic research has emphasized children’s capacities for participating in climate change adaptation (Tanner 2010; Tanner et al. 2009; Mitchell et al. 2008). This research has contributed to a fundamental “shift in the narrative,” from children as passive victims of climate change to children as active agents of change (Tanner 2010). Drawing on a suite of participatory action research (PAR) projects in the Philippines and El Salvador, Tanner et al. (2009) identify five core domains in which children can participate in climate change adaptation:

- Assessing risk and risk reduction activities
- Designing and implementing projects
- Communicating risks and risk management options to their households and communities
- Mobilizing resources and people
- Constructing social networks and social capital

A more recent study by Haynes and Tanner (2013), conducted in the Philippines, provides further evidence of children’s capacities for participating across these core domains. Utilizing participatory video (PV) methods, this study involved children and youth (13–18 years old) in identifying local climate risks, researching the underlying social and political risk drivers, producing short films to communicate their findings to local decision-makers and community members, and participating in follow-up workshops to develop community-based strategies for adaptation. Through the PV process, one particular group of children discovered that chromite mining was exacerbating the health impacts of extreme rainfall events and flooding in their village. Not only was chromite mining contaminating flood waters and causing skin disease, but water-filled mining pits were providing breeding grounds for mosquitoes and increasing the risk of malaria. Their film revealed that chromite mining was a divisive issue in the community between those who were benefiting from the mining and those who were exposed to the risks but received no benefits. Following a local screening of the film, the children organized a community meeting to openly discuss the various issues, and as a result local officials banned mining close to the village and pledged to rehabilitate old mining pits. In a region where climate change is expected to increase the frequency and intensity of extreme rainfall events, preventing the contamination of flood waters and eradicating mosquito breeding sites is an essential adaptation measure.

While the available evidence provides support for child participation in climate change adaptation, there is an urgent need for increased research outputs. As Mitchell and Borchard (2014) point out, there is no solid evidence base proving that what has worked in a growing number of cases is more broadly applicable,

translatable to other regions, or sustainable in the absence of direct project support. There is also a distinct need for research that focuses on younger children. To date, the majority of published studies involve older children and youth aged between 11 and 18. Yet, it would appear that it is younger children and infants who are most vulnerable to both extreme events and climate-sensitive disease. While the participation of infants will obviously be constrained by their still developing cognitive and communication abilities, it is generally agreed that school-age children are capable of engaging in the research process, so long as child-friendly research methods are employed (Eder and Fingerson 2002).

8 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the available literature on the health impacts of climate change on children and the various pathways toward protecting child health and survival. There is a general scientific consensus that climate change will cause an increase in the frequency and intensity of extreme weather events (i.e., heat wave, flood, drought, tropical cyclone) and exacerbate the spread of climate-sensitive diseases (i.e., malaria, dengue, pneumonia, diarrhea). It is also widely understood that climate change will lead to an increase in mortality and morbidity, particularly in developing countries where exposure is highest and vulnerability is most entrenched. While the available evidence indicates that children will be most severely impacted, a lack of data on child mortality and morbidity is impeding the development of mathematical models for reliable estimates under various climate change scenarios. Of particular importance is the need to disaggregate data at a level of precision that can account for physical, behavioral, and social heterogeneity of childhood. Where child health data is being collected, it is most commonly grouped into 0–4-year-olds and 5–14-year-olds. These categories are insufficiently fine-grained for fully understanding the distinct exposures and vulnerabilities at different stages of child development. There is also a need to better understand children’s environmental health from their own perspectives, especially with regard to how their daily activities and routines influence their exposure and vulnerability.

However, the lack of definitive estimates of impacts for the various stages of childhood should not delay action on climate change mitigation and adaptation to protect child health and survival. Rather, the potential risks to child health and associated consequences for the acquisition of human capital would seem to require the application of the “precautionary principle.” Importantly, many climate change mitigation measures have major co-benefits for public health in general and child health, in particular. Framing mitigation policy in terms of health co-benefits and as an issue of intergenerational justice is more likely to secure public support for the kind of drastic actions that are needed to avoid catastrophic climate change. Principles of intergenerational justice also require that children and young people are provided with opportunities for genuine participation in the development of climate policy. While recent efforts have ensured that there are formal mechanisms for youth to participate in international climate change negotiations, children under the age of

15 have not been afforded the same opportunities. Yet, they are the ones who are most vulnerable to the health impacts of extreme events and climate-sensitive disease and thereby have the strongest claim to climate justice. Upholding children's rights to participate in decision-making that affects them requires the implementation of formal mechanisms for the participation of younger children as well youth.

Children must also be provided with increased opportunities to participate in climate change adaptation. While it is often assumed that children are helpless victims of extreme events and disease, it is increasingly recognized that they have an essential role to play in adaptation research, policy, and practice. Historically, children's exposure and vulnerability to extreme events and climate-sensitive disease have been studied from the perspectives of adults, and children's needs and capacities have not been ranked as a high priority in adaptation planning. However, it is becoming increasingly clear that when children have an opportunity to participate in knowledge generation and the development of adaptation solutions, the entire community benefits. Yet, child-centered adaptation research remains very much a niche topic in the wider adaptation literature. If current and future generations of children are to be protected from the health impacts of climate change, the climate change community will need to make a more concerted effort to incorporate the needs and capacities of children into its core agenda. Not only will this provide a stronger basis for solutions that are sensitive to the realities of children's everyday lives, it will also ensure that broader measures for mitigation and adaptation do not impact adversely on their health and survival.

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Abstract

While climate change is widely acknowledged as a defining challenge of this generation, there is also a general consensus that harmonizing human development and efforts to address climate change will minimize the anticipated threats. However, in formulating any climate change interventions, it must be noted that, while climate change is viewed as a global challenge, its impacts are not expected to be globally homogeneous but rather differentiated across regions, generations, age groups, classes, income groups, occupational groups, and between women and men. This chapter draws attention to gender disparities, which are often

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overlooked and yet key to the formulation and implementation of climate change interventions.

Literature shows that climate change impacts, vulnerabilities, and responses tend to be gender differentiated. These differentiations are attributed to socially constructed roles of male and female, which often result in gender-based disparities that disadvantage girls and women. Climate change is expected to exacerbate gender-based disparities. Despite this being the case, most climate change policies, strategies, action plans, projects, and programs are known to be gender blind. They are often developed without considering the gendered situations which oblige girls, boys, young men, and young women to acquire different capacities and knowledge and to have different needs and interests. As a result, options for girls and young women to become agents of change in response to climate change are often limited. If gender is not given due consideration in climate change interventions, it will be impossible to effectively deal with its challenges. It is against this backdrop that this chapter seeks to contribute to the body of knowledge needed to promote and make a case for the integration of children and young people's gendered concerns into climate change interventions.

Keywords

Climate change • Gendered youth vulnerability • Adaptation • Climate risk exposure • Response

1 Introduction

Climate change is a defining challenge of this generation, signifying the greatest environmental, social, and economic threats facing the planet today. Threats of a changing climate, manifested in the increase of extreme climatic events such as droughts and floods, have already demonstrated devastating impacts, affecting especially the poor in developing countries due to their low coping and adaptive capacity (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change 2014; Skoufias et al. 2011). Climate change impacts are not expected to be globally homogeneous but rather differentiated across regions, generations, age groups, classes, income groups, occupational groups, and gender. As noted by UNICEF (2014), children and young people, who make up 30 % of the world's population, are among the most vulnerable to climate change.

The 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) defines a child as anyone under the age of 18. As defined by the UN (2001), the terms youth and young people are used interchangeably in this chapter to mean those between the ages of 15 and 24. UNICEF (2014) notes that the majority of the world's children and young people live in developing countries and are already experiencing the impacts of a changing environment within their communities. For example, the effects of longer and more intense droughts, repeated floods, and shifting seasons are

severely hampering the education of children and young people. These climatic events are also creating community pressures, putting children and young people at the risk of economic exploitation (UNICEF 2014).

Apart from being among the most vulnerable to the impacts of climate change (as discussed in more detail by Towers et al. in this volume), children and young people are also powerful agents of change. Evidence from disaster studies, for example, demonstrates that children and young people possess unique perceptions of risks and distinctive knowledge and experiences which they are able to communicate to others to bring about changes that can reduce climate change vulnerabilities (Seballos and Tanner 2011; Tanner 2010). They are also the generation that will be required to deal with the future impacts of climate change as well as cut greenhouse gas emissions. Although this has been acknowledged in recent studies, very often the voices of young men and young women, boys and girls, are not heard at high-level climate change negotiations (UNICEF 2014). As noted by Tanner and Seballos (2012), children's voices are also rarely heard at the household and community level, nor are their views taken into account in climate change decision-making. Their exclusion violates the Convention on the Rights of the Child and undermines youth-led policy agendas put in place to embrace previously neglected groups, like the girl child (Annan 2001). While there are some exceptions, as documented by Tanner (2010), much more remains to be done to challenge the prevailing attitudes that inform climate change research and policy. As informants within formal and informal risk communication networks, children and young people's roles in responding to climate change should not be underestimated.

Existing knowledge and experiences based on past and current exposures to climatic shocks reveal that the impacts not only differ by age but also by gender. Climate change impacts are not gender neutral, but rather are unequally felt (International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) 2014; World Bank 2011; Babugura 2010; Commission on the Status of Women 2008). It is therefore vital that gender is considered in an effort to understand and effectively address climate risks confronting children and young people, particularly in developing countries where the greatest impacts will likely be felt.

In light of the above context, this chapter adopts a gender lens to highlight the climate change impacts and vulnerabilities of children and young people in the developing world, with a particular focus on Africa. Africa is one of the most vulnerable continents to climate change and climatic variability. The continent's vulnerability is intensified by multiple stressors and its low adaptive capacity (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) 2007). Existing developmental challenges such as endemic poverty, complex governance, and institutional dimensions; limited access to capital, including markets, infrastructure, and technology; ecosystem degradation; and complex disasters and conflicts contribute to Africa's weak adaptive capacity (IPCC 2007). The continent faces a number of risks as a result of climate change, including increased poverty levels, reduction in food security and agricultural productivity, increased water stress, decreased availability of energy resources, and increased risks to human health (IPCC 2007). Africa also

has the youngest population in the world. Young people, aged between 10 and 24, make up more than one-third of the continent's population (United Nations Population Fund 2012). It is therefore an important setting within which to explore the gender-based implications of climate change for children and young people.

This chapter begins by making a case for why gender matters in climate change research and policy. The section that follows discusses the gender-differentiated impacts of climate change and how these affect the vulnerabilities of children and young people. The chapter then considers how climate change can be understood from a gendered and youthful perspective. It concludes by presenting gender mainstreaming as a key strategy for integrating gender into climate change debates and interventions.

2 Gender Perspectives Matter in Climate Change Discourse

Gender is an important issue to consider in many contexts because of the fundamental differences and inequalities between girls and boys as well as men and women. These differences and inequalities often manifest themselves in different ways and are usually deeply rooted in cultural norms and religious, political, and social rights as well as institutionalized rules. Gender differences and inequalities thus vary across regions, countries, and communities. It is important that broad differences are considered as a starting point for exploring the relevance of gender in more specific situations (UN 2002).

To appreciate the relevance of gender within climate change discourses, it is important to understand what the term gender means. There has been a tendency to think “gender” directly translates into “women,” “young women,” or “girls.” The term gender is widely defined as the socially constructed differences between men and women, boys and girls, and the unequal power relationships that result. Gender differences are therefore not essential or inevitable products of biological sex differences (Rothchild 2007; UNESCO 2003; UN 2002). Gender roles and expectations are learned and can change over time. They are not biologically predetermined nor fixed forever, meaning gender is dynamic. Gender roles and expectations vary within and between cultures and are mediated by systems of social differentiation such as political status, class, ethnicity, physical and mental disability, as well as age (UNESCO 2003). Gender is also known to intersect with many other layers of identity, inequality, privilege, and dislocation (including race, culture, class, and geographical location, among others) (Commission for Gender Equality 2008).

Existing gender inequalities resulting from socially constructed roles and responsibilities shape the ways in which climate change impacts play out in society (Nelson 2011). Within the context of climate change, a gender perspective is vital for reducing inequitable effects, for increasing adaptive capacity, and generally for successful implementation of just, efficient, and effective adaptation and mitigation measures (IFAD 2014). However, grasping the ways in which gender is a factor in climate change, or how it should be addressed, has been a major challenge for many. This is largely due to the complex nature of interactions between gender and climate

change. Age contributes another layer of complexity to understandings of the gendered implications of climate change. There is currently a profound lack of knowledge regarding children and young people's gendered experiences and vulnerabilities to climate change.

The majority of studies and literature on gender and climate change tend to be focused on adult women and, to a lesser extent, adult men (e.g., FAO 2011; World Bank 2011; Commission on the Status of Women 2008; BRIDGE 2008; WEDO 2007; UNDP 2007). Based on past and current experiences in developing countries, these studies have shown that men and women are impacted differently by extreme climatic events. Due to inequalities exhibited in unequal access to resources, gendered roles, power relations, and decision-making power, when exposed to climatic events such as floods and droughts, women have been found to bear the brunt. This has been observed in cases where changes in climate have impacted key sectors (agriculture, water, energy, biodiversity, and ecosystems) on which poor men and women directly depend on for their livelihoods. Impacts on agriculture and food security, for example, often result in traditional food sources becoming more unpredictable and scarce. Given their role and responsibility to ensure household food security, women often work harder to find means and resources to sustain food supply during periods of harsh climatic events. Women tend to have increased workloads as they diversify their livelihoods to ensure food security for their families (Babugura 2010).

While such studies have enabled the gender dimensions of climate change to gain a greater profile in global debates, the gendered nature of climate change impacts on children and young people remains under-researched (Swarup et al. 2011; Wenden 2010). This has been observed in established literature pertaining to children, young people, and climate change (e.g., Tanner and Sebbalos 2012; Tanner et al. 2009; 2010; Bartlett 2009; Sebbalos 2009; Plush 2009) – including in children's geographies. Yet knowledge of how interactions between gender and age shape vulnerability is critical for informing effective and equitable climate change responses that are inclusive.

A gendered approach to climate change research and policy also reveals that all genders have a critical role to play in creating more fair-minded future societies that are resilient to climate change. A gender analysis should capture ways in which gender and climate change intersect, through day-to-day activities and efforts to cope, adapt, and build resilience. Given that climate change impacts on men and women differently, they will have different priorities and responses to climate change. For example, in a South African case study, Babugura (2010) found that, despite inequalities that heighten women's vulnerability to climatic changes, they managed to explore opportunities that enabled them to cope better than men. Due to the responsibility placed on women to ensure the well-being of their households, the women participating in the study noted they have no choice but to diversify their livelihoods. They took on nonagricultural activities to generate income. The income provided women with purchasing power to meet their households' basic needs. Men, on the other hand, tended to feel helpless and stressed out. To cope with the stress, they spent most of their time consuming alcohol.

Understandings of existing gender inequalities are critical to gendered analyses of climate change impacts. Such understandings provide a starting point for exploring the ways in which climate change will exacerbate existing inequalities and the implications for responding to these impacts (World Bank 2011; UNDP 2010; Babugura 2010). Using such knowledge to inform fair, gender-sensitive responses to climate change will result in more effective strategies and hopefully to more balanced societies that are resilient to climate change. The following section adds age to gendered discussions of climate change impacts and responses. It discusses gender- and age-differentiated climate change impacts and vulnerabilities. Observations from the African continent are used to demonstrate how gender inequality and gender roles shape differentiated vulnerabilities of children and young people.

3 Gendered Climate Change Impacts and Vulnerabilities Among Children and Young People

Inevitably children and young people everywhere are affected and vulnerable to the impacts of a changing climate. In Africa, where most countries have youthful population structures, children and young people are feeling the brunt of climate-related hazards. Moreover, in many African countries, climate change compounds ongoing struggles with existing national challenges such as poverty, scarcity of safe and clean water, food insecurity, and access to education and health services. These challenges are exacerbated by climate shocks which in turn heighten the vulnerability of the continent's children and young people (Otzelberger 2011; UNICEF 2011; African Development Forum 2010).

A few existing studies have highlighted the gendered nature of climate change and climate-related impacts on children and young people (e.g., Ongoro and Ogara 2012; Swarup et al. 2011; Babugura 2007). These studies reveal that girls and young women often bear the brunt of climatic shocks and stressors. This is not to say that young men and boys are immune to the impacts of climate change. When exposed to climatic stressors, they are also faced with situations where expectations about their boyhood or manhood limit their options (Ongoro and Ogara 2012; Babugura 2010). The emphasis on girls and women in existing studies is qualified by the fact that they are often more disadvantaged and marginalized. Many girls and young women are exposed to double discrimination based on their sex and age. As a result, in many societies they remain at the bottom of the social, economic, educational, and political ladder (Swarup et al. 2011; Agbemabiese 2011), a position which renders them particularly vulnerable to climate change. Agbemabiese (2011) points out that in many traditional African societies, it is often the girl child who is controlled by traditional expectations of gender roles and abused by the time-honored customs of her community. As discussed throughout this section, the customs and expectations that shape the lives of girls and young women in many African societies have major implications for how they respond to climate-related shocks and stressors. Furthermore the manner in which authority is structured in some cultures denies girls and young women the opportunity to voice their views and to have their concerns taken

into consideration by decision-makers (Agbemabiese 2011). This strips them of the opportunity to contribute to changes that could reduce their vulnerability while transforming their lives and building resilience to climate change impacts.

The most common and recurring climatic events in Africa are droughts and floods. Children and young people in Africa are highly vulnerable when exposure to these events strips away social and economic opportunities – resulting in the loss of livelihoods, community protection, and educational opportunities (Reinvang 2013; Swarup et al. 2011; UNICEF 2011). Girls and young women are known to bear a greater burden as they are expected to carry out tasks that are particularly affected by changes in climate. For instance, they are often responsible for the most basic survival needs of their families (e.g., farming and food preparation and collecting water and firewood). They therefore face a heavier burden of domestic work when these resources become scarce due to changes in climate.

As individuals, households, and communities modify their livelihood practices to reduce negative consequences of climate-related impacts, differentiated gender impacts and vulnerabilities begin to manifest through coping and adaptation strategies (UNICEF 2011). In cases where effective coping and adaptation responses are lacking, gendered negative consequences become more acute. In communities where household incomes and livelihood security are affected, children and young people are usually forced to take up paid work to help support their families. In some cases the work is exploitative or harmful for girls and boys (UNICEF 2011). The sections below provide a detailed discussion of the most common gendered impacts of climate change for children and young people in Africa. These include school dropout, increased burden of water collection, harmful coping practices, impacts on human dignity, early and forced marriage, and increased poor nutrition.

3.1 Increased School Dropout

Among the basic rights of children is the right to education. Reinvang (2013) notes that this right is often impinged upon by complex factors including deepening poverty and gender discrimination. According to UNICEF (2013), these challenges are increasingly exacerbated by climate change impacts, which create barriers for education. Existing evidence (e.g., Reinvang 2013; UNICEF 2013; Swarup et al. 2011; Baez et al. 2010; Babugura 2007) has shown that children are often forced to miss school or drop out of school as a result of the destruction caused by extreme climatic events and the need to help their families recover. Girls face a higher risk of being pulled out of school under such scenarios, as they are expected to take up additional domestic chores and support household income generation (Reinvang 2013; Swarup et al. 2011). For example, during extended drought periods, women are faced with additional workloads. In response to women's increased workloads, families often resort to withdrawing girls from school to help out at home, hence reducing their future opportunities (Swarup et al. 2011; Babugura 2010). Swarup et al. (2011) highlight that, with the increased frequency of climate-related shocks, girls' domestic work becomes more strenuous, making it more

difficult to stay in school. This results in a lack of education, with negative long-term life consequences.

Swarup et al. (2011) indicate that high dropout rates from secondary school, alongside poor quality and inappropriate education, affect key adolescent transitions – from girlhood to womanhood, from primary to secondary education, and from education to work and family life. It is during these transitions that gender roles for girls often become more entrenched within the domestic sphere. In a study conducted in the Lasta and Lalibela districts of Ethiopia, Swarup et al. (2011) found that during drought periods, girls have to collect and sell firewood to support family income generation. The girls interviewed in their study stated that it takes an hour to collect the firewood and another 2 h to walk to Lalibela to sell it. Their days started between 3:00 am and 4:00 am. The girls reported that failure to sell firewood in the morning would mean having to stay at the market all day, hence preventing them from attending school.

Similar experiences were reported in Gode, Ethiopia, where a sustained drought contributed to high rates of student absenteeism and dropouts, with girls being the first to drop out of school (Reinvang 2013). Studies conducted by Plan International (2013) in Kenya, Malawi, South Sudan, and Zimbabwe also revealed that the effects of climate change have forced children to drop out of school and get involved in child labor, in an effort to make ends meet for their vulnerable families. The results further revealed that girls were more affected. In most African traditions, boys are kept in school in anticipation that they will go on to become family breadwinners while girls will be “married off” to attract a bride price. Therefore in most cultures, families do not see the value of educating girls (as they will join another family post-marriage), despite educational attainment being the most fundamental prerequisite for empowering girls and young women in all spheres of society.

3.2 Increased Burden of Water Collection

Water resources comprise one sector that is highly dependent on and influenced by climate change (IPCC 2014). Several countries on the African continent are already experiencing considerable water stress due to insufficient and unreliable rainfall as well as governance issues (Tadesse 2010). Changes in climate are worsening the water situation in many African countries, and communities are experiencing increased pressures relating to water scarcity, access, and demand (UN 2012; Brown et al. 2012). This has been confirmed, for example, in Zimbabwe, Malawi, Kenya, Ethiopia, South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Zambia, Mozambique, and Egypt (Plan International 2013). Water scarcity, access, and demand shape gender roles that perpetuate gender divides in African countries (UNDP 2006). The gender division of labor assigns girls and young women the responsibility of water collection for household use – reinforcing deep gender inequalities. Given this responsibility, girls and young women in most African societies tend to bear the brunt of water scarcity (Plan International 2013; UN 2012; UNDP 2006).

Particularly in rural communities, girls and young women walk for several hours a day to fetch water, which is used for cooking, cleaning, bathing, washing, animal care, food production, and so on (Plan International, 2013). With climate change impacting on water security, girls and young women have to walk even longer distances and spend much more time collecting water (Plan International 2013; Swarup et al. 2011). This has been observed in several African countries such as Mozambique, rural Senegal, Eastern Uganda, South Africa, Ethiopia, and Kenya. Studies conducted in these countries reveal that during dry seasons or drought periods, girls and women may walk more than 10 km in search of water (Plan International 2013; Ongoro and Ogara 2012; Swarup et al. 2011; UNICEF 2011; Babugura 2010; UNDP 2006). During a prolonged drought in Western Kenya, from 2003 to 2009, some girls and young women walked 6–12 miles to a riverbed to collect water. They must then carry the heavy load of water back to their homes (United Methodist Women and Church World Service n.d.).

While the focus has typically been on girls and young women, in Kenyan pastoral communities, water scarcity was also found to affect boys and young men. Given their responsibility of watering livestock and driving them to grazing areas, boys and young men were forced to move the livestock over longer distances in search of water and pasture during prolonged drought periods. Ongoro and Ogara (2012) established that the movements of boys and young men in search of water and pasture for livestock made them vulnerable to attacks from neighboring population groups.

There are several gendered consequences and vulnerabilities associated with water insecurity that are intensified by changes in climate. These include reduced social and intellectual development, health implications, and sexual harassment or abuse.

3.2.1 Reduced Social and Intellectual Development

Increased burden and time spent on collecting water undermines girls' educational opportunities in terms of attendance rates, completion rates as well as quality of education. They have less time to attend school and also to do school work. Girls' time for leisure is also limited as a result of their water-collecting responsibilities, and hence they have very little opportunity to socialize with their peers. This in turn affects their social and intellectual development (UNICEF 2011; Babugura 2007). In a study conducted in Botswana, Babugura (2007) highlighted children's views regarding reduced playtime and socialization during drought periods. While both boys and girls voiced concerns about not having enough time to play and socialize with friends, due to increased workloads, the girls were unhappy about the amount of time spent on water collection. The girls explained that they not only had to walk long distances to reach boreholes, they then had to queue for hours before they could access the water. They noted how they had to repeat the process more than once per day. In other words, a whole day could be spent just collecting water.

3.2.2 Health Implications

The task of carrying heavy water loads over long distances not only causes temporary exhaustion but also long-term harm. Given that the various types of containers girls and young women use to fetch water are usually carried on the head or the hip, they risk damaging their bones over a period of time. Carrying heavy loads over long periods of time is known to cause cumulative damage to the spine, the neck muscles, and the lower back, thus leading to early aging of the vertebral column (WHO 2011). A study conducted in South Africa's Limpopo Province, by Geere et al. (2010), highlighted potential health risks associated with water collection – which was primarily conducted by women and girls. The main method of carrying water that was observed was head loading. The study identified typical symptoms of musculoskeletal disorders, such as neck or back pain, and related functional disability. The prevalence of spinal (neck or back) pain among the participants who carried water was 69 %. The study concluded that this is an important but neglected public health issue that requires more attention and research.

3.2.3 Sexual Harassment and Abuse

The long distances that girls are forced to walk in search of water compromise their security, making them vulnerable to harassment and sexual violence (Ongoro and Ogara 2012; Swarup et al. 2011). While walking to get water, particularly when they walk alone, girls and young women are vulnerable to rape and other violent attacks. Evidence generated from research in Ethiopia revealed that recurring and prolonged droughts in the country contribute to water scarcity, in turn exposing a greater number of girls to the risk of gender-based violence. The study revealed that most rapes and abductions occur when girls have to walk long distances to collect water (Swarup et al. 2011).

While this section has focused on periods of water scarcity, other climatic shocks – such as floods – can also increase the risk of sexual violence. Several cases of gender-based violence were reported in the aftermath of the 2015 floods that devastated Malawi, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe (Onabanjo and Charles 2015). In one of the camps for displaced persons in Mozambique, a total of 124 cases were brought to the attention of authorities (Onabanjo and Charles 2015). Girls and women reported that the design of the camps and the positioning of toilets contributed to the gender-based violence. The toilets were said to be far from the sleeping quarters, and hence girls and women were attacked when walking to the toilets at night. Most girls noted that they were afraid of walking to the toilets at night for fear of being raped (Onabanjo and Charles 2015).

3.3 Harmful Coping Practices

A number of studies have shown that exposure to climate-related shocks and stressors heightens poverty, particularly among rural African families (e.g., Swarup et al. 2011; Babugura 2010; Back and Cameron 2008; Babugura 2007). During and after extreme climatic events such as floods or prolonged droughts, families are often

left poor due to loss of their crops, livestock and other family assets. This is also a time when household finances are constrained. Changes in social behavior begin to manifest among household members as a result of stress (Swarup et al. 2011; Babugura 2010; Babugura 2007; UNDP 2006). Research conducted by UNDP (2006) in eastern and southern Africa found that in extreme circumstances, youthful men engaged in relationships with widows so as to be fed. Girls and women, on the other hand, engaged in prostitution in order to raise money to provide for their families.

Prostitution was also found to be a common coping mechanism in studies conducted in Botswana (Babugura 2007) and South Africa (Babugura 2010). In Botswana, girls between 15 and 18 years old admitted to doing sexual favors for men in exchange for money to support their families (Babugura 2007). Research in Ethiopia revealed that during drought periods, girls (particularly from the poorest families and households headed by women) are forced into prostitution to help make ends meet (Swarup et al. 2011). Such destructive behavior exposes girls to more risks, making them vulnerable to sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS as well as unwanted pregnancies.

3.4 Impact on Human Dignity

Extreme climatic events such as floods and drought are known to expose girls and women to hygiene and sanitation problems. For example, they tend to pay the heaviest price for poor hygiene when water resources are scarce during drought periods (Mulema et al. 2013) or when displaced due to floods (Onabanjo and Charles 2015). Good hygiene is fundamental to human dignity (UNDP 2006).

The flooding of the Zambezi River in January 2015 devastated three countries in Southern Africa, namely, Malawi, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe – drowning livestock, destroying crops, damaging infrastructure, killing people, and leaving thousands of people displaced and homeless (Onabanjo and Charles 2015). Preliminary assessments revealed that the majority of displaced people in emergency camps were children and women. It was reported that women and girls were badly affected by conditions in the camps (Onabanjo and Charles 2015). Personal hygiene was a major challenge. Adolescent girls particularly faced challenges of managing their menstrual cycle due to limited water resources to clean themselves and poor sanitation. Lack of sanitary resources in the camps forced women and girls to share sanitary materials, hence seriously compromising their health and dignity (Onabanjo and Charles 2015).

Onabanjo and Charles (2015) further highlighted that the health and dignity of pregnant women and girls were compromised in the camps. Over 100 women and girls in Mozambique's camps, and 315 in Malawi's camps, were pregnant at the time of displacement. These women and girls had been airlifted from floodplains and placed in camps with no midwives, sterilized equipment, or medical supplies to ensure safe delivery. Onabanjo and Charles (2015) noted that between January 10 and 24, 2015, 88 deliveries were recorded in the Malawian camps. Out of the

88 deliveries, 24 were among adolescents girls aged between 15 and 19 years. Without proper care and a safe and hygienic environment, they were vulnerable to a range of health risks associated with child birth and a lack of good hygiene. As a result of such experiences, international NGOs are supporting governments and other partners to scale up efforts to safeguard the dignity of women and girls who are displaced by climate-related disasters (Onabanjo and Charles 2015).

3.5 Early and Forced Marriage

Early and forced marriage is a global problem, which is most prevalent in developing countries (Donahue 2011; UNICEF 2010; Vermeer 2010; Levine 2009). Studies show that a growing number of families struggling to survive are resorting to tackling poverty by forcing girls to marry in exchange for bride price. For overstretched families, this also means one less mouth to feed (Vermeer 2010; Swarup et al. 2011). To the extent that climate-related stressors exacerbate poverty, they contribute to early and forced marriages.

Early and forced marriage is not only devastating but very harmful, as it robs girls of their childhood and risks their health and lives. Girls exposed to early marriage are robbed of critical educational and economic empowerment opportunities, hence preventing them from developing to their full potential. Their emotional and social development is also interrupted (Vermeer 2010). The victims of this practice suffer unspeakable abuses such as marital rape. The practice is also said to be one of the most prevalent forms of sexual exploitation of girls in developing countries. Often this results in girls becoming pregnant at a tender age, hence putting them at greater risk of both death and chronic disability (Vermeer 2010).

Early and forced marriage is a serious problem in Africa, where some girls as young as 9 years old are forced to get married. In the Lalibela district of Ethiopia, for example, around 49 % of girls are married before the age of 18 (Vermeer 2010). Early and forced marriage is mainly attributed to the low status of girls in societies where their value is placed only on their ability to keep a house and produce children (Vermeer 2010). For this reason, parents in communities that practice early child marriage see no reason to educate or invest in their daughters. Child marriage is further fuelled by poor economic conditions. Vermeer (2010) noted that girls born into poverty are more likely to be forced to marry early as a financial transaction. In Mauritania, for example, it is reported that child marriage has evolved into a business in which fathers sell their young daughters to foreign husbands for tens of thousands of dollars (Vermeer 2010). Beyond being a child bride, girls are also trafficked and forced to endure exploitation in a foreign land. They are exposed to a range of health issues including HIV/AIDS. In Kenya and Zambia, 15–19-year-old married girls were found to be 75 % more likely to contract HIV/AIDS than unmarried girls (Clark 2004). In Malawi, adolescent girls are disproportionately vulnerable to HIV infection because of the pervasiveness of early marriage (Vermeer 2010).

Such situations are exacerbated by climate-related disasters (Leichenko and Silva 2014; Ongoro and Ogara 2012; Swarup et al. 2011). A study conducted in East

Africa revealed that higher rates of early marriage for girls – identified as “famine marriages” – are a significant concern in drought and famine contexts, associated with climate change (North 2010). The study established that in Uganda, due to recurring droughts which resulted in food crises and economic hardships, some parents forced their adolescent girls to marry in exchange for bride price (North 2010). Research in Zimbabwe revealed that early child marriage is among the child-specific vulnerabilities credited to climate-related disasters. In assessing children’s vulnerability to flood disasters in Muzarabani District (Zimbabwe), children and community members who were interviewed indicated that early child marriage is one of the coping mechanisms used in response to flood-related aftermaths (e.g., loss of livelihoods and assets and food insecurity) (Mudavanhu 2014). A study in Kenya highlighted that in an effort to acquire livestock to restock after prolonged droughts, fathers in some tribes force their daughters to marry at an early age (Ongoro and Ogara 2012). With climate shocks and stressors projected to increase due to climate variability and change, the plight of poverty is expected to worsen (Leichenko and Silva 2014), hence increasing the risk of early child marriages.

3.6 Increased Poor Nutrition

According to the United Nations Standing Committee on Nutrition (UNSCN) (2010), climate change directly affects the food and nutrition security of millions of people, undermining efforts to address undernutrition – one of the world’s most serious but least addressed socioeconomic and health problems. Food insecurity is a major concern particularly in the developing world (FAO 2011), with adolescent girls, children, and women being most heavily affected (UNSCN 2010). As expressed by Ransom and Elder (2003), adolescent girls are particularly vulnerable to malnutrition because they are growing faster than at any time after their first year of life. They require protein, iron, and other micronutrients to support their growth spurt and to meet the body’s increased demand for iron during menstruation. In cases where girls become pregnant, they are at greater risk of various complications given that they may not have finished growing (Rah et al. 2015; Ransom and Elder 2003). Pregnant girls who are underweight or stunted are known to experience obstructed labor and other obstetric complications. Evidence has shown that the bodies of girls who are still growing compete for nutrients with the baby they are carrying (Rah 2013; Rah et al. 2008). Rah et al. (2015) highlight that a large proportion of adolescents in developing countries enter pregnancy with a poor nutritional status. These girls are likely to have suboptimal dietary intake during pregnancy and lactation, increasing the risk of having a baby with low birth weight and early death.

In several African countries, where drought has significantly impacted on food security, some families are forced to reduce the number of meals consumed per day to one meal (Save the Children 2012; Child Fund 2012; Oxfam 2010). In many cases, that one meal does not meet individuals’ nutritional requirements. This has negative health impacts, particularly for adolescent girls who are experiencing a period of rapid growth and development. Studies have also noted that gender plays a

role in intra-household food distribution. Cultural practices in many African societies require women and girls to give preference to their male counterparts in the distribution of the quantity and quality of food. This means that women and girls often eat last and least (Guillermo and García 2013; Thaxton 2004; Gittelsohn et al. 1997). Gittelsohn et al. (1997) and Thaxton (2004) found that this practice resulted in the lower intake of calories and micronutrients among adolescent girls and women. In times of crisis, malnutrition has been found to be more acute among adolescent girls and women as a result of this practice (Thaxton 2004). Periods of prolonged droughts induced by climate change can therefore be expected to continue impacting on food security, in turn exacerbating malnutrition among adolescent girls.

Without making light of the impacts climate change will have on boys and young men, the evidence presented throughout this section has shown that girls and young women face unique risks compared to their male counterparts. In a world where 75 million girls between the ages of 10 and 19 drop out of school, and 1 in every 3 girls in developing countries is married by the age of 18 (Hrabovszki and Haarbrink 2012), it is crucial that attention is given to the ways in which climate change interacts with existing patterns of disadvantage to increase the vulnerability of girls and young women.

Having highlighted some of the unique vulnerabilities that girls and young women face due to climate change-related impacts, it is important to note that they also have a unique role to play in climate change adaptation and mitigation. They should not be considered merely as passive or helpless victims. In light of their experiences, they can offer critical insights, sensibility, and vitality for effective climate solutions. Thus, girls and young women can also be powerful agents of change. Vulnerability does not make them powerless to take action on issues that impact their lives. Girls' and young women's experiences and daily interactions with the natural world mean they hold specialized knowledge that is useful in understanding the consequences of climate change (Otzelberger and Harmeling 2014; Brody et al. 2008). Their knowledge is vital for developing effective strategies for mitigating and adapting to climate change.

Equally, given the patriarchal nature of numerous African societies, it is vital that boys and men are made aware of the importance of including girls and young women in community initiatives in response to climate change. The 1994 Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development drafted in Cairo (Egypt) underscored the importance of involving boys and men in efforts to promote gender equality in all spheres of life. Gender equality refers to that stage of human social development at which the rights, responsibilities, and opportunities of individuals will not be determined by the fact of being born male or female, in other words, a stage when girls, boys, men, and women realize their full potential (Lopez-Claros and Zahidi 2005). The 1994 Programme of Action was a direct response to the harsh experiences of many girls and women around the world. It was acknowledged that in most societies, men exercise greater power in nearly every sphere of life, ranging from decisions made in households and at the community level to policy and program decisions taken at all levels of the government (United Nations Population Fund and International Council on Management of Population

Programmes 2011). Men and boys are therefore called to be part of the solution in addressing gender inequality. While this call was made more than two decades ago, it is highly applicable to the contemporary climate change arena. The next section of this chapter discusses how climate change can be addressed from a gendered and young people's perspective.

4 Addressing Climate Change from a Gendered and Young People's Perspective

The rapid environmental change humanity is foisting on the planet demands that human beings not only think in terms of weeks, years and decades but across generations perhaps for the first time in the history of mankind – this is no more clearly underlined than in the area of climate change where the choices made today will determine the likely climate across centuries. Thus it is clear and right that the children and youth of this world have a say in their future, not just because of the expected future impacts but because their creativity, ability to define and deliver answers and downright determination could make a significant difference in avoiding the worst outcomes of climate change which currently appear to elude the existing generation of leaders across governments, cities, corporations and adult citizens.

(Achim Steiner in United Nations Joint Framework Initiative on Children, Youth and Climate Change, 2013: 11)

It is important to note that globally, gender equality is recognized as a fundamental human right as well as an end in itself. It is one of the fundamental requirements for achieving sustainable development and attaining the Sustainable Development Goals (UN 2012; OEDC 2010). Concerns for gender equality are not new. Efforts to address gender inequalities can be traced back to 1945, when the United Nations Charter acknowledged the need to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to sex. Several treaties to address gender inequalities have since been ratified by the international community. These include the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Dakar and Beijing Platforms for Action (BPFA), the UN System-Wide Policy on Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, the human development paradigm, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Disappointingly, responses to the gender commitments expressed in these instruments are often very inadequate, and pronounced gender inequality remains an issue with respect to legal, social, political, and economic rights. Within the climate change discourse, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) for several years failed to recognize the gendered aspects of climate change. It omitted young people, gender equality, and women's participation entirely. The UNFCCC is an international environmental treaty negotiated at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). A total of 196 parties are signatory to the UNFCCC treaty, adopted on May 9, 1992 to stabilize greenhouse gas interference with the climate system. Its Kyoto Protocol failed to integrate a gender perspective in its operationalization and mechanisms, such as the

Clean Development Mechanism (Revelo 2008). Given the dominance of men in planning and decision-making processes, their perceptions and perspectives have been dominant in shaping climate change mitigation and adaptation instruments and measures.

As already highlighted and also noted by the Commonwealth Youth, Gender, and Equality Network (CYGEN 2015), discriminatory gender norms, rooted in gender inequality, are a central factor affecting the lives of young people globally. CYGEN (2015) points out that young people are often subjected to gender-based discrimination, prejudice, and violence and hence should be central to forming solutions and championing equality on the basis of their own experiences. Within the context of climate change, this entails understanding the gendered dimensions of climate change from a young people's perspective (as outlined in this paper) and then ensuring diverse needs are taken into consideration. It requires equitable participation in decision-making processes, policy development, information sharing and generation, education and training, technology transfer, organizational development, and financial assistance. Gender equality in climate change responses requires changes in attitudes and relationships, changes in institutions and legal frameworks, changes in economic institutions, and changes in political decision-making structures (UN 2002).

While much more remains to be done, particularly with regard to intersections between gender, youth, and climate change, efforts have been underway to advocate and provide platforms for girls, boys, young men, and young women to voice their concerns and share their experiences. In Box 1 is a speech presented by a Kenyan girl (Beatrice) who was given the platform and opportunity to voice and share her experiences at the 2011 United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP 17) in Durban, South Africa. Beatrice's speech narrates how changes in climate are impacting her life as well as the lives of other young girls and women. Beatrice highlights the importance and need for young girls like herself to be part of the solution for climate change. She also indicates that as a Girl Guide, together with other fellow members, she is already taking action at a local level to combat climate change. Some of the activities in which Beatrice has participated include tree planting, training projects to educate leaders on reforestation, and projects training girls and young women living in Kenya how to construct solar cookers and harvest rainwater. Her speech provides insights into the ability of girls and young women to effect change in the climate change arena.

Box 1: Kenyan Girl's Speech at the 2011 United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP 17) in Durban, South Africa

Climate change affects me!

My name is Beatrice Omweri from Kenya. I'm a youth delegate at COP 17 for the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS). I am a Girl Guide and I am here today to speak out on behalf of ten million girls and

(continued)

young women who are negatively affected by climate change. I applied to be a WAGGGS delegate at COP 17 after witnessing the terrible drought in the North Eastern Province of Kenya. As a result, hundreds of women and children died due to this.

In search of food, men would leave, forcing women to care for their families and be the breadwinners. Girls dropped out of school to help in the search of food, water, and fire wood, affecting their education greatly. I had to come to COP 17 to be part of the solution to these problems. Girls' voices need to be heard. Gender needs to be considered in climate change negotiations. I wanted to be here and speak out for the girls and young women who have been so greatly affected by this drought and make sure their voice was heard here in Durban.

Climate change plays a big role in my life: It affects how much I eat, how much I drink, and my role as a young woman. I had to play a big role in tackling the effects of climate change for myself and my community. Through the Kenya Girl Guides Association, I started a project called "Trees with a Purpose." I worked with Brownies, Girl Guides, Rangers, and Young Leaders to roll out a tree planting project in Ngong Forest in Nairobi in memory of the late Prof Wangari Maathai. We will expand this program further by rolling out a climate change education program, whereby all the members of my association will take part in WAGGGS' "nonformal climate change education program."

Through Guiding, I was able take action on climate change: My fellow Guiding and Scouting sisters throughout Africa, and the world, have also been busy taking action too. Having witnessed rapid rates of deforestation in their country, a Girl Guide unit in Madagascar initiated a training project to educate leaders on reforestation. The leaders then went out into their communities to plant trees and improve soil quality. Through this nonformal educational program, they learned how to take action at a local level.

Likewise the Girl Guide Association of South Africa hosted "Camp Activate" on December 2010. One hundred young women from both urban and rural backgrounds attended this weeklong environmental camp. They learned about biodiversity, solar cooking, caring for the environment, and how to recycle materials for other uses. As well, my fellow Girl Guides in Kenya started a project where they taught girls and young women living in slum conditions on how to improve their food security. They taught them how to construct solar cookers and how to harvest rainwater. As a result 1,000 girls and young women have been encouraged to plant and grow their own food in an efficient environmental manner.

These local projects demonstrate the importance of educating our youth on these issues. All too often, in the formal education system, you only learn about the problem, never the solution. But these programs and projects, that

(continued)

myself and my fellow Girl Guides have started, show the importance of nonformal education, as it gives us a chance be the solution and take action. We at COP need to recognize how powerful nonformal education can be and invest in it.

Guiding has given me the confidence to go out, speak out, and make a change. The movement has opened doors and brought opportunities to myself and my fellow Guiding sisters to make a difference. As Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, we are not just victims; we are active AGENTS of change.

Girl Guides and Girls Scouts are out in the world taking actions. Others need to follow our lead. They need to start here in Durban. I hope and pray that COP 17 will give me and other girls and young women a renewed hope that life will be better in Africa.

(WAGGGS, 2011, Climate Change Affects me! A part of a speech presented by a young Kenyan girl at the WAGGGS side event as part of Young and Future Generation Day on December 1, 2011 during COP 17 in Durban)

<http://www.wagggs.org/en/cop17/blogs/videos/beatrice>

In recognition of the key role played by girls, boys, young men, and young women in tackling climate change, the United Nations system works with youth-led and youth-focused organizations around the world through the United Nations Joint Framework Initiative on Children, Youth, and Climate Change (referred to henceforth as Joint Framework Initiative). Since 2008, the Joint Framework Initiative has coordinated the efforts of 16 intergovernmental entities and many youth organizations to empower young people to take adaptation and mitigation actions as well as enhance effective participation of young people in climate change policy decision-making processes ([United Nations Joint Framework Initiative on Children, Youth and Climate Change n.d.](#)).

Efforts to address gendered aspects of climate change have also been underway. As noted by Revelo (2008), women's caucuses since COP 11 in 2005 have strongly lobbied for a gendered approach to addressing climate change. Prior to the UN Climate Change Conference held in 2007 in Bali, representatives of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), and the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) united to address the emerging issue of gender and climate change. These institutions recognized that global policies and strategies on climate change did not yet incorporate a gender perspective and agreed on the need for a coordinated strategy. The result was the formation of the Global Gender and Climate Alliance (GGCA), which was publicly launched at the 13th Conference of the Parties (COP) held in Bali. The GGCA has since grown to include over 50 member organizations, including UN agencies, intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), and civil society organizations (CSOs).

Through awareness raising and advocacy, there has been a growing interest in gendered aspects of climate change and concrete efforts to address gender gaps. Some of these efforts include the formation of various alliances to enable information sharing among women and gender activists, establishment of platforms to voice women's concerns in the climate change debate, and opportunities for gender and climate change networks to participate in UN climate change conferences (Nampinga 2008). While these efforts have contributed to the appreciation of gender implications in the climate change arena, much remains to be done to integrate the gender-specific concerns of children and young people. In establishing appreciation for a gendered perspective in the climate change discourse, gender mainstreaming has played a key role. This process needs to be more inclusive to better take into account the gendered concerns of children and young people. There is a tendency to treat gender and youth as two separate issues in climate change debates instead of considering them in an intersecting manner. In the section that follows, the process of gender mainstreaming and how it should apply to children and young people is explained.

5 Gender Mainstreaming as a Means to Integrate Children and Young People's Gendered Concerns

Gender mainstreaming has been defined by the United Nations as:

[A] process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality. (United Nations 2002: 1)

The principle of gender mainstreaming should also apply to girls, boys, young men, and young women. It is a process that requires an ambitious approach that accepts male and female identities and the willingness to become truly inclusive, in responding to gender-specific needs. Applying gender mainstreaming principles to address children's and young people's gendered concerns relating to climate change means incorporating equal opportunities for girls, boys, young men, and young women into climate change initiatives.

The gender mainstreaming process was established as a major global strategy for the promotion of gender equality in the Beijing Platform for Action at the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. It requires that gender equality issues become the center of analyses and policy decisions, program budgets, and institutional structures and processes (UN 2002). It is important to note that gender mainstreaming is not about simply adding a "woman's component" or a

“gender equality component” into existing initiatives. The process entails that the perceptions, experiences, knowledge, interests, needs, and priorities of males and females are given equal weight in planning and decision-making.

Gender mainstreaming is slowly taking shape within the climate change arena; however, so much more remains to be done to ensure that girls, boys, young women, and young men can influence, participate in, and benefit from various processes and initiatives. As a starting point, already existing opportunities and platforms can serve as entry points for mainstreaming the gender concerns of children and young people into the climate change debate. Such opportunities are presented in Article 6 of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. From a broad perspective, a child rights framework recognizes that children are active bearers of rights. International and regional instruments oblige governments to recognize the right of children to participate in decisions that affect them and to be consulted in decisions determining their best interests (UNICEF 2011). Within the climate change context, child- and youth-relevant gender-sensitive activities can be conducted within a child rights framework, hence opening opportunities for girls, boys, young men, and young women to equally and meaningfully participate in climate change debates.

Article 6 of the UNFCCC presents good opportunities for mainstreaming the gender concerns of children and young people into the climate change debate. It deals with educating, empowering, and engaging all stakeholders and major groups on climate change and its positive solutions. Young people from around the world united in Cancun (2010) to demand changes to Article 6 of the UNFCCC. Specifically, they demanded to participate and to be part of climate change solutions. The UNFCCC was subsequently revised to recognize the need to prepare children and youth to adapt to climate change as well as promote their effective engagement in climate change debates (Article 6 of the UNFCCC 2012). Given its relevance to children and young people, Article 6 of the UNFCCC is of great importance in advocating and mainstreaming their gender-specific concerns into climate change discourses.

It is important to note that gender mainstreaming is contextual. Different contexts will need to be informed by an effective gender analysis that is sensitive to children and young people’s needs and capacities. Within the climate change context, such analysis would ensure that a concern for equality (relating to gender and age) is brought into the mainstream of climate change mitigation, adaptation, technology transfer, and financing (Commission on the Status of Women 2008). While there is no set formula for gender mainstreaming, there are basic phases that guide the process. Different approaches to guide gender mainstreaming exist and can be adapted for different contexts. In Fig. 1, an existing UNDP gender mainstreaming approach has been adapted to indicate how gender- and age-sensitive climate change interventions (mitigation and adaptation measures) may be planned (see UNDP 2010). The figure includes ten phases, each of which takes specific account of gender and age.

Throughout the gender mainstreaming process detailed in Fig. 1, gender analysis (Phase 3) plays a very critical role for ensuring that girls, boys, young men, and young women are not disadvantaged by climate change interventions. This stage allows for the collection of vital gender disaggregated data (UNDP 2010) that are needed to inform the various gender mainstreaming phases highlighted in Fig. 1. Collected

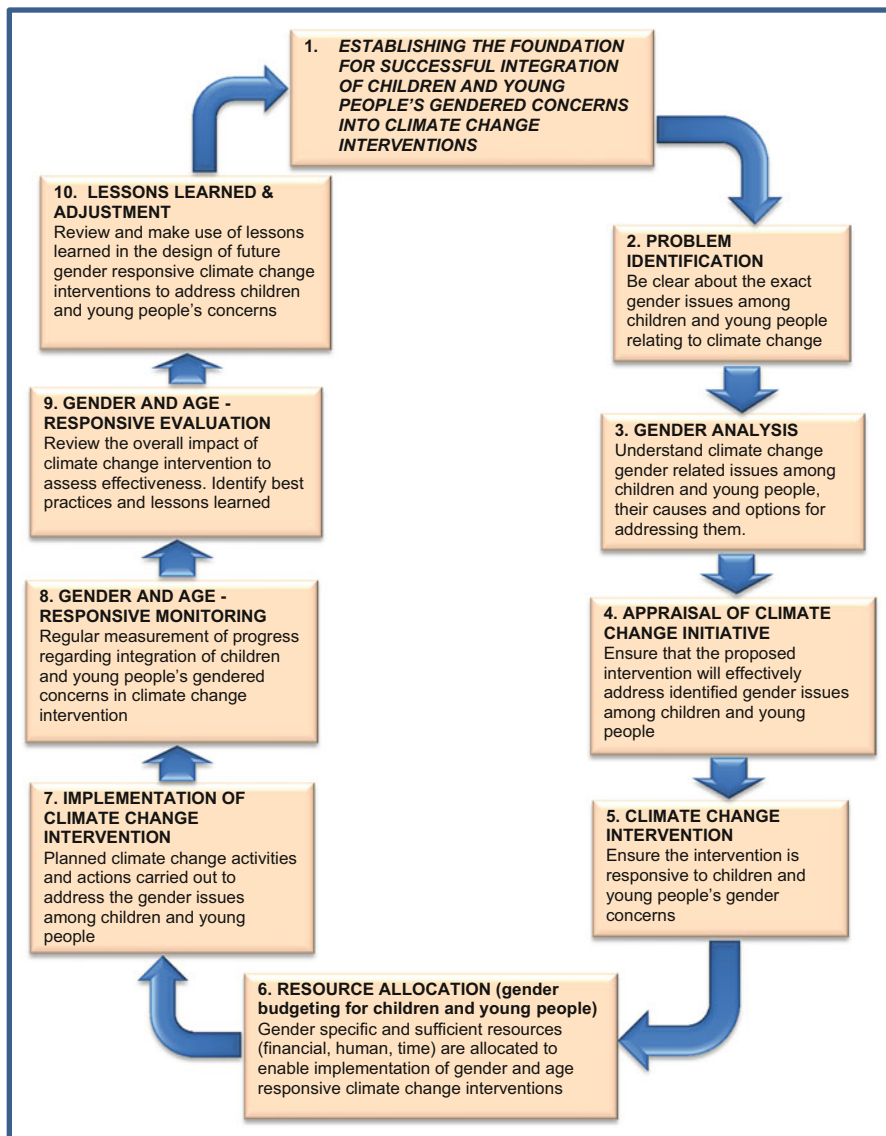


Fig. 1 Basic phases in formulating gender- and age-sensitive climate change interventions (Adapted from UNDP (2010))

gender disaggregated data may include difference in impacts, advantages and disadvantages, roles and responsibilities, specific needs and experiences, and gender- and age-differentiated responses taken to cope with and adapt to the changing climate. Gender analysis can also be used to enhance the sustainability and effectiveness of children and young people’s gendered climate change interventions or to identify

priority areas for action to promote equality between boys and girls, as well as between young men and women. During the stages of implementation, monitoring, and evaluation, gender analysis can provide knowledge regarding differences in participation, benefits of the intervention, and impacts and progress toward addressing the identified gender concerns. Gender analysis can further be used to assess, build, and strengthen gender capacities among children and young people.

In applying the gender mainstreaming approach outlined in Fig. 1 to understand the specific needs and experiences of girls, boys, young men, and young women, gender- and age-blind climate change interventions can be minimized. Gender blindness refers to the failure to recognize that gender is an essential determinant of social outcomes impacting on projects and policies. A gender-blind approach assumes gender is not an influencing factor in projects, programs, or policies (Zobnina 2009). Minimizing or eliminating climate change interventions that are gender and age blind would enable more effective and targeted solutions to ensure gender and age gaps do not persist over time. For example, targeted climate change initiatives could include the design of activities that keep girls in school longer and build their capacity to cope, adapt, and build resilience to climate change challenges. Programs or projects could be designed to promote young women's and girls' meaningful participation in decision-making processes and to address gender inequalities by raising the profile and status of young women and girls in the community. Targeted initiatives could also be designed to challenge traditional assumptions regarding the capabilities of girls and young women (Brody et al. 2008).

6 Conclusion

Based on existing knowledge, it is clear that while climate change is understood to be global in nature, its impacts, vulnerabilities, and responses are not expected to be globally homogeneous but rather differentiated across regions, generations, social and cultural groups, and income groups and between genders across all ages. Manifested in extreme climatic events such as droughts and floods, changes in climate have already demonstrated severe impacts especially in the poorest countries, exhibiting gendered elements. The impacts, vulnerabilities, and responses associated with climate change tend to differ for girls, boys, young men, and young women as a result of socially and culturally defined roles and responsibilities. Climate change is neither gender nor age neutral, and effective initiatives cannot be based on a one-size-fits-all ideology.

Girls and young women tend to be disproportionately affected by climate change impacts. As the studies discussed throughout this chapter have shown, distinct social and cultural preferences and customs affecting girls and boys tend to translate into different gender-specific vulnerabilities. Hrabovszki and Haarbrink (2012) note that gender equality should already exist when children are born. However, girls and boys are treated differently in most of the developing world, with girls too often suffering from a lack of access to nutrition, basic healthcare, and education. In many instances, these norms work to the detriment of young females (United Nations

Children's Fund, Innocenti Research Centre 2008), and these disadvantages are compounded by climate change. Apart from being the most affected, girls and young women also possess valuable knowledge and particular experiences, which are still largely untapped resources, vital for formulating fair and effective gender- and age-sensitive climate change adaptation and mitigation strategies.

Incorporating gender and age perspectives into policies, action plans, and other climate change measures needs to be encouraged at international, regional, national, and local levels. This can be done through conducting a systematic gender and age analysis of all interventions, as proposed in this chapter (Fig. 1). Generally, there is also a need to acknowledge and understand that children and young people (male and female) will be the ones to implement what is decided today, as well as to live with the consequences. Hence, it is important that they are involved at all levels of climate change processes relating to adaptation and mitigation. Engaging them at an early stage will enable them to be better prepared and positioned to play their part in climate change responses, today and in the future. Their participation therefore needs to be meaningful and transformative and not nominal in nature.

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Young People and Global Climate Change: Emotions, Coping, and Engagement in Everyday Life

17

Maria Ojala

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Abstract

This chapter focuses on research about how young people, mainly those from Northern Europe, relate to global climate change. Although in a sense this threat is spatially and temporally remote from the young people's everyday lives, they come in contact with climate change through media and school and also relate concrete experiences to the threat. In this chapter climate change is seen as an existential, moral, and political problem. The aim is to investigate what emotions young people experience, how they cope, and how coping strategies are related to environmental efficacy, environmental engagement, and subjective wellbeing. Worry seems to be the most common emotion. Young people actively cope by

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using: (1) Problem-focused coping, i.e., thinking about, planning, and trying to do something to fight climate change; (2) Emotion-focused coping, for instance getting rid of negative emotions with distancing strategies; (3) Meaning-focused coping and hope, i.e., being able to switch perspective and see both negative and positive trends, and putting trust in more powerful societal actors. Meaning-focused coping seems to be an especially constructive strategy, since it is positively associated with environmental efficacy and engagement, as well as wellbeing. The chapter ends by arguing that it is important to let young people give voice to their climate-related emotions and that it is vital to realize that coping not only takes place at an individual level but is also a social process in which the adult world plays an important role.

Keywords

Late childhood • Adolescence • Young adulthood • Global climate change • Worry • Climate skepticism • Hope • Problem-focused coping • Meaning-focused coping • Proenvironmental behavior

1 Introduction

You and I have contributed to the drought in East Africa. It is one of many reasons why right now 6.4 million Ethiopians face starvation. American researchers from NASA have recently shown that climate change reduces precipitation in East Africa.

Aftonbladet (Swedish newspaper), October 28, 2008

Since all of us are in some way the beneficiaries of cheap fossil fuel, tackling climate change has been like trying to build a movement against yourself – it’s as if the gay-rights movement had to be constructed entirely from evangelical preachers, or the abolition movement from slaveholders.

Rolling Stone magazine, July 19, 2012

This chapter focuses on research about young people’s emotions and coping strategies in relation to climate change and their engagement with the issue. The focus is primarily on young people living in the western part of the world, mainly northern Europe, where the negative consequences of global climate change to a large extent remain both spatially and temporally remote from people’s everyday lives. Still, as the above two quotations illustrate, climate change is invading these young people’s lives through meeting places such as media, but also at school and in discussions with parents and peers (see Pettersson 2014).

Why then is it important to explore how young people relate to this global threat? Climate change could be seen as an existential threat that concerns the future survival of our planet and of humankind. Is there any hope or are we doomed to go under? Climate change is not, however, the first global existential threat. In the 1980s, studies were performed on how young people experienced the threat of a possible nuclear war (e.g., Goldenberg et al. 1985; Thearle and Weinreich-Haste

1986). After Hiroshima it became possible for the first time for humans to destroy themselves and the planet; a threat that became even more acute when escalating tensions between the USA and the Soviet Union led to a nuclear arms race. This situation was hypothesized to bring about existential worries that could have negative effects on young people's psychological wellbeing. Some researchers, however, also investigated whether these anxieties could lead to an increase in social engagement among the young, perhaps serving as an impetus for societal transformation (see for instance Thearle and Weinreich-Haste 1986).

What is new about the climate threat, compared to the nuclear threat, is that "everyone" is said to be part of the problem, especially people living in the western world. As the two quotations presented at the beginning of this chapter illustrate, the western way of life is often said to be a main cause of climate change both in the media and in scientific discourses (IPCC 2013; Olausson 2011). How people, including children and young people, behave in their households, how much energy they use, and what foods they consume will, at an aggregated level, have an impact on this problem, to take just a few examples. At the same time, the larger part of the negative consequences of climate change fall upon poorer countries and people with low incomes and limited official power, and these inequalities are not likely to become smaller in the future (Gardiner and Hartzell-Nichols 2012). Future generations and nature are also possible innocent victims of this problem. In this way, the climate threat is also a moral and ethical problem. Young people in search of a moral identity not only have to consider others in their immediate environment, and in their country, but also have to face questions about how they, together with other people, affect the global system, future generations, and animals through their lifestyle choices and behavioral patterns (see Ojala 2007b).

In recent years, youth researchers have also begun to view the discourse about the moral character of global climate change as a form of "governed responsabilization" in which structural political problems are transformed into individualized lifestyle issues based on a general neoliberal way of seeing people, including children, foremost as consumers rather than citizens (Ideland and Malmberg 2014; Larsson et al. 2010). By making the right consumer choices, people are supposed to take responsibility for global climate change without questioning deeper structural problems. This could be seen as a part of a larger societal trend where governments have given in to the economic forces of globalization, rejecting all environmental regulation that could threaten economic growth and instead focusing on "green change" within the economic system (Hobson 2004). This is done by putting the main responsibility to solve the environmental crisis on individual consumers and by governing these consumers through "soft power" such as information campaigns and through education in school.

This way of looking at young people, not only as agents capable of influencing the climate problem in different ways but also as "subjects of responsabilization," points to the inherent stressfulness of being governed into taking personal responsibility for problems that also need to be handled at a political and structural level. As Larsson and colleagues (2010, p. 135) have written: "Children are given new degrees of respect and freedom, but at the same time, they are more indirectly controlled by being given the responsibility of contributing to their own socialization." In light of

these concerns, researchers have emphasized the importance of not only seeing global climate change as an existential and ethical problem but also acknowledging that it is a political problem (Dahl 2014). Seeing the climate threat as a political problem implies both that structural changes are needed and that people embrace different, and sometimes conflicting, values and thereby also have different ways of relating to this problem, which can include actively resisting the low-carbon subjectivities of today, for instance by downplaying personal responsibility (Dahl 2014; see also Ojala 2015a). These multiple ways of relating to climate change need to be taken into account in, for instance, educational efforts.

2 Aim of the Chapter

The main aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of some research about what it is like to be young today and to grow up with the climate change threat. The focus is mainly on young people living in the western world, particularly northern Europe. The reason for concentrating on this group is that it is of interest to look at how the existential, moral, and political dimensions of climate change are dealt with by young people who are in a sense both spatially and temporally remote from the problem, at the same time as they are part of an overall Western lifestyle that is seen as responsible for this problem. Furthermore, the main focus is on young people in late childhood (11–12 years of age), adolescence (13–19 years of age), and young adulthood (up to their mid-twenties). Thus, it is these age groups who are referred to as “young people” in this chapter. When a more specific term is used, it means that the study referred to has concentrated on the specific age-group related to this term; for instance, when children are mentioned the study is based on responses from young people under the age of 13.

Because the climate change problem is closely related to existential, moral, and political issues, it is drenched in emotions, particularly worry (Ojala 2007b). This will be elaborated on later in this chapter. Worry is defined as cognitive ruminations about uncertain future negative events, accompanied by an anxiety-like negative affect (MacLeod et al. 1991). Thus, worry is a negative emotion that is related more to uncertainty than fear is and is also related more to cognitive aspects than anxiety is. Still, these concepts are often used interchangeably in studies about emotional reactions to societal issues.

Since negative emotions such as worry can be unpleasant to experience and confront, it is also interesting to explore the question of how young people cope with climate change and related emotions. These coping strategies could be even more important than the emotions themselves when it comes to influencing social engagement and wellbeing. Coping could be both reactive, for instance, dealing with worries related to climate change, and proactive, for instance, building resources to deal with climate change and promoting hope in the face of climate change (Lazarus and Folkman 1984; Frydenberg 2002).

The following questions are in focus in this chapter: What emotions, if any, do young people living in the West experience in relation to climate change? How do young people come in contact with climate change in everyday life? How do they cope with climate change related emotions? How are different coping strategies related to social engagement and subjective wellbeing?

3 Worry as the Main Emotion Related to Climate Change

Studies performed in different countries, mostly in the Western part of the world, about young people's emotions in relation to climate change and other global environmental problems indicate that the most prominent feeling is worry, even though emotions such as sadness, frustration, and anger also are present (Connell et al. 1999; Klöckner et al. 2010a; Pettersson 2014; Stife 2012; Taber and Taylor 2009). The young worry about hurricanes, pollution from cars and factories, flooding, and so on. Studies also indicate that their worry, rather than being self-focused, often is about others' wellbeing; it is closely related to sympathy/empathy for others (Mead et al. 2012; Ojala 2007b; Pettersson 2014). Worry to some extent revolves around questions of justice; people living in less affluent countries are seen as already suffering from this problem today, and worse is to come (Pettersson 2014). Thus the problem is spatially remote from these young people; it is going to happen, and is happening somewhere else.

However, the problem of climate change is foremost seen as something that concerns the future; the harmful consequences will mostly affect future generations. Here, the problem is temporally remote. When it comes to children, worry about the wellbeing of animals seems to be the most common theme (Jonsson et al. 2012; Pettersson 2014; Stife 2012; Wilson and Snell 2010). Many children worry that penguins and polar bears will become extinct due to the melting ice caps. Hence, children's other-oriented worries and empathy transcend the division between humans and other species.

In addition to these mainly descriptive studies, Ojala (2005, 2007b) showed in two quantitative questionnaire-based studies that adolescents' and young adults' value orientations to a large extent explained why they worried about global environmental problems. Those young people who considered universal values such as global justice, peace, and equality to be important, and those who embraced biospheric values that acknowledge the rights of animals and nature, worried about global environmental problems to a higher degree than young people who did not value these things as highly (Ojala 2005, 2007b). In addition, girls were found to worry more than boys did, which was explained by the fact that they embraced universal values to a higher degree. Girls also had more confidence than boys that they themselves could help alleviate global environmental problems. Hence, in these cases gender differences in worry seemed to be more about differences in value orientations than about girls feeling more powerless than boys.

4 How do Young People Come in Contact with Climate Change?

How then do young people in the Western world come in contact with climate change? The main sources of information seem to be media and school and to some extent discussions with family and peers (see Pettersson 2014 for a review). Thus, the climate change threat is channeled, mediated, and interpreted through different concrete meeting places, or “emotional hotspots,” where young people come into contact with the global world. However, this does not mean that direct experiences do not matter; they do, but are related in complex ways to the information received in the meeting places mentioned above. In a study by Pettersson (2014) about Swedish children’s views on climate change, some of the young people had lived abroad for a while, for instance in an African country, and therefore made connections between everyday experiences in that country, such as heat waves destroying crops and depriving people of food, and the process of climate change. These children’s worries were mostly altruistic in nature, but at the same time were stronger and closer to their own selves. This is perhaps not so strange since they had lived together with and come to know the people that they perceived as suffering from the negative effects of climate change.

Others, who had been on vacation in warmer countries than Sweden, had experienced very hot weather and therefore realized that in these countries it cannot get much hotter; humans, animals, and nature will not be able to handle it. In this way, their altruistic worries about climate change increased (Pettersson 2014). A few of the children also mentioned everyday experiences in Sweden, particularly the shorter winters (as compared to their parents’ stories of long winters in Sweden when they were young), which they connected to climate change (see also Norgaard 2011). However, these children were few in number and were not particularly worried. Whether the more extreme weather events that have recently hit Sweden, such as large forest fires, flooding, and severe storms, will affect children’s climate worries remains to be investigated in future studies.

A group that seems to relate climate change more directly to their everyday lives is children belonging to groups of indigenous people. A study of Sami children in Sweden showed that this group worried that higher temperatures will lead to less food for the reindeer, harming the Sami people’s livelihood and in the long run seriously threatening their culture (Jonsson et al. 2012). Another study showed how Inuit children in Canada already today are witnessing how the ice cap is shrinking and that it rains more and snows less. This leads to a perception that the traditional Inuit way of life is being forced to change, causing emotions of worry, anger, and frustration (Petrasek MacDonald et al. 2013). To summarize, worry is produced in different places where young people indirectly encounter climate change, such as school and media, but also in concrete everyday places where young people link present day experiences to the climate change phenomenon.

5 Worry Leading to . . . ?

What effect, then, does worry have on young people? Quite often, worrying about risks and societal issues is seen as only negative; worry displaces reason, distracts people from what really is important, makes people resistant to outside information that could shake their habits, and traps people in self-absorption that promotes self-interest, thereby paralyzing social change (Marcus et al. 2000; see also Ojala 2007b for a review). Recent contributions to this discourse of the irrationality of worry/fear/anxiety claim that it is this feeling that makes people willingly subject themselves to neoliberal ways of coping with social problems through self-government (Isin 2010). Because of worry/anxiety, this “neurotic citizen” becomes unable to perceive the structural foundations of social problems and is therefore more easily steered by the neoliberal society into taking individualized responsibility in a way that rather functions as therapy, than leading to any real change. Skoglund and Börjesson (2014) have related this way of thinking to the literature on children’s geographies by showing how environmental organizations in Sweden, through information targeted to teachers and parents, present anxiety as something desirable since it provides motivation to behave proenvironmentally. Thus, according to Skoglund and Börjesson anxiety is used as a means to steer children into eco-friendliness.

In addition to this view of worry as something irrational and as a means to govern people, worry, especially among young people, is often automatically equated with a clinical state of low psychological wellbeing (see Ojala 2007b for a review). This could be because young people in comparison with adults are seen, on good grounds, as more vulnerable and lacking in control when it comes to climate change (see Fritze et al. 2008). However, this phenomenon could perhaps also be related to a discourse on childhood in the Western world as being a time of “innocence” (Valentine 1996; see also Skoglund and Börjesson 2014). This is a conceptualization of normal childhood as being a period of play and innocence, free from worry. This discourse, on the one hand, puts demands on adults to monitor and shield children from the problems of the bigger world (see Valentine 1996). On the other hand, it also makes young people who do worry and care about these issues seem like deviants from the normal order, as children who are at risk in terms of mental ill health.

Problems related to this one-sided, negative view of worry are that it often is based on outdated theories on emotions (or no emotion theories at all), not grounded in empirical studies or has a clinical/medical angle on worry (see Ojala 2007b; Pain 2009; Pain et al. 2010). Pain (2009) has criticized this model of “globalized fear,” which is also present in research in human geography, and argued that it is curiously disembodied, in the sense that it seldom refers to the persons that are supposed to experience this worry or fear. Pain has also argued that it underestimates people’s ability to contest fear-provoking information.

In stark contrast to this view, newer theories of emotions and empirical studies, mostly within political psychology, have identified anxiety and worry as necessary preconditions for deliberation and critical thinking (Brader 2006; Marcus et al. 2000, 2011; Valentino et al. 2008). Anxiety seems to stop people from doing what they are doing at the moment, activate the cognitive system, and make people both more reflective and more focused on the outside world, thereby motivating people to think critically. Thus, worry/anxiety could be a first step towards becoming interested in and engaging with larger societal issues. This emotion, however, often has no direct relation to specific behavioral patterns since it is related to uncertainty (Brader 2006; Marcus et al. 2000). In addition, if environmental worry is closely related to values it could be argued that it is important to help young people to face, and allow them to give voice to, their worries, so that a greater diversity of values can be included in critical deliberations about climate change in school, for instance (Ojala 2007b).

Worry and anxiety are unpleasant feelings, however. They can be hard to face and bear, and may be dealt with by means of coping strategies that are more or less constructive, seen from the perspective of social engagement. Given that society on a global scale to a large extent lacks political structures to deal with climate change, and because the problem's inherent complexity leads to uncertainty about the right actions to take, it may be difficult for people to cope with their climate worries (see Ojala 2007b). Zygmunt Bauman has argued that humans' inability to face negative emotion in relation to societal problems and to take social responsibility is exacerbated by a society that, on the one hand, tends to privatize moral emotions by transforming them into egoistic fears, fears for one's health and career, crime, and so on, and, on the other hand, encourages us to soothe our moral pain with consumption (Bauman and Donskis 2013). In this way, moral emotions such as worry are stripped of their warning capacity and their activating role.

It can perhaps be especially difficult for children and adolescents to cope with worries about climate change, due to both developmental factors and the fact that young people have even less control over this issue than adults, because for instance they often are dependent on their parents when it comes to everyday behaviors (see Fritze et al. 2008; Mead et al. 2012; Ojala 2012b, 2013; Taber and Taylor 2009). However, whether this is the case needs to be explored in empirical studies. Thus, in the following sections, studies about young people's coping strategies and how they relate to social engagement in relation to climate change and to wellbeing will be presented.

6 What Is Coping?

According to Lazarus and Folkman (1984, p. 141) coping can be described as "cognitive and/or behavioral efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands." Coping concerns how humans try to handle different kinds of psychological stress and threats. The well-known transactional model of coping distinguishes between two appraisal dimensions, primary and secondary appraisal, which are about an evaluation of the situation at hand in relation to one's values and one's

resources to deal with the situation (Lazarus and Folkman 1984). In the primary appraisal process, people first judge whether a situation comprises a threat to something that they value highly. If it is perceived as such, negative feelings are evoked, for instance of worry. Thereafter, in a secondary appraisal process, people try to cope with the threat and its related emotions in different ways.

The coping literature often focuses on demands or threats at a microlevel, such as interpersonal problems. However, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) have argued that the concept of coping could also be applied to larger societal issues, for instance, to investigate how people deal with social problems in order to avoid adverse states such as social alienation and powerlessness. However, studies on global climate change and coping are scarce, especially studies of how young people cope with this threat.

In traditional research about coping, negative emotions and different ways to diffuse these emotions have been in focus. However, in later years research about coping has started to also concentrate on proactive coping (Frydenberg 2002). This kind of coping does not presuppose negative emotions. Proactive coping is future oriented, and instead of being about getting rid of worries, these strategies concern how people strive for goals and meet challenges and how they build resources and promote an active stance towards the problems at hand (Frydenberg 2002). In this regard, positive emotional-cognitive aspects are interesting to look at more closely.

However, proactive coping can also be about less constructive ways of dealing with situations. When it comes to societal problems that concern the wellbeing of many people, recent research has found that these problems can evoke strong emotions. However, people are less inclined to let this happen in these situations because they are more emotionally costly than situations where we empathize with one person (Cameron and Payne 2011). Instead, people proactively use coping strategies to escape feeling these anticipated negative emotions.

7 De-Emphasizing the Seriousness of the Climate Threat

Although there is widespread scientific consensus that climate change is a serious problem and to a large extent is anthropogenic, researchers have identified sub-groups among young people, as young as 11 years of age, who de-emphasize the seriousness of climate change (Klößner et al. 2010a; Ojala 2012a, b, c, 2013, 2015a). In relation to the concept of coping, de-emphasizing could be seen as belonging to both a primary appraisal and a secondary appraisal dimension. Primary appraisal, in the sense that de-emphasizing the threat could be due to the fact that some people do not value environmental issues that highly, and therefore do not consider climate change to be a serious threat. It could also occur because some people embrace worldviews and values that are threatened by the societal changes that adapting to the reality of climate change would imply (Ojala 2015a). In order to avoid feeling negative emotions, they proactively cope by in different ways de-emphasizing the threat (see Cameron and Payne 2011). When it comes to secondary appraisal, some experimental studies have explored whether denying

the seriousness of climate change could be a way of escaping anxieties related to threats to one's beliefs; for instance, one's belief in a just world may be threatened by the inherent injustice of climate change (Feinberg and Willer 2011).

In various studies on children, adolescents, and young adults in Sweden, it has been shown that young people who de-emphasized the climate change threat did not embrace environmental values to the same extent that other young people did, seemed to prefer more hedonistic values, and were generally less worried about these sorts of problems (Ojala 2012c, 2013, 2015a). Thus, in a sense these strategies could be seen as active attempts to resist the low-carbon subjectivities of today and instead to give voice to other preferred values (Dahl 2014). Or perhaps they can be seen as instances of "resistance to fear and fear-provoking discourses" (see Pain et al. 2010, p. 980) about climate change. However, de-emphasizing the climate problem also seems to go together with a low degree of environmental efficacy and a low degree of environmental engagement (Ojala 2012b, 2013, 2015a), a general feeling that individuals cannot influence their own life-situation (2015b), as well as low trust in societal institutions and a disinterest in societal issues (Ojala 2015a). These results from Sweden accord with a Norwegian study showing that young people with less power in society were also less environmentally interested (Skogen 1999). To summarize, it is important to realize that not all young people have proenvironmental value orientations and worry about climate change; just like adults, they embrace different values and use different strategies to deal with societal threats.

How do young people go about de-emphasizing the seriousness of climate change? A pair of Swedish studies found that there are at least two main ways (Ojala 2012c; Pettersson 2014). Some young people denied the existence of the problem, arguing that climate change is severely exaggerated by media and scientists, that it is not happening, or even that it is something positive, for example, because the Swedish summers will get warmer. This way of arguing was mainly used by adolescents and young adults. "Here-and-now thinking" was another way of de-emphasizing the threat, which was mostly used by children around the age of 12 years (Ojala 2012c; Pettersson 2014). These young people did not deny that the problem exists, but saw it as not concerning them, and as only affecting people in far away countries and future generations. Among these young people, this way of thinking did not evoke empathic feelings but instead was related to a lower degree of worry (Ojala 2012c). I am safe right now, so why should I care? This is in accordance with results from a British study that found that climate change could not compete with more urgent worries, for instance about getting a good grade or getting a job, among quite many young people (Line et al. 2010).

8 Emotion-Focused Coping

According to the original transactional model of coping, there are two main coping strategies: emotion-focused coping, which will be described in this section, and problem-focused coping, which will be described in the next section

(Lazarus and Folkman 1984). Emotion-focused coping happens when people, rather than trying to do something about a problem or a stressor, try to get rid of the negative emotions with the help of various coping strategies. As mentioned above, de-emphasizing the seriousness of the climate threat could to a certain extent be seen as an emotion-focused coping strategy. However, studies have shown that other emotion-focused strategies are more common among Swedish young people, especially among those who are highly worried about climate change. For instance, distancing oneself from negative emotions through cognitive or behavioral distraction or through cognitive or behavioral avoidance was quite common among different age groups, especially among 12-year-olds (Ojala 2012c). Cognitive distraction included strategies such as actively thinking about something else when worried. Behavioral distraction was about deliberately doing something other than worrying about climate change, for example, something fun like eating ice cream. Avoidance could take the form of not thinking about climate change (cognitive) or walking away from the TV when news about climate change was broadcast (behavioral). An Australian study found that at the same time as many young people were highly concerned about climate change, they also felt frustrated and were cynical about the adult world and therefore experienced action paralysis and used distancing strategies to a high degree (Connell et al. 1999; see also Pettersson 2014).

In the coping literature, emotion-focused strategies of the kind presented above are often viewed as less than optimal because they lead to disengagement among adults. However, there is at least one study showing that distancing oneself from strong emotions can improve learning processes (Rice et al. 2007). This is the case because these strategies give momentary relief from strong negative emotions and thereby help the persons to concentrate on the task at hand and remember the information better. In addition, to use distancing may be the only way for some youngsters to cope with negative emotions in relation to climate change, because they, as mentioned before, often have even less control than adults concerning this problem.

Another emotion-focused strategy used by Swedish young people was to seek out support from others, mainly parents and friends, when they were worried (Ojala 2012c; Pettersson 2014). This strategy is quite common among young people when it comes to more mundane microstressors but seems to be far less common when it comes to climate change, indicating that talking about emotions in relation to this problem is not so common, even amongst young people who are highly worried. A final emotion-focused strategy was “hyperactivation,” where some young adults and late adolescents focused on feelings of helplessness. They emphasized that everything will keep getting worse and that we humans only have ourselves to blame (Ojala 2012c). This is in line with research showing that pessimism about the global future is quite common among young people, particularly those who are a bit older (Connell et al. 1999; Eckersley 1999; Line et al. 2010). One can easily imagine that this reflects an inability to cope with strong emotions in relation to climate change; however, newer research has found that hyperactivation is an avoidance strategy: young people avoid taking problem-solving action by focusing on how hopeless everything is (Stroebe et al. 2007). Having hope is demanding; you have no excuse

not to at least try to do something. If there is no hope, then you do not have to do anything, which is often more convenient.

9 Problem-Focused Coping

Another main coping strategy is problem-focused coping, where people confront the problem/stressor at hand and try to do something about it and thereby also indirectly get rid of their negative emotions (Lazarus and Folkman 1984). In the two Swedish studies on how young people cope with climate change, different problem-focused strategies were quite common (Ojala 2012c; Pettersson 2014). First, these coping strategies were of a cognitive kind. Young people thought about, searched for information about, and talked with others about what they could do to fight climate change. Second, when the young people felt worried they actually did concrete things in everyday life that they thought would contribute to climate change mitigation, such as buying eco-labeled products, cycling to school instead of being driven by their parents, and trying to save energy in their household. Third, young people tried to influence their parents, and sometimes their friends, to take climate change seriously and to behave in a more proenvironmental fashion. These results are in line with studies that have identified positive relations between worry about environmental problems and proenvironmental behavior among young people (Ojala 2008; Taber and Taylor 2009).

In two quantitative questionnaire studies, one on children and one on adolescents, cognitive problem-focused strategies to handle climate change were found to be positively related to a feeling that one can exert influence, i.e., environmental efficacy, and also to the performance of concrete proenvironmental actions (Ojala 2012b, 2013). However, these strategies were also associated with lower subjective wellbeing among the young. These results could perhaps be explained by the fact that the young people's problem-focused strategies were very individualized; they did not concern collective engagement, only more or less isolated individual actions in everyday life. Although these actions, at a collective level, will have some effect on climate change and other environmental problems in the future, these effects are not easily visible today. What research about coping has shown is that even though problem-focused strategies in general are beneficial for people's wellbeing, when the problem at hand is more or less impossible for the individual to cope with alone, such strategies could lead to lower wellbeing (Clarke 2006). These results can also be interpreted from a governmentality perspective, where societal institutions, such as schools, have mainly focused on consumer behaviors when trying to help young people find ways to contribute to a sustainable society, rather than focusing on political/structural changes or how young people can have influence as citizens (Ideland and Malmberg 2014). Paradoxically, this can lead to both a feeling of empowerment – “there are things I can do” (Taber and Taylor 2009) – and a feeling that one is not certain that this is enough, leading to low wellbeing, frustration, and hopelessness (Connell et al. 1999; Line et al. 2010; Mead et al. 2012).

10 Meaning-Focused Coping and Hope

If problem-focused coping in relation to the climate change problem could be related to low psychological wellbeing and if de-emphasizing the threat is negatively related to environmental engagement, are there any other ways for young people to cope? Research about coping at a microlevel has shown that coping is not only about getting rid of negative emotions; people also use meaning-focused strategies to promote positive feelings such as hope (Folkman 2008). This third main way of coping includes strategies such as finding meaning in a problematic situation, being able to switch perspectives, and turning to spiritual beliefs. The positive emotions evoked can then work as buffers, hindering negative emotions from turning into low wellbeing and enabling people to confront the sources of their negative feelings, thereby promoting constructive problem-solving and active engagement. In this way, there is a close relation between proactive coping and meaning-focused coping. Meaning-focused coping is especially important when a problem cannot be removed and solved right now, but demands active involvement over the longer term (Folkman 2008). However, the concept of meaning-focused coping has almost solely been applied to microstressors, for instance how people deal with chronic diseases, not to how people deal with societal problems.

One exception is a Swedish study of how children, adolescents, and young adults cope psychologically with climate change in which the young respondents were asked not only how they regulated worry but also how they went about promoting hope (Ojala 2012c). It was found that one way to evoke hope consisted of meaning-focused strategies of positive reappraisal and trust in different societal actors. Positive reappraisal was about recognizing that a problem exists but being able to reverse one's perspective and activate positive emotions such as hope. A more specific strategy was for young people to acknowledge the climate change problem but also to be able to see positive trends, for instance that society's understanding of climate change has increased. Having trust in societal actors involved being confident that scientists will come up with new inventions to help mitigate climate change and/or focusing on politicians and interest groups who, despite everything, take this issue seriously. Most of these meaning-focused strategies were also found in interview studies with Swedish 12-year-olds (Pettersson 2014) as well as a group of Swedish young adults (Ojala 2008) and a group of Swedish young volunteers (Ojala 2007a). In addition, research about what arguments nine and 10-year-olds in Sweden and England used to deal with climate change showed that they quite often put their trust in scientific and technological development and thereby felt hope that the climate change problem could be solved (Byrne et al. 2014).

In the three qualitative studies with different groups of Swedish young people mentioned above, a sense of hope concerning global environmental problems was also evoked by the belief that as a layperson one has the means to do something about these problems, i.e., a sense of self-efficacy (Ojala 2007a, 2008, 2012c). The young people often mentioned individualized proenvironmental behaviors such as saving energy or consuming eco-friendly products. Among a group of young volunteers in environmental and global justice organizations, hope was to a large extent rooted in their

collective engagement (Ojala 2007a). They felt, for instance, that being part of a large organization enabled them to influence environmental problems more effectively. They also learned a great deal about environmental issues and gained insight into how nature and society are intertwined, leading to a belief that these problems are not impossible for humans to handle. That collective engagement around global environmental issues can increase self-efficacy among young people has also been found in an American study where the researchers measured self-efficacy both before and after a week of intensive collective engagement (in a course) (Johnson et al. 2009).

In this regard, Bauman has described hope as a constructive force that could lead to societal change in the long run – a third way between optimism and pessimism about the future (Bauman and Donskis 2013, p. 82). Hope, just like worry is related to uncertainty, while optimism is much more related to an uncritical certainty that everything will turn out well. Still, there are others who warn that hope could be a sort of wishful thinking, a way of avoiding responsibility (see McGeer 2004). In the study with young people mentioned above (Ojala 2012c), hope was in some cases actually promoted by de-emphasizing strategies, denying the seriousness of climate change, and using “here-and-now thinking.” Some examples were that young people felt hope because Sweden is a safe place to live or because the negative consequences of climate change belong to such a distant future that they will probably no longer be alive (Ojala 2012c). However, these strategies were not particularly common in relation to hope. When they were controlled for in quantitative studies, constructive hope based on meaning-focused strategies such as positive reappraisal and trust in other actors such as scientists and technological development, but also trust that one can do something oneself, were positively related to environmental engagement of both a private sphere kind (Ojala 2012a, 2015b) and a more political kind, e.g., how the young people planned to vote in future elections (Ojala 2015b). Furthermore, children who used problem-focused coping to a high degree and who also used meaning-focused coping a lot were buffered from low wellbeing by the meaning-focused strategies (Ojala 2012b). In addition, positive associations have been found between meaning-focused strategies and both proenvironmental engagement and environmental efficacy (Ojala 2012b, 2013). Hope also seemed to shield young people who expressed high levels of worry about global environmental problems from low wellbeing (Ojala 2005) and to make them more inclined to perform proenvironmental actions (Ojala 2008). Thus, meaning-focused coping is not the same as denial, and hope is not only a feel-good emotion but also seems to serve as a motivational force. Perhaps this is because hope can help young people to bear the negative emotions related to climate change, confront them, and have the strength to do something constructive, although no immediate result can be seen to arise from their actions.

11 Coping in a Social Context

Although the studies presented above show that many young people worry about global climate change and use more or less active coping strategies, it was also found that young people who were worried about climate change did not talk about it much

with others. However, young people do have images of what would happen if they voiced their negative feelings concerning societal issues (in general), for instance in the classroom. In a Swedish quantitative questionnaire-based study on senior high-school students, those who thought teachers would support them and take their emotions in relation to societal issues seriously reported feeling more constructive hope concerning climate change, i.e., hope based on meaning-focused and problem-focused coping strategies (Ojala 2015b). However, those who felt their teachers would not take their emotions concerning societal issues seriously, and perhaps would make fun of them, felt hope based on de-emphasizing the seriousness of climate change to a larger extent (Ojala 2015b). In this study boys perceived that their teachers would be dismissive of their negative emotions to a higher degree than girls, which statistically explained why they felt hope based on denial to a higher extent. Thus, it is vital for teachers to think about whether they might be treating boys and girls differently concerning taking negative emotions expressed in the classroom seriously. This is especially important if one embraces a democratic approach to education where all voices should be heard.

In another study, young people who communicated more with their parents about climate change were more inclined to use meaning-focused and problem-focused coping, while those who reported not talking about climate change much with their parents used de-emphasizing strategies to a larger extent (Ojala 2013; see also Mead et al. 2012). Thus, although the design of these two studies precludes any in-depth causal analyses, i.e., they cannot empirically say in which direction the influence goes, they do indicate that coping strategies are differently related to communication patterns with teachers and parents.

In this regard, Norgaard (2011), in a study of how people living in a small Norwegian community coped with climate change, found that there were collective emotion norms that made it unacceptable to express the quite common feelings of worry and hopelessness in public. According to these norms, one should, for instance, always be in control, not express feelings of powerlessness, and, especially among the teenagers always remain “cool.” This implies that coping with emotions related to climate change does not take place in isolation but is also a social process. In this process, adults could also play an important role through how they respond to young people’s emotions and how they themselves cope with such emotions (modeling).

12 Conclusion

What implications for education and communication with young people about climate change can be derived from the research reviewed above? Since environmental worry seems to be related to specific values, it could be argued that in this context worry among the young should be seen as a moral and political feeling and that it therefore needs to be acknowledged, articulated, and pondered about, for instance in schools and in families (see Ojala 2007b). But in order to create optimal learning processes, it is important to also be aware that young people deal with their worries in different ways and that specific coping strategies can influence self-efficacy, engagement, and

wellbeing in diverse ways. In addition, it is important to understand that coping is a social process and to be aware that educators and parents contribute to creating emotion norms around global climate change in the classroom and elsewhere. For instance, not taking climate change related emotions into account could also be seen as a way to govern emotions. Young people who are met with silence when they express emotions related to climate change experience a strong signal about the worth of their emotions and the importance of the problem that has caused it.

Finally, one also needs to be aware of wider cultural and societal processes influencing and governing emotions. Bauman has argued that people today find it hard to face moral emotions in relation to societal problems and to do something constructive with their moral pain (Bauman and Donskis 2013). He claimed that this inability is to a large extent due to our living in a neoliberal society that only allows people to feel pleasurable emotions, emotions that most easily can be increased through consumption. In this way we become insensitive to societal problems and the plight of others, and social change becomes more or less impossible. This way of thinking has implications for how young people can be helped to fully take part as citizens in a democratic society. It is important that we critically discuss different ways to cope with worries related to societal problems and find constructive ways of coping that can help us to face the problems behind our worries.

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Environmental Ascription: Industrial Pollution, Place, and Children's Health and Learning in the USA

18

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Abstract

A series of recent studies has introduced the concept of “environmental ascription” (Legot et al. 2010a; Lucier et al. 2011; Rosofsky et al. 2013; Scharber et al. 2013). It is well known that children from marginalized racial and economic

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communities face diminished life chances, partly due to a lack of adequate educational opportunity. It is also well documented in the environmental injustice literature (see below) that these same communities carry a disproportionate burden of industrial pollution. Environmental ascription makes a connection between these two findings to argue that, along with race, class, and gender, *place* should be considered an additional and overlapping ascriptive force in the sense that it exerts a limiting effect on children's future life chances by harming their health and, in turn, hindering their school performance. The first study in this series (Legot et al. 2010a) was a simple, descriptive documentation of the problem of environmental ascription. Subsequent studies sought to specify the *consequences* of environmental ascription, including studies of the relationship between race and class, proximity to toxics, and (a) selected childhood illnesses (Legot et al. 2011) and (b) school performance scores (Lucier et al. 2011; Rosofsky et al. 2013; Scharber et al. 2013). Like much of the earlier sociological research on environmental injustice (cf. Bullard et al. (2007), these studies have focused in the United States (USA) overall as well as specific cities within the USA. This chapter will first provide an overview of the quantitative research on environmental injustice in the USA, as well as the existing research on the effects of toxic chemicals on child development (specifically as it relates to academic achievement). Then, the chapter will summarize existing research that connects evidence of environmental injustice with evidence of the effects of toxic pollution on school performance, which provides evidence for the existence of an environmental dimension of ascription.

Keywords

Environmental ascription • Environmental justice • Air pollution • Toxics release inventory • School performance • Childhood asthma • Neurodevelopmental disorders • Place

1 Introduction: Defining Environmental Injustice and Environmental Ascription

Studies of ascription, the tendency for inherited inequalities of wealth and power to be self-perpetuating, often focus on the relationship between characteristics such as race or social class and educational inequalities that limit children's life chances. These studies emphasize how inherited structural disadvantages such as a disproportionate lack of resources and attention (linked to class and cultural differences, residential segregation, underfunded and poorly staffed schools, and so on) contribute to diminished educational opportunities for marginalized populations (cf. Kozol 1991; Lareau 2003). A growing body of literature has also suggested that reduced educational outcomes, and hence ascription, can also emerge from physical/spatial inequalities in the places where children attend school (cf. Pastor et al. 2002, 2004),

for instance, through exposure to toxins/toxicants. The terms *toxics* and *toxicants* are used interchangeably throughout this chapter; both words refer to human-produced sources of toxicity. Toxicology research suggests that children who are regularly exposed to developmental neurotoxicants are at increased risk for developing the sort of cognitive and behavioral problems that limit life chances (cf. Landrigan et al. 2002). Further, the environmental injustice literature suggests that some places are more likely than others to be exposed to such toxics (cf. UCC 1987; Ringquist 2005; Mohai and Saha 2006; Bullard et al. 2007). This tendency for toxic exposures to vary by place is explicitly linked to race and class inequalities in the USA, such that communities inhabited by minorities and/or the poor are much more commonly exposed than those inhabited by white/higher income people. As a result, the frequently used terms “environmental racism” and “environmental inequality” are largely synonymous with “environmental injustice,” depending on whether the focus of a given study is on minority communities, working class communities, or both. Given these findings, it becomes easy to see how, even within an industrialized country such as the USA, place can be viewed as an ascriptive factor that, on its own terms as well as in terms of its intersectionality with race, class, and gender, is influential in shaping children's life chances. More specifically, the central implication of the environmental ascription studies discussed below is that high emissions of air toxics near schools where children spend the majority of their day contribute to the reproduction of inequalities in opportunity via the degradation of human capital. Clearly, this body of research has implications for children's geographies, given its focus on polluted places and children's diminished life chances.

The potential convergence of vulnerable populations in facing overlapping ascriptive forces makes *environmental ascription* a physical dimension of inequality in the direct sense but also another dimension of socially constructed inequality in the indirect sense. In this vein, in an early contribution to environmental sociology, Burch (1976) provided a precursor to the notion of environmental ascription. He documented the disproportionate exposure of New Haven's urban poor to several air pollutants. He then noted that “[e]ach of these pollutants...is likely to be an important influence upon one's ability to persist in the struggle for improvement of social position...These exposures...seem one mechanism by which class inequalities are reinforced” (Burch 1976, p. 314). In other words, the potential health and cognitive implications of exposure to developmental neurotoxicants, especially at a young age, can be seen as a hindrance to social mobility. Furthermore, if the poorest classes of society are the ones that are most likely to be exposed to such toxics, then it stands to reason that we can see exposure to such toxics as a mechanism that reinforces social inequalities in much the same way as we see issues of unequal educational opportunities or employment discrimination as barriers to social mobility.

A more recent exploration of the connections among polluted places, race, class, and children's educational opportunities was undertaken by Legot et al. (2010a). The authors examined how, in the USA, many of the nation's top polluters of

developmental neurotoxicants (which are harmful to brain development, as explored in greater detail below) are located in close proximity to schools that serve a disproportionate number of poor students and/or students of color (henceforth referred to as “minority” students for the sake of consistency with the US literature). In order to understand the significance of these findings, a brief introduction will be provided to the literatures on environmental inequality, the neurotoxicity of industrial chemicals (especially with respect to their differential impact on the developing brain), statistics documenting increases in the number of childhood learning problems, and also those projects that have documented the proximity of schools to industrial air pollution.

Beginning in the 1980s with highly publicized studies such as “Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States” (commissioned by the United Church of Christ), a substantial body of academic literature focusing on the distribution of environmental disamenities across social groups has emerged. The findings of such quantitative studies have largely yielded a consensus on the presence of environmental inequality in the USA. Many studies have found support for the hypothesized relationships between proximity to pollution and the disproportionate presence of minorities and the poor (see Ringquist 2005 for a review), both at a local level (cf. Downey et al. 2008; Downey 2006; Pastor et al. 2002, 2004; Stretesky and Lynch 2002) and the US national level (cf. Ash and Fetter 2004; Mohai and Saha 2006; Mohai and Bryant 1992; Bullard et al. 2007).

While a limited number of other studies have found support for such hypotheses to be limited or nonexistent (cf. Anderton et al. 1994; Davidson and Anderton 2000), the central debate in early environmental justice studies was whether race or class was the primary variable determining the likelihood of living in close proximity to major sources of toxic pollution (cf. Weinberg 1998). Researchers who have examined the potential causes of these early inconsistencies (regarding whether race or class was a more salient predictor of proximity to pollution) have focused on the role of methodology in influencing the findings. For example, Mohai and Saha (2006, p. 384) noted that “much of the source of these uncertainties is related to the failure of the most widely used methodology in environmental inequality research to adequately account for the proximity between environmentally hazardous sites and nearby residential populations.” Specifically, the use of units such as zip codes (UCC 1987) or census tracts (Anderton et al. 1994; Davidson and Anderton 2000) as the source of demographic data is, as Downey (2006, p. 771) has explained, “problematic because the boundaries used to create these areal units of analysis, although not designed arbitrarily, are arbitrary with respect to the distribution of environmental hazards.” Hence, use of this “unit-hazard coincidence” method (Mohai and Saha 2006) in environmental inequality research can potentially lead to inaccurate measurement of who *actually* lives within close proximity to the pollution source because, for example, the source may be located near the edge of a census tract or zip code, and therefore the demographics of that area would not necessarily reflect the demographics of the actual radius around the pollution source. To overcome this limitation, scholars have employed various distance-based methods (cf. Downey 2006;

Mohai and Saha 2006; Bullard et al. 2007) to more accurately capture the demographics of those living proximate to various pollution sources. For instance, Downey (2006) has distinguished between the “buffer method” (where a circular “buffer” is created around each facility and the demographics of this buffer are derived from tract-level data in various ways) and “distance-decay modeling” (which involves the use of GIS software as a tool to incorporate the fact that as the distance from a hazard increases, the potential for exposure decreases) as two distance-based approaches that have advantages over the unit-hazard coincidence approach. Geographic microdata from the US EPA’s Risk-Screening Environmental Indicators (RSEI) database, which uses Toxic Release Inventory reports from polluting facilities to estimate toxic air pollution at the square-kilometer level throughout the USA, has been used by many of the studies described below to overcome the “how near is near?” question (see Bouwes et al. 2003). As part of a follow-up to the original UCC study, in “Toxic Wastes and Race at Twenty,” Bullard et al. (2007) reevaluated previous environmental inequality research using distance-based “areal-apportionment” and “areal-containment” approaches and found much greater evidence of environmental inequality than was previously indicated by using the unit-hazard coincidence method. (For a more detailed explanation of these methods, see Bullard et al. 2007.)

2 Environmental Inequality and Children’s Health

In contrast to previous environmental inequality studies that typically began with a focus on specific geographic areas, or on general types of facilities, Legot et al. (2010a) begins with a focus on the highest-volume emitters of those *specific toxics* that pose the greatest risk to the neurological and social functioning of children. The paper “Polluting Our Future” reported that in 14 of the top 25 counties in terms of releases of *developmental toxics*, the African-American population “exceed[s] the U.S. average” (The National Environmental Trust et al. 2000, pp. 1–16). Increasingly, the release of such developmental toxics and neurotoxicants (or those chemicals that impact the nervous system) has been linked to the rise in the number of childhood “developmental, learning or behavioral disabilities” (The National Environmental Trust et al. 2000, p. 2). Examples of such disabilities include attention deficit disorder, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder, and autism spectrum disorders as well as other impacts on a child’s social and learning abilities, including reduced IQ and learning and memory problems (The National Environmental Trust et al. 2000). According to a 2000 article in US News & World Report, one in six US children suffer from such problems (Kaplan and Morris 2000, p. 2), and many experts, including those at the National Academy of Sciences, have estimated that nearly 25 % of these cases can be attributed to environmental factors or a combination of environmental factors and genetic susceptibility (Landrigan et al. 2002). It is important to note that experts consider this to be a conservative

estimate for a number of reasons, including limited statistics on the prevalence of developmental disabilities and other environmental illness (cf. Boyle et al. 1994; Crain 2000; Brown 2007), high-volume polluters' underreporting of emissions (cf. Downey et al. 2008), and limited knowledge about the effects of most chemicals on children, particularly at low, chronic levels of exposure (cf. Landrigan et al. 2002; Wright et al. 2006).

In addition, many chemicals that are considered harmless have never been tested for their effects on the developing brain. Recent research has established that it is a mistake to assume that a chemical which only produces mild or negligible effects on adults is also safe for children because children are physiologically different from adults in several important ways (Crain 2000; Landrigan et al. 2002). First, because their bodies and brains are still developing, the intrusion of harmful chemicals can greatly disrupt or delay important developmental milestones. Also, children generally consume more relative to their size than adults do, so whether it is polluted air or pesticide-ridden food, young children ingest chemicals disproportionately even if they are exposed to the same concentration of a chemical as an adult. According to Landrigan et al. (2002, p. 721), children's susceptibility results from their "disproportionately heavy exposures coupled with the biologic sensitivity that is an inherent characteristic of early growth and development. Injury to developing organ systems can cause lifelong disability."

Another reason that, until recently, scant attention has been paid to the potential link between the rise of developmental disorders and the presence of toxic chemicals in the environment is that most research has been focused on those environmental illnesses that are more physically manifest, such as childhood cancer and asthma (Brown 2007; Landrigan et al. 2002; Pastor et al. 2004). For instance, numerous statistics have warned about the impacts that asthma can have not only on children's physical well-being but also on their school performance (Crain 2000; GAO 2008; Landrigan et al. 2002; Pastor et al. 2002, 2004). One illustrative statistic is found in a report from the US Government Accountability Office (GAO 10-205 2008). Citing data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), the report states that "[a]sthma is the third-most common cause of childhood hospitalization, resulting in \$3.2 billion in treatment costs and 14 million school days lost annually." Because of this established association between environment, respiratory health, and school performance, it follows that many of the studies that have attempted to bridge the gaps between environmental exposures, children's health, school performance (as an indicator of human capital), and environmental racism have focused on those chemicals that aggravate or induce respiratory problems in children (Pastor et al. 2004). Pastor et al.'s "Reading, Writing, and Toxics" showed that minority students in the Los Angeles area, particularly Hispanics, were more likely to attend schools in areas with elevated levels of air pollution that would lead to respiratory problems. The authors further established that these polluted schools performed at below-average levels on standardized examinations, concluding that "social and environmental inequality can negatively impact community-based human capital" (2004, p. 284).

3 Patterns: The Proximity of Toxics to Children and Schools in the USA

As mentioned, other research has begun to make connections between the rise of developmental disabilities (such as ADD, ADHD, and autism spectrum disorders and other learning and memory deficiencies) and children's exposure to developmental toxics and neurotoxicants, the problem of air pollution near schools (particularly in poor and minority communities), and the problem of children in poor communities being disproportionately affected by learning difficulties and other social problems. Legot et al. (2010a) documented the proximity of schools to industrial polluters in order to gauge the degree to which close proximity between schools and toxic facilities exists as a problem in the USA. Using data from the US EPA's Toxics Release Inventory (TRI), the researchers generated lists of the 100 highest-volume polluters (HVPs) of those toxics that put children at greatest risk of learning and behavioral disorders. In EPA parlance, these toxics are grouped into two categories known as recognized developmental toxicants to air and suspected neurotoxicants to air. After generating the lists, the authors analyzed the educational, demographic, and economic characteristics of the populations/places within 1 and 2 mile radii of these sites using GIS-based "circular area profiles" generated by the Missouri Census Data Center. Overall, this descriptive work established a nationwide pattern of large industrial sources of pollution located in close proximity to not only minority and poor communities but also communities with large numbers of schools and children. Moreover, those circular areas that contained disproportionately higher concentrations of minorities and the poor (relative to state averages) were found to also contain higher numbers of schools and children. To make these abstract assertions more concrete, selected tables from this study are presented below.

Tables 1 and 2 provide raw data (i.e., simple counts) of the extent of the problem of high-volume polluters (HVPs) that are geographically very close to schools and children. For example, is it well understood in the USA that lead exposure can be very damaging to a child's brain development. Still, there are over 80,000 children and nearly 400 schools within a 2 mile radius of the nation's top emitters of lead pollution to the air. Table 3 provides information about the extent to which these same high-volume polluters are also geographically very close to two other vulnerable populations: minorities and the poor. A significant task of statistical environmental justice studies is to establish that the prevalence of minorities and the poor within a community is greater than would be expected based on their prevalence in the general population. Hence, this table uses a disproportionality measure, which compares the percentage of minorities, those living below the poverty line, and those having a low median family income (MFI) within the 1 and 2 mile circular areas around the facility, with these same percentages for the state in which the circular area is located. If there is a higher percentage of minorities and the poor within the circular area than there is in the state overall, then it can be said that the circular area contains a disproportionate concentration of that population. Calculations are based

Table 1 # of schools near HVP in the USA within:

	0.5 mile	1 mile	2 miles
Pollutant			
Recognized developmental toxicants	29	96	379
Suspected neurotoxicants	23	118	469
Lead	33	129	396
Mercury	24	93	328
Carbon disulfide	14	80	447
Manganese	13	77	260
Toluene	33	150	546

Calculations are based on data from the TRI and the EPA's "Enviromapper" tool (This table was reproduced from Legot et al. 2010a, p. 281)

Table 2 # of children within 2 miles of HVP in the USA

	Under age 5	Ages 5–17
Pollutant		
Recognized developmental toxicants	91,904	244,177
Suspected neurotoxicants	59,103	158,519
Lead	85,541	204,266
Mercury	55,687	152,232
Carbon disulfide	91,017	243,940
Manganese	33,561	92,542
Toluene	102,471	271,545

Calculations based on data from the TRI, Enviromapper, and circular area profiles from the Missouri Census Data Center (This table was reproduced from Legot et al. 2010a, p. 281)

Table 3 Race and class characteristics of circular areas around HVP for only those HVPs close to residential areas

Pollutants	% of disp. minority presence at:		% of disp. poverty presence at:		% disp. low MFI at:	
	1 mile	2 miles	1 mile	2 miles	1 mile	2 miles
Recognized developmental toxicants	49	47	42	53	71	75
Suspected neurotoxicants	50	50	62	60	77	75
Lead	55	46	52	54	80	67
Mercury	31	30	51	47	64	67
Carbon disulfide	48	41	61	56	70	66
Manganese	39	40	58	60	76	63
Toluene	43	45	43	52	67	75

on data from the TRI and Missouri Census Data Center circular area profiles. (Reproduced from Legot et al. 2010a, p. 282.)

Fortunately, not all of these industrial facilities have residential areas located within a 2 mile radius; some are in the desert or in the countryside where there are few neighborhoods, schools, or children. Hence, Table 3 focuses on those facilities located near residential areas. The pattern that emerges is that a sizable number (if not the majority, depending on the toxic) of the residential areas near these high-volume polluters contain a disproportionate number of minority and poor children. For example, Table 3 shows that 49 % of high-volume polluters of recognized developmental toxics have a disproportionate minority presence in the circular areas within a 1 mile radius surrounding the facilities, while 47 % of these HVPs have a disproportionate minority presence (i.e., higher than the state's percent minority) within 2 miles of the facilities. Note that findings are reported for multiple distances because information is limited regarding the distance-decay rates for given chemicals. This research suggests that high-volume polluters emitting precisely those toxic pollutants that have the greatest potential to disrupt childhood success in school are located in close proximity to considerable numbers of schools and children in the USA (see Tables 1 and 2). It further suggests that there is considerable overlap with this phenomenon and the well-documented problem of environmental injustice (see Table 3). Thus, minority children are likely to face greater exposure to toxics than white children, and poor or low-income children are likely to face greater exposure than more affluent children. While this research does not document the effects of proximity on schoolchildren, it does support the assertion that environmental ascription is *potentially* a nationwide concern in the USA. More recent work has turned to documenting whether proximity to such high-volume polluters has actually had consequences for childhood health and learning in communities with environmental inequalities.

4 Consequences I: Polluted Places and Childhood Respiratory, Developmental, and Neurological Diseases

As noted above, many environmental inequality/environmental justice studies have shown that sources of toxic pollution are often located near communities inhabited by a disproportionate number of minorities and the poor (cf. Ash and Fetter 2004; Bullard et al. 2007; Downey et al. 2008; Downey 2006; Mohai and Saha 2006; Mohai and Bryant 1992; Stretesky and Lynch 2002). These studies have often begun with a focus on a specific geographic region or category (e.g., metropolitan areas) and have relied on residential *proximity* to a pollution source as an indicator of exposure, often finding evidence of environmental inequality. The extent and *causes* of such unequal exposures have been extensively documented. However, one of the core (albeit usually implicit) assumptions of environmental inequality proximity studies is that living close to pollution sources has *consequences*. Although few studies in the social sciences have focused on the connections between “environmental inequality, health and human capital” (Pastor et al. 2004, p. 273), there has

been a considerable amount of epidemiological and toxicological research that has found associations between proximity to polluters and negative health outcomes. For instance, using hospital inpatient discharge data by zip code of residence, several studies by Carpenter and colleagues (Baibergenova et al. 2003; Carpenter et al. 2003; Huang et al. 2006; Kouznetsova et al. 2007; Kudyakov et al. 2004) have examined the prevalence of various diseases linked to environmental contaminants in New York State by comparing rates of health problems such as low birth weight (Baibergenova et al. 2003), respiratory disease (Kudyakov et al. 2004), and infectious disease in children (Carpenter et al. 2003) in zip codes containing or adjacent to hazardous facilities with rates in other “clean” zip codes.

Emerging toxicology research on pollution’s unique, and often magnified, effects on children suggests that many possible health problems can emerge from environmental exposures to a range of contaminants (Landrigan et al. 2002). One of the most definitive links in the research thus far is between exposure to a range of air pollutants and the acquisition or aggravation of respiratory problems. Previous research linking pollution exposure and human capital attainment has also adopted this focus, suggesting that elevated exposure to air pollutants can result in increased school absences – both through actual occurrences of illness and through “avoidance behavior” on the part of parents (Currie et al. 2009; Neidell 2004; Crain 2000). The direct effects of living with a chronic respiratory illness such as asthma, as well as the implications of higher absenteeism associated with asthma, can consequently result in lower academic performance (Pastor et al. 2002, 2004). Although the empirical data on environmental contaminants’ effects on development and neurological functioning are far more limited than the data on respiratory illness (Morrison and Heath 2008; Wright et al. 2006; Landrigan et al. 2002; Crain 2000), these illnesses have an especially high potential to exert a direct negative impact on academic achievement.

One way to establish a connection between the *potential* for children facing multiple, overlapping ascriptions to experience elevated levels of certain health problems that can be detrimental to human capital and the *reality* of whether or not communities actually do so is through a case study approach. Communities are studied that have been labeled by previous national research on environmental inequality as “hot spots,” or the “worst of the worst” in terms of HVPs being located in close proximity to large, primarily minority and poor populations and high numbers of schools and children. One such “hot spot” discovered in the Legot et al. (2010a, b) research discussed above is East Baton Rouge (EBR) Parish, Louisiana. Among other large industries, EBR Parish is home to two large ExxonMobil facilities (one refinery and one chemical plant), sited within a mile of each other and in close proximity to a large minority and poor population and a number of schools. A large Honeywell Chemical facility is also located within 2 miles of the Exxon facilities. These facilities are among the top emitters of developmental neurotoxicants in the USA (see Legot et al. 2010b).

Taken together, these considerations informed a study by Legot et al. (2011), which attempted to determine whether or not proximity to the already identified

high-volume releases of developmental neurotoxicants in EBR Parish has a demonstrable impact on precisely those childhood diseases that are likely to be caused by exposure to these toxics: childhood asthma and neurodevelopmental diseases. Thus, Legot et al. (2011) also included the prevalence of various neurodevelopmental disorders (see below) in their case study of EBR, allowing for a more complete picture of the range of potential effects that childhood residence in this "hot spot" exerts over human capital.

The primary goal of Legot et al. (2011) was to test the general hypothesis that children living in close proximity to toxic air pollution are more likely to have respiratory and developmental or neurological diseases than children living further away. In other words, as distance from spatial concentrations of developmental neurotoxicants and respiratory toxics increases, rates of specified illnesses will decrease. Testing this hypothesis required that they (a) specify the existence and location of high concentrations of general toxics and developmental, respiratory, and neurotoxicant releases and (b) obtain data on specific illness rates by location. They approached the first goal by using TRI-based data from www.scorecard.org to specify the spatial distribution/concentration of toxic pollution in East Baton Rouge Parish in 2002. There are several important limitations to consider when using TRI data. These include (1) lack of information on where the chemicals go after they are released; (2) that not all facilities are required to report emissions data to the EPA; (3) TRI data are self-reported, resulting in possible variation in reporting methodology between facilities; and (4) latitude-longitude coordinates do not always reflect the exact location of the reporting facility (Downey et al. 2008). Despite these drawbacks, TRI data "are still the most comprehensive and detailed publicly available national record for industrial facility activity available to researchers" (Crowder and Downey 2010, p. 1120). The use of TRI data was essential for the purpose of Legot et al. (2011), as the central focus of the study was that proximity to those *specific toxics* that have the greatest potential to contribute to childhood disease may in turn diminish academic performance among children, hence degrading a community's future reserve of human capital.

Several measures of proximity were employed in Legot et al.'s (2011) study. First, the authors compared mean illness rates in zip codes 70805 and 70807 (the two most highly polluted) with those in all other zip codes in EBR. Second, the authors incorporated more precise measures of proximity or distance by specifying the midpoint between the two Exxon Mobil HVPs in zip code 70805 and subsequently measured the linear distance from the centroid of each zip code in the parish to this midpoint. While linear distance does not capture the effect of wind on the transport of the chemicals, proximity to source provides a reasonable proxy for relative ambient chemical concentrations. Examination of these distance measures revealed that six contiguous zip codes have centroids that are less than or equal to 4 miles from the hot spot. This suggested a final, alternative measure of proximity, which compared mean illness rates in the six proximate zip codes with those in all other zip codes. Though using zip code of residence is a very crude measure of individual exposure, it is often the best data available because personal identifiers contained in hospitalization and illness records are confidential.

Data on specific illness rates by location were also obtained to test the study hypothesis. The Louisiana Department of Health and Hospitals provided the authors with counts of childhood asthma inpatients under the age of 20 discharged between 2002 and 2006, by EBR zip code of residence, and counts of discharged inpatients under the age of 20 for *all* of the diagnoses codes combined, for the years 2002–2005, by zip code of residence. Therefore, analyses were performed for (1) childhood asthma alone and (2) for all childhood respiratory, development, and neurological diagnoses combined.

A third measure of illness in the study was neurodevelopmental disorder rates. Data were obtained from the Louisiana Department of Education on the number of students with disabilities attending each school in the Parish in its school accountability report cards (www.doe.state.la.us/lde/pair/1794.asp). Aggregating these data by school zip code yielded a measure of the total number of students with disabilities attending school in each zip code. Therefore, the disability rate by zip code was used in the study as a proxy for neurodevelopmental disorder rates. This proxy was justified because several types of clear neurodevelopment disorders (i.e., learning disabilities, autism, developmental delay, and specific learning disability) comprised 50.3 % of the total students with disabilities in the EBR study population. Moreover, a number of other included categories of disabilities may well comprise a high proportion of neurological/brain dysfunctions. Specifically, some mental disabilities, speech-language impairments, and emotional disturbances reflect deficits in higher brain function which could be caused by exposure to toxics. In sum, then, many (well over 50 %) of the students with disabilities attending school in EBR may well have neurological dysfunctions. Though these health data do not take into account migration histories or whether exposure is pre- versus postnatal, the fact remains that if exposure to toxics is playing any causal role in disease and disability rates, then proximity (at home and/or in school) to high-level toxic releases should increase the observed prevalence (Desoto 2009).

Overall, the authors found that mean rates of illness (asthma, asthma and neurodevelopmental disorders combined, and students with disabilities) are substantially higher in those zip codes with the highest level of Toxic Release Inventory emissions. They also found that minority and poverty levels are substantially greater in the same high-risk zip codes. To make these assertions more concrete, selected tables from this study are presented below.

Table 4 presents the results of a difference of means analysis comparing (1) the average prevalence of asthma, (2) all of the neurodevelopmental disorders listed above plus asthma, and (3) students with disabilities, for (a) zip codes 70805 and 70807 versus all other zip codes with available data in EBR and (b) the six zip codes closest to the midpoint of the ExxonMobil facilities versus all others with available data in EBR. In every case, the mean prevalence of illness was much higher in the “hot spot” zip codes than in the surrounding area. Table 4 also shows the difference between the mean illness prevalence for proximate zip codes and that for all other zip codes with available data, as well as the ratio of these two values, for all variables in the table. Zip codes 70805 and 70807 have, on average, 11.81 more childhood

Table 4 Difference of means between (a) zip codes 70805 and 70807 versus all others in East Baton Rouge Parish (2002) for which data are available, and (b) the six zip codes close to ExxonMobil facilities versus all others for which data are available, for disease rates, race, and poverty

	Indicator	Mean for proximate zip codes (N)	Mean all other zip codes (N)	Difference (X-Y)	Ratio (X/Y)
		X	Y		
(a)	Childhood asthma	31.35(2)	19.54(16)	11.81	1.6
	All diseases	25.56(2)	15.99(15)	9.57	1.6
	Disability	76.02(2)	54.87(16)	21.15	1.39
	% minority	92.65(2)	36.78(18)	55.87	2.52
	% poverty	33.8(2)	11.11(18)	22.69	3.04
(b)	Childhood asthma	28.34(6)	17.11(12)	11.23	1.66
	All diseases	23.21(6)	13.79(11)	9.42	1.68
	Disability	79.96(6)	45.85(12)	34.11	1.74
	% minority	80.55(6)	26(14)	54.55	3.1
	% poverty	28.28(6)	7.38(14)	20.9	3.83

Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of zip codes in each analysis (Reproduced from Legot et al. 2012, p. 341)

asthma cases per 1,000 children, 9.57 more “all diseases” per 1,000 children, and 21.15 more students with disabilities per 1,000, than do all other EBR zip codes combined. In other words, the asthma rate and the “all disease” rate are both 1.6 times greater in the most polluted zip codes than in all others, and the disability rate is 1.39 times higher. A comparable difference and ratio analysis is shown in panel (b), which compares means for the six most highly impacted zip codes with all others. Table 4 also illustrates that % minority and % below the state threshold for poverty are, in every case, markedly higher in the most highly polluted zip codes.

These impact patterns may also be presented graphically, in the form of a map (see Fig. 1: East Baton Rouge Major Source Neurological Risk). This map uses census tract data on level of neurological risk for all county residents (both adults and children) from facility pollution, derived from the 2002 National Air Toxics Assessment, to clearly depict the concentration of risk in proximity to the “hot spot.” While the hazard quotient ratios are modest, it is quite clear that risk diminishes as distance from the “hot spot” (denoted by white dots representing the biggest polluters) increases.

Table 5 presents a correlation matrix, which illustrates the magnitude of the relationships between distance from the midpoint of the ExxonMobil facilities, rates of illness/disability, and race and class measures. The correlations between these measures are very strong and in the expected direction, showing that as distance from the midpoint increases, prevalence of these illnesses decreases. The same relationship is found for measures of race ($r = -0.85$) and class ($r = -0.81$),

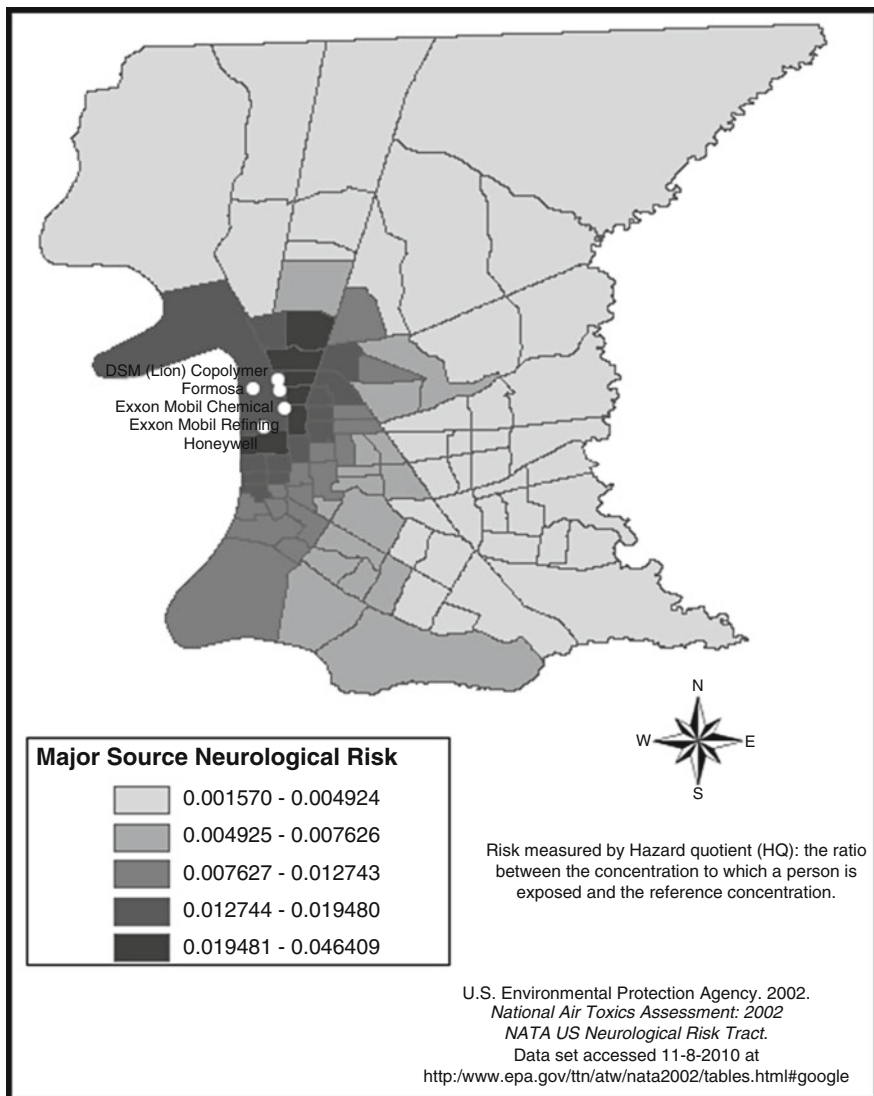


Fig. 1 East Baton Rouge neurological risk in population <20 years of age (Reproduced from Legot et al. 2012, p. 341)

suggesting that concentrations of minorities and the poor are higher in close proximity to the midpoint. Additionally, the data show strong positive relationships between measures of illness/disability and race ($r = 0.78$, $r = 0.73$, $r = 0.51$), as well as measures of illness/disability and social class ($r = 0.7$, $r = 0.71$, $r = 0.59$), meaning that disability rates among children are higher in zip codes with higher concentrations of minorities and the poor.

Table 5 Correlation matrix: children's disease/disability rates, % poverty, % minority, and distance to midpoint

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Childhood asthma	1					
2. All diseases	0.99	1				
3. Disability	0.36	0.45	1			
4. % poverty	0.7	0.71	0.59	1		
5. % minority	0.78	0.73	0.51	0.9	1	
6. Distance	-0.63	-0.65	-0.68	-0.81	-0.85	1

Reproduced from Legot et al. 2012, p. 344

These findings speak to the ascriptive power of place. They reveal a heightened prevalence of certain childhood illnesses in those zip codes most proximate to a pollution “hot spot” area in East Baton Rouge Parish. Exposure to the emissions from these spatially concentrated HVPs is likely to place a disproportionate burden on young children by contributing to learning disabilities and respiratory problems, both of which can be detrimental to academic performance. Academic performance is often considered a key indicator of life chances or of community-level human capital (Pastor et al. 2002, 2004). As noted above, studies of ascription typically emphasize the structural disadvantages faced by populations born into marginalized social categories (e.g., minority status or low socioeconomic status) and how these disadvantages systematically contribute to diminished life chances for these populations. The perpetuation of this systematic disadvantage occurs through the inherited lack of those transformative resources (e.g., cultural capital, social capital, and access to a quality learning environment) that could increase the potential for academic success (and implicitly, the potential for social mobility) within these groups.

Physical proximity to emitters of high thresholds of developmental neurotoxicants during the most formative period of mental development (i.e., childhood) can also be considered ascriptive in the sense that some places are more likely than others to contribute in this way to diminished potential for success in school. Although it is not as clearly ingrained as one's race, class, or gender, the place where a child lives and attends school is often not a matter of choice either. As Legot et al. (2010a, p. 285) put it, “if children are regularly being exposed. . . to the sorts of toxins that impair their ability to learn and develop, both their individual life chances and society's aggregate reserve of human capital are in jeopardy.” Further, the concept of environmental ascription encompasses more than this relationship between place and life chances. This analysis also reveals that the highly polluted zip codes contain more minority and poor residents than other, less proximate zip codes in EBR Parish and that these measures of race and class are also linked to measures of illness. Hence, these case study findings suggest that, in geographic areas where there are facilities that produce hazardous pollution, certain populations are facing multiple, *overlapping* ascriptions of social class, race, and place.

5 Consequences II: Polluted Place and Diminished School Performance

In this section, several studies that have examined the links between environmental pollution and children's educational outcomes will be reviewed, with special attention to those that focus on developmental, neurological, and respiratory toxicants, which may be most closely linked to school performance. Noting that few studies had previously examined demographic inequities in health risks among children, Pastor et al. (2002) began to fill that gap by examining the demographic distribution of polluting facilities and health risks associated with air toxics exposures among public schoolchildren in the Los Angeles Unified School District. Using information on polluting facilities and indices of estimated lifetime cancer risk and respiratory hazards associated with exposures to toxic air emissions, the authors found that minority students, especially Latinos, are more likely to attend schools near hazardous facilities and face higher health risks associated with outdoor air toxics exposure. Expanding on this study, Pastor et al. (2004) used school-level information on student performance in Los Angeles to assess whether disparities in environmental risks are associated with diminished school performance, controlling for socioeconomic and demographic covariates that generally explain much of the variation in student scores. The two measures of toxic air pollution used were (1) the presence of a TRI polluting facility within 1 mile of the census tract containing the schools and (2) a respiratory-hazard index based on emissions data from 148 ambient air toxics from mobile and stationary sources. The authors found that schools in the Los Angeles Unified School District located in close proximity to facilities that produce high levels of air pollution report lower scores on an aggregate indicator of academic performance, even after controlling for confounding school-related variables. In line with Pastor et al. (2002), it was found that schools in the most polluted areas serve a higher number of minority (especially Latino) students – a group that is already disadvantaged in terms of academic achievement. This study was groundbreaking in its linkage between toxic air pollution and school performance outcomes.

Lucier et al. (2011) replicated and extended Pastor et al. (2004) for East Baton Rouge (EBR) Parish, to examine whether the place-specific results of a study such as Pastor et al. could be made more general by examining a similar relationship in another place. In addition to using an indicator of proximity similar to that used by Pastor et al. (i.e., the presence or absence of a TRI facility within 1 mile of each school, called *PASTOR* in Table 6), Lucier et al. (2011) employed six other proximity measures to serve as indicators of exposure risk. These pollution variables, with their Table 6 designations in parentheses, include the following:

1. The number of facilities within 1, 2, and 3 miles of each school (*RISK 1*, *RISK 2*, *RISK 3*)
2. The distances of each school from the centroid of the “toxic triangle” comprising the three facilities that emit the highest volume of air toxics (*CENTER 3*)

Table 6 Regression of school performance scores on school-level and environmental variables. East Baton Rouge Parish, 2002–2003

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Pastor		-0.14*													
2. Risk 1			-0.15*												
3. Risk 2				-0.19*											
4. Risk 3					-0.19*										
5. Center 3						0.18*									
6. Center 5							0.20*								
7. Toxic CONC.								-0.15*							
8. All REC. and SUS. DNR									-0.17*						
9. All REC. DEV.										-0.19*					
10. All ALL SUS. DNR.											-0.12*				
11. ALMT tox. Conc.												-0.14*			
12. Arsenic conc.													-0.04		
13. Lead conc.														-0.13*	
14. Mercury conc.															-0.06
15. Toluene conc.															-0.14*
Disability	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.29*	-0.29*	-0.30*	-0.30*	-0.29*	-0.29*	-0.29*	-0.28*	-0.28*	-0.25*	-0.28*	-0.25*	-0.28*
Attendance	0.24*	0.24*	0.20*	0.21*	0.20*	0.20*	0.20*	0.20*	0.20*	0.21*	0.21*	0.22*	0.21*	0.22*	0.20*
Student/teacher Ratio	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.07
Minority	-0.26*	-0.26*	-0.25*	-0.20*	-0.18	-0.16	-0.19	-0.19	-0.18	-0.22*	-0.21	-0.27*	-0.22*	-0.23	-0.20
Lunch	-0.48*	-0.49*	-0.43*	-0.46*	-0.49*	-0.49*	-0.52*	-0.52*	-0.51*	-0.52*	-0.53*	-0.53*	-0.52*	-0.56*	-0.52*
Emergency credentials	-0.05	-0.06	-0.07*	0.04	-0.03	-0.03	-0.04	-0.03	-0.02	-0.04	-0.03	-0.05	-0.03	-0.06	-0.04
Number of students	-0.33*	-0.34*	-0.32*	-0.31*	-0.35*	-0.35*	-0.27*	-0.37*	-0.37*	-0.36*	-0.36*	-0.36*	-0.36*	-0.36*	-0.26*

* = $p < 0.05$, $N = 92$. Authors' calculations based on School Performance Score data for EBR Parish Schools, TRI data and RSEI data. Numbers reported are standardized regression coefficients obtained from estimating ordinary least squares regression models. For more information on variable definitions and construction, see Lucier et al. (2011) and Scharber et al. (2013) (Reproduced from Scharber et al. 2013, pp. 213–220)

3. The distance of each school from the centroid of the “Toxic 5,” which is composed of the five nearby facilities with the highest toxicity scores from the US EPA’s Risk-Screening Environmental Indicators (RSEI) for the year 2002 (*CENTER 5*)
4. Toxicity-weighted estimates of toxic air pollution concentrations for the square kilometer in which each school resides, from RSEI Geographic Microdata (*TOXIC CONC.*)

To provide an initial look at the relationship between school performance and polluting facilities in EBR, Fig. 2 shows the geographic distribution of school performance scores (SPS), calculated based on the standardized test results from 2002 to 2003, relative to the three TRI facilities that emitted the highest volume of developmental neurotoxicants and the five facilities that have the highest toxicity scores based on RSEI data. This map indicates that higher performance appears to be spatially correlated with distance from these toxic facilities.

The results in the first seven rows of Table 6 show that all seven pollution variables examined in Lucier et al. (2011) exert a significant effect on school performance, even after other school-level variables that could be expected to be related to test scores, including percentage of children receiving free lunch (a proxy for poverty), percentage of minority students, percentage of instructors with emergency credentials (an indicator of teacher quality), and several others, are taken into account. The central implication of this analysis is that high emissions of air toxics near schools where children spend the majority of their day contribute to the reproduction of inequalities in opportunity via the degradation of human capital.

Scharber et al. (2013) extended the analysis of the relationship between air toxics and school performance in EBR by focusing on those chemicals that adversely affect childhood development, as well as those that cause short- or long-term damage to the nervous and respiratory systems, as these should be more important predictors of poor school performance than, for example, known carcinogens. In this analysis, the authors replicated Lucier et al. (2011), using pollution concentration estimates from the RSEI data exclusively, but focusing on several groups of chemicals. The pollutant groups examined, along with their designations in Table 6, are defined as follows: the toxicity-weighted sum of 14 chemicals released in EBR Parish in 2002 recognized to be developmental toxicants (*ALL REC. DEV.*); the toxicity-weighted sum of 30 additional chemicals that are suspected to be developmental, neurological, and respiratory toxicants (*ALL SUS. DNR.*); and all 44 recognized and suspected toxicants from the previous lists (*ALL REC. AND SUS. DNR.*). In addition, several of the chemicals in the RSEI database – arsenic, lead, mercury, and toluene – are highlighted by Grandjean and Landrigan (2006) as particularly deleterious, causing neurodevelopmental disorders and subclinical brain dysfunction. Additional pollution variables therefore included each of these chemicals separately and their toxicity-weighted aggregate (*ALMT TOX. CONC.*). In Table 6, rows 8–15 show the results of a regression analysis that examines the effect of the more targeted RSEI toxic concentration estimates on the performance of schools in EBR. The standardized coefficient on *ALL REC. DEV.*, for example, indicates that a one-standard-deviation increase in exposure to recognized developmental toxicants leads to a 0.19 standard deviation decrease in school

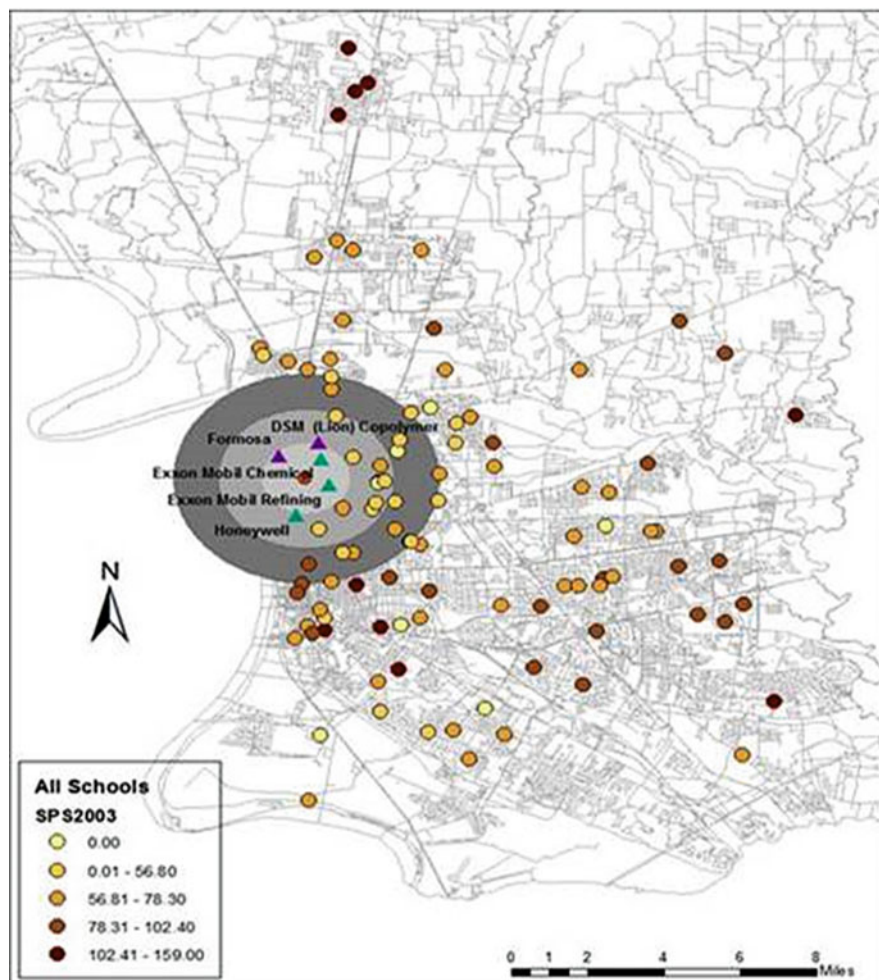


Fig. 2 East Baton Rouge, LA school performance scores for the year 2003. Notes: *Dark colors* represent schools with higher scores, *lighter colors* represent the opposite. *Triangles* represent the three TRI facilities that emit the highest volume of developmental neurotoxicants and the five facilities that have the highest toxicity scores based on RSEI data. The buffers show schools within 1, 2, and 3 miles from the centroid of these TRI facilities (Louisiana Department of Education 2003) (Reproduced from Lucier et al. 2011, p. 427)

performance scores, all else equal. The finding that pollutants known or suspected to be developmental, neurological, or respiratory toxicants resulted in larger and more statistically significant coefficient estimates than the aggregate RSEI measure is consistent with the hypotheses that (1) these pollutants are more directly related to school outcomes than chemicals in general and (2) at least some of the effect of these variables on school performance is related to pollution exposure and not simply other SES variables with which pollution is correlated.

To examine whether variation in air pollution is correlated with variation in academic performance in a place with lower overall pollutant levels, Rosofsky et al. (2013) studied this relationship in Worcester County, Massachusetts. Worcester County differs dramatically and in important ways from the counties studied by Pastor et al. (Los Angeles) and Lucier et al. and Scharber et al. (EBR). Specifically, Worcester County has much smaller minority (11 %) and poverty (7 %) populations than Los Angeles (15 % and 49 %) and EBR (20 % and 48 %). Worcester also has a much lower “total on-site disposal and other releases” of toxics (88,420 kg) than does LA County (2,540,117 kg) and EBR Parish (over 5,216,312 kg) (see US Environmental Protection Agency 2011). Despite these differences across cities, Rosofsky et al. (2013) indicated that school performance in Worcester is also correlated with local air pollution concentrations. Figure 3 depicts average Massachusetts Composite Performance Index (CPI) scores by school, with darker circles corresponding to higher scores, along with TRI facilities in Worcester County, represented as triangles. This map indicates that those schools with the lowest CPI scores are located in urban areas (Worcester City) and/or in close proximity to TRI facilities. Figure 4 (from Rosofsky et al. 2013) shows developmental, neurological, and respiratory (DNR) toxicant concentrations by school. Here, DNR levels are higher toward the middle of the map, where the majority of the TRI facilities are concentrated.

Table 7 shows the relationship between CPI scores at Worcester schools and several measures of toxic air pollution, including the number of TRI facilities within 1, 2, and 3 miles of each school (*RISK 1*, *RISK 2*, *RISK 3*) and RSEI aggregate estimates of toxic air pollution concentrations (*TOXIC CONC.*), corresponding to the variables used in Lucier et al. (2011). Table 7 also includes an aggregate measure of 14 chemicals emitted in Worcester County that are recognized or suspected developmental toxicants, suspected neurotoxicants, and suspected respiratory toxicants (*ALL REC. AND SUS. DNR*), similar to the variable used in Scharber et al. (2013). Here, the variables representing the number of TRI facilities within 1 mile of the school (*RISK 1*) and the variable focusing on developmental, respiratory, and neurotoxicants (*ALL REC. AND SUS. DNR*) are found to significantly affect school performance in Worcester, while the effect of the other pollution variables is not significant. These are important measures of pollution: a measure of the number of polluting facilities in closest proximity to each school, in the first case, and a targeted measure of the concentration of those specific toxics that most impact children’s ability to learn, in the second. Thus, these findings provide further evidence that exposure to high levels of certain kinds of toxic chemicals may interfere with learning.

Mohai et al. (2011) also used air pollution data from the RSEI model to examine the extent of air pollution around all public schools in Michigan and determine whether air pollution predicts children’s academic performance. In this study, GIS was used to estimate the toxic air pollution concentrations from industrial sources within 1, 2, and 3 km of the 3,660 public elementary, middle, junior high, or high schools in Michigan. As a school performance measure, the authors used the percentage of students not meeting the state standards for English and math, from

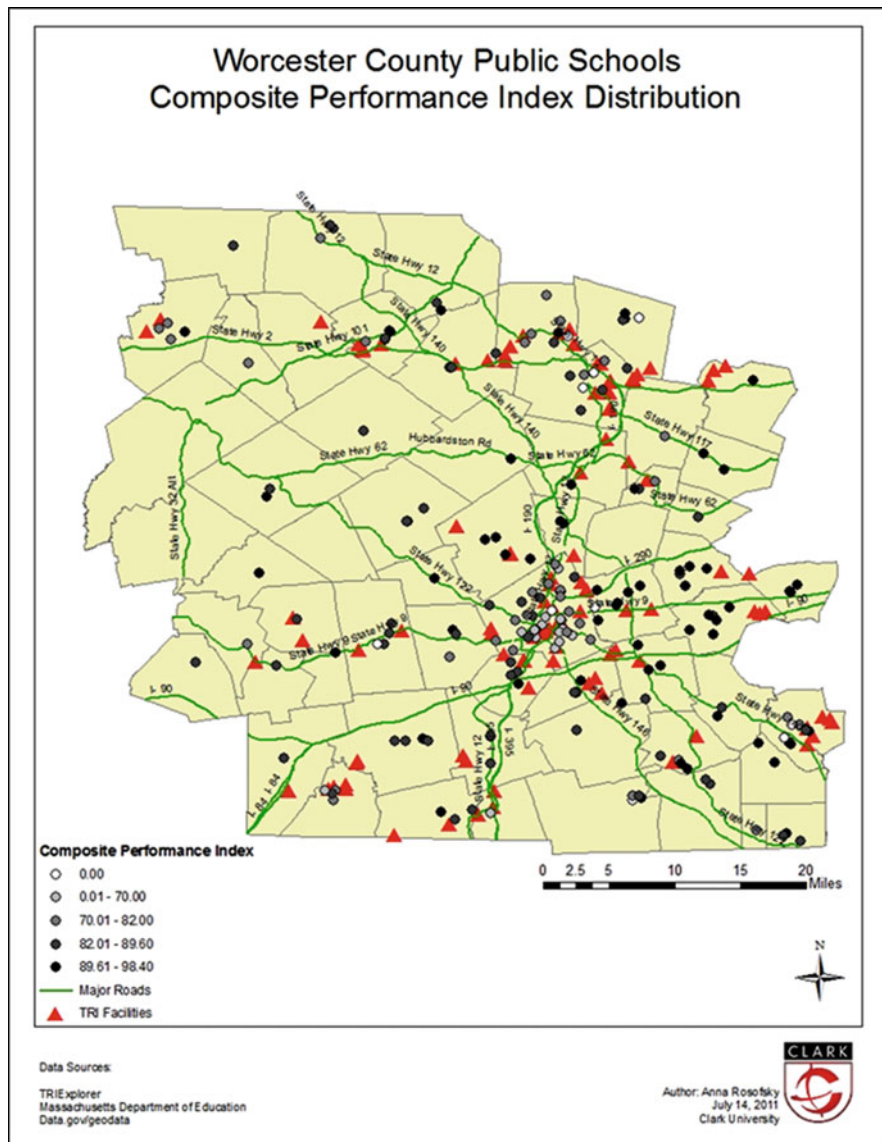


Fig. 3 Schools represented by composite performance index in Worcester County, MA (Reproduced from Rosofsky et al. 2013, p. 294)

2007 Michigan Educational Assessment Program scores. As in other studies, Mohai et al. (2011) indicated that schools in Michigan are disproportionately located in places with high levels of industrial air pollution. At a descriptive level, the authors found that 82 % of African-American students, 62 % of Hispanic students, and 62 % of students enrolled in the free lunch program (a proxy for poverty) attended schools

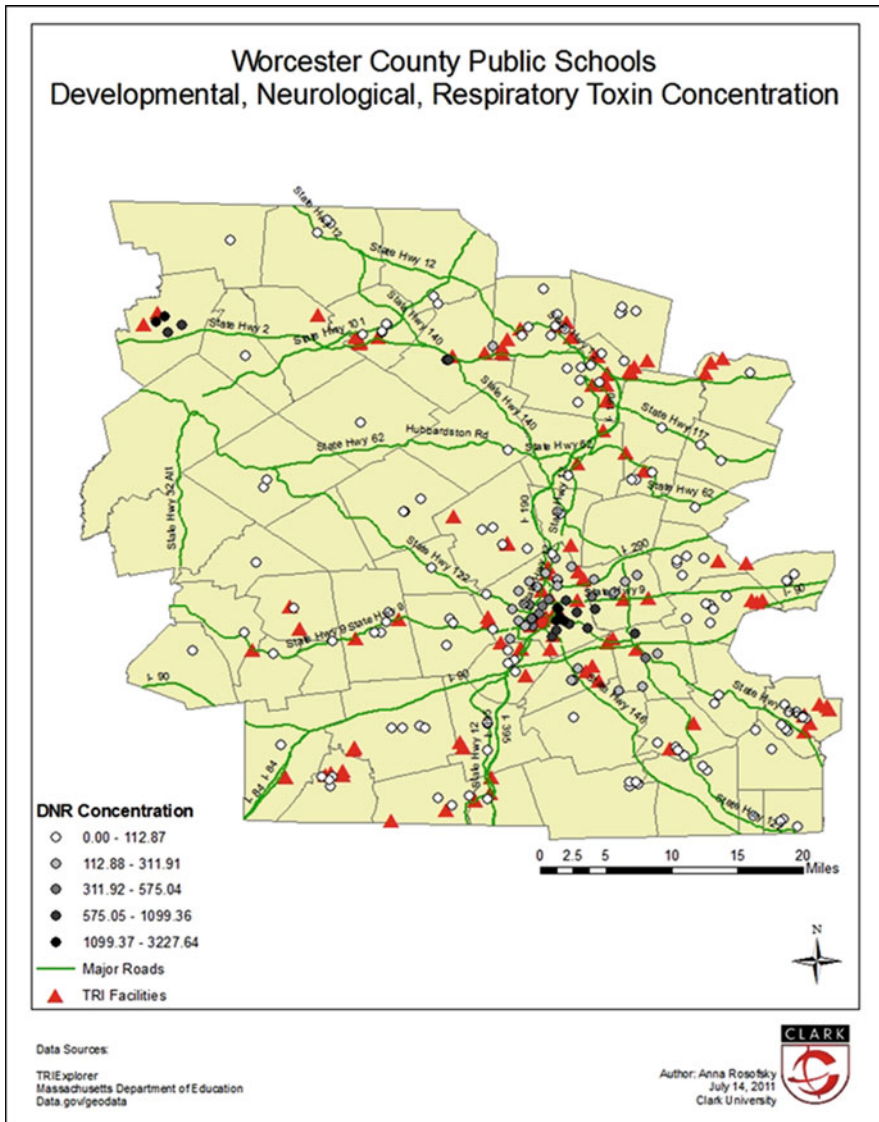


Fig. 4 Estimated developmental, neurological, and respiratory toxin concentration at school sites in Worcester County, MA (Reproduced from Rosofsky et al. 2013, p. 295)

in the most polluted 10 % of the state. Schools in areas with the highest pollution levels also had the lowest attendance rates and the highest proportions of students failing to meet the state’s math and english test standards, associations that remained significant after controlling for a range of school-level variables.

Table 7 Regression of composite performance index on school-level and environmental variables. Worcester, Massachusetts, 2007–2008

	1	2	3	4	5
Toxic CONC.	0.03				
All REC. and SUS. DNR		−0.10*			
Risk 1			−0.10*		
Risk 2				−0.06	
Risk 3					−0.02
Attendance	0.05	0.07	0.05	0.06*	0.06
Number of students	0.17*	0.16*	0.17*	0.17*	0.17*
Licensed teachers	−0.01	−0.02	−0.01	−0.01	−0.01
Student/teacher ratio	−0.11*	−0.09*	−0.10*	−0.10*	−0.10*
Special education	−0.10*	−0.13*	−0.10*	−0.11*	−0.11*
Minority	−0.26*	−0.20*	−0.22*	−0.23*	−0.24*
Low income	−0.52*	−0.51*	−0.50*	−0.51*	−0.52*

* = $p < 0.05$, $N = 225$. Authors' calculations are based on Massachusetts Composite Performance Index data for Worcester schools, TRI data, and RSEI data. Numbers reported are standardized regression coefficients obtained from estimating ordinary least squares regression models. For more information on variable definitions and construction, see Rosofsky et al. (2013) (Reproduced from Rosofsky et al. 2013, pp. 292–293)

6 Conclusion

Environmental justice research in the USA is evolving away from documenting instances of disproportionate exposure of vulnerable populations to pollution toward a consideration of the consequences of this unequal exposure (Brulle and Pellow 2006). Environmental ascription is a useful concept in this context as it considers the role of place in shaping life chances with particular attention to the ways in which inherited disadvantages of place overlap and intersect with those of race and class. This concept also bridges the social and natural sciences by considering how social forces (i.e., ascriptive inequalities) and biological forces (i.e., neurological consequences of toxic exposures) interact in the production of inequalities of place and life chances. Physical proximity to emitters of high concentrations of developmental neurotoxicants during the most formative period of mental development (i.e., childhood) can be considered ascriptive in the sense that some places are more likely than others to contribute in this way to diminished potential for success in school.

The body of research discussed in this chapter has outlined the growing evidence for two key mechanisms through which place influences life chances: health outcomes and, in turn, school performance. The authors first identified “hot spots” of developmental neurotoxicant and respiratory toxicant emissions, finding East Baton Rouge Parish to be an extremely polluted place. They then analyzed the demographic and economic characteristics of the populations living closest to high-volume polluters in EBR. Finally, they examined the health and school performance

consequences of proximity to pollution sources. Through these case studies, patterns emerged that established connections among polluted place, race, class, and (a) children's illness rates and (b) children's educational performance. They found that highly polluted zip codes contain more minority and poor residents than other, less proximate zip codes. Schools in closest proximity to TRI facilities that emit the greatest volume of pollutants and those with the highest RSEI scores were found to have higher rates of childhood illness and reduced educational outcomes as measured by school performance.

Geographic perspectives and techniques played a crucial role in this research. The use of maps and spatial statistics was crucial in identifying "place" as an ascriptive force. Geographic information systems (GIS) were used to display air pollutant concentrations and demographic distributions in each case study. GIS were also used to develop buffers around each TRI facility to create the exposure variables used in the regression models. These included the number of TRI facilities within 1, 2, and 3 miles of each school and the distances of each school from the centroid of two "toxic triangles." Circular area profiles created around each school were also used to provide demographic information within that location.

RSEI geographic microdata were also a key geographic component of these analyses. These data incorporate latitude and longitude coordinates to produce toxicity-weighted estimates of toxic air pollution concentrations for the square kilometer in which each school resides. Not only was RSEI used as an exposure variable in regression analyses, but these data were used to identify those facilities that emit the highest volume of pollutants directly related to adverse respiratory and neurological outcomes.

More research needs to be done in this area. This can be accomplished in the quantitative arena through additional case studies of other "hot spots" and predictive models of other neurodevelopmental disorders. This can also be accomplished in a more qualitative vein, which would do more to unearth how race, class, and place interact on the ground to potentially limit life chances for children living, learning, and playing in communities affected by environmental injustice.

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Disasters, Displacement, and Disruption: Children and Young People's Experience of Spatial Change Following Disasters

19

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Abstract

In 2010 and 2011, Christchurch, New Zealand, suffered two major earthquakes followed by a prolonged period of aftershocks that carried on for several years. After the quake some 70,000 people left the city, including many families. In Christchurch, in common with disasters internationally, the earthquake resulted in a prolonged period of locational uncertainty and flux for families, for those who fled and those who stayed. This chapter presents and explores children and young people's responses to the earthquake, focusing on the disruption it caused and how this impacted on children and young people's attachment to place. Children's voices are seldom heard in the post-disaster period because they are usually cast in the role of victim, in need of welfare support. Although support is important, children's and young people's roles as active participants in the post-disaster recovery process tend to be overlooked. If children's needs are to be fully met post-disaster, their contributions to recovery must be facilitated and valued.

Keywords

Displacement • Earthquake • New Zealand • Recovery • Children and young people

1 Introduction

On September 4, 2010, at 4.34 am, Christchurch New Zealand suffered a major 7.1 magnitude earthquake. Four months later on February 22, 2011, a smaller but far more devastating 6.3 earthquake killed 181 people and severely damaged city homes and businesses. It led to the eventual destruction of 80 % of buildings in the Christchurch city center. While Christchurch residents were still reeling from this disaster, another far more severe earthquake was about to hit in the Pacific region. On March 11, 2011, a magnitude-9 earthquake shook northeastern Japan, unleashing a savage tsunami that resulted in the deaths of some 18,000 people (Save the Children 2011). This disaster is estimated to have displaced as many as 100,000 children with over 1,500 children losing one or both of their parents (Save the Children 2011). These disasters followed the much earlier 2004 Sumatra–Andaman earthquake and the Indian Ocean tsunami (also known as the Boxing Day tsunami). The Boxing Day tsunami was a massive disaster causing 250,000 deaths and displacing more than two million people from their homes; approximately a third of victims were children (World Health Organization 2013).

In all disasters children are one of the most severely impacted groups, suffering severe physical and emotional trauma; disease-related deaths; and losing family, relatives and friends, homes, schools, and the services that make up their life worlds. Children's mental maps that enable them to locate and interpret the places they live in are disrupted, often permanently. This chapter looks at how disaster affects children's relationships to place, their homes, and neighborhoods and how children

experience spatial change, resulting from relocation to new and different places, where they have to rebuild their lives and create a new sense of belonging in unfamiliar spaces. This chapter presents a case study about children's relocation in the aftermath of the Christchurch earthquakes. It is vital for researchers to understand children's post-disaster place attachment and belonging, which is an aspect of disaster recovery and rebuilding often overlooked in post-disaster recovery management.

2 Disaster Research: Some Challenges

Disaster research is a complex and difficult area of research endeavor, not least because "Disasters by their nature, pose great challenges for researchers. They often occur with little advance warning and devastation on a scale that generates many issues for the research, ranging from the ethical to the pragmatic" (Masten and Osofsky 2010, p. 1030). Disaster conditions add to the difficulties of research given their tragic consequences; damage to the physical environment and infrastructure; the instability, mobility, and emotional impacts of the disaster; and the presence of ongoing dangers and impacts.

The aftershocks continued for over a year, and the researcher undertook interviews in homes that were themselves severely damaged and unstable. For researchers, as indeed for the victims, disasters usually appear suddenly, unexpectedly, have a huge impact, and interrupt normal life processes and the means of accessing people and places. For human geography/social science researchers, effective and ethical research relies on having developed familiarity with place, understanding of institutional and governance structures, and developing relationships with informants and usually takes place at the end of a longer process of gathering necessary funding, staffing, and institutional support.

Disaster research, as is reported in this chapter, needs to occur quickly and can involve moving into exceptionally difficult, uncertain, constantly changing, and emotionally charged research environments. Access to research participants in such scenarios is exceptionally difficult and for children who are a high-risk group, even more so, because "Children are especially vulnerable to the effects of disasters with reactions that span the continuum from distress and transient emotional and behavioural reactions to impaired functioning and enduring psychopathology" (Norris 2006, cited in Pfefferbaum and North 2008, p. 850). As a cohort, children after Hurricane Katrina were found to suffer serious emotional disturbance with some suffering long-term stress symptoms at a level five times that recorded in a comparable pre-Katrina cohort (Abramson et al. 2010). All disaster research is demanding but can be particularly so when the research focus is on children's relocation and connection to place and when children and young people are in a process of removal, evacuation, and migration and their "home" location is itself unstable and continually changing.

3 Disaster Recovery

Within disaster research, there is a strong focus, as would be expected, on recovery. The immediate post-disaster phase, where the focus is on saving lives and ensuring people's welfare, is followed by the rebuilding phase. Within the rebuilding phase, a more recent focus is on resilience, especially social resilience, and building disaster-resistant and resilient communities (McEntire et al. 2002; Manyena 2006). Understanding vulnerability and risk is central to the recovery process and within this process recognition of the need for co-production of knowledge: "there is a growing recognition of the need to shift from output-directed to process-oriented research that sees knowledge as co-produced by a plurality of actors including scientists, researchers and policy and community stakeholders" (Miller et al. 2010, p. 11). There also needs to be a place for children to contribute to this co-production of knowledge. As a group particularly vulnerable to the impacts of disasters, in terms of their short-term survival and long-term well-being, children and young people have been largely ignored in this respect. In disaster research, they have not been seen as co-production of knowledge. Given that disaster risk is on the rise globally and children are particularly vulnerable in the face of this growing risk (Peek 2008), it is imperative that children's knowledge, experiences, and understandings are recognized and valued. Like the canary in the coalmine, children act as barometers of the recovery process:

When children are vulnerable, communities are also more vulnerable to the effects of disaster. After disasters when children lack a sense of routine and normalcy and are suffering physically and emotionally, it is difficult, if not impossible for family members and communities to begin the process of recovery. (Peek 2008, p. 20)

Similar sentiments are expressed by Masten (2001):

Resilience does not come from the rare and special qualities but from the everyday magic of ordinary normative human resources in the minds, brains and bodies of children, in their families, relationships and their communities. It follows that efforts to promote confidence and resilience of children at risk should focus on strategies that protect or restore the efficacy of these basic systems. (p. 235)

For children, the everyday, which is vitally important to support well-being, can be very hard to rebuild in the aftermath of disaster. Peek (2014) asks: "How can we get kids into restoring that normal situation even if nothing else is normal in their lives?" (p. 59). Disaster research tends to focus on safety and welfare in the immediate aftermath of the disaster, rebuilding, and general disaster management and prevention. There has been little research on disaster and its impact on place and how the changes, both physical and emotional, to place impact on people's ability to recover. As geographers a sense of place and understanding of place are central to notions of community, belonging, identity, and well-being. Place is also a space for spiritual and physical belonging. When that sense of place is deeply disturbed, the familiar and all its associated connections, built up over lifetimes, are lost; the

significance of this loss is not explored in the disaster literature. For children and families struggling to adapt and survive in the aftermath of disaster, this loss of place attachment is fundamental. Disasters result in both psychological and physical displacement as the familiar is disrupted and even permanently lost (e.g. loss of local buildings, services, neighbors, and even natural features such as trees, parks, and gardens).

In the Christchurch earthquake, the disaster was not a single event but a series of ongoing events as aftershocks continued (11,000 in 2 years and 58 shocks over magnitude 5.00; Reyners 2012). Such a sustained period of earthquakes leads to the “dose–response effect,” or “intrusive reexperiencing” (Pfefferbaum et al. 2013), where each large aftershock not only forces a reliving of the big earthquake but the fear that it could be “another big one.” These aftershocks, especially the large ones, added to the psychological and physical disorder, displacement, and loss suffered by children, young people, and their families. These ongoing shocks significantly impacted on children and families’ place attachment and well-being, affecting the capacity of families to make informed decisions about their futures.

4 Disasters and Place Attachment

Displacement and relocation are common, if not inevitable, outcomes of disasters, especially natural disasters such as earthquakes, floods, tsunamis, and volcanic eruptions. Such displacements can be temporary or permanent depending on whether restoration of the damaged environment is possible and housing and other building stock is repairable. Children’s geographers’ sustained focus on children’s sense of place and belonging (Hart 1979; Ross 2005; Yarwood and Tyrrell 2012) has much to offer to the disaster literature. Other social sciences are also paying more attention to the significance of place, for example, Jack (2010) makes the following pertinent observation from a social work perspective:

... attachment to place (rather than people) is not an issue that appears to have been considered in child care social work literature in the UK up to now ... It is as if social relationships that are rightly the focus of so much attention in social work theory and practice are considered to have developed in a vacuum, rather than in specific places capable of leaving an indelible mark on a person’s identity. (p. 756)

In a similar vein, disaster research, including child-focused disaster research, has only tangentially considered the interrelatedness of disaster–child–place relationships. Disasters disrupt place, yet limited research has addressed this important relationship. Scannell and Gifford (2010) are among the few who do address place attachment in disaster research:

The bonding that occurs between individuals and their meaningful environments ... the examination of place attachment as an emotional bond has shed light on the distress and grief expressed by those who are forced to relocate ... and has thus been applied to disaster psychology. (p. 1)

Very little of the attention to place in disaster psychology is child focused. However, in looking at place, disasters, and children, there are a number of significant relationships and approaches to place and space that are already known, which are relevant for understanding children's post-disaster responses and needs. What is known is that:

- Place identity and well-being are closely connected.
- Places are associated with social and cultural codes/norms and expectations.
- Place, friendship, and sense of self are closely related.
- Place is invested with emotional and social relations and is not just physical.
- Places and their attendant social relations are dynamic.
- Children often see and use places differently to adults.
- Children apply sensory engagements (love/hate, safe/fearful, joy/pain) to place imbuing it with personal meaning (see Bartos 2013; Jack 2010; Kraftl 2013; McCreanor et al. 2006).

The construction of place and the meanings attached to it can be central determinants of children's current and developing identities derived from the interplay of associations with social and physical environments. The next section explores what happens when disasters disrupt and even sever these associations.

5 Relocation

In the aftermath of the Christchurch earthquake, some 70,000 people are estimated to have moved, and some 9,534 children and young people are estimated to have relocated permanently or temporarily, based on school enrolment data from the New Zealand Ministry of Education (Love 2011). The most common period for relocation was in the week following the February 11, 2011, earthquake with many leaving Christchurch the same day. Many families left as a unit, but in other cases, family members, including children, left separately and at different times with some parents returning to the city once children and other family members had been moved to safety elsewhere. At the time of relocation, most did not know if the move was permanent or temporary or whether their homes and neighborhoods would be possible to return to. For many this period of not knowing would be prolonged (up to and even beyond two years).

The number of people evacuating and relocating in the aftermath of a disaster can be sizeable. For example, 10,000 left Darwin, Australia, in 2 days after cyclone Tracy (1974) (Milne 1977); 162,268 left Florida after Hurricane Andrew in the USA (1992) (Love 2011); 100,000 people left Kobe permanently after the Japanese earthquake (1995) (Love 2011); and 1.7 million people left New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, USA (2005) (Blaze and Schwab 2009). Love's (2011) study of population movement after disasters identified a number of common themes around population changes, namely, that:

- Population changes are usually stable within 2 years of the disaster.
- Most of those displaced move shorter rather than longer distances.
- More socioeconomically vulnerable populations bear a disproportionate burden of a disaster and are likely to be displaced for longer periods.
- Disasters can accelerate existing population trends, e.g. depopulation.

Understanding population trends such as migration is important in predicting the likely impacts of disasters on children's futures and supporting children through the period of disruption.

Relocation studies post-disaster have identified a number of common features associated with the post-disaster period and specifically with relocation. Children who have experienced disasters are at higher risk of stress-related symptoms such as anxiety, depression, and post-traumatic syndrome (Hansel et al. 2013). Where relocation is forced on children, they have trouble coping with it (Nuttman-Schwartz et al. 2010). Specific problems associated with relocation following Hurricane Katrina included lack of access to transport, poor access to health services and medical records (also school records), financial burdens on families, lack of affordable and/or safe housing, inability to repair homes, and poor/interrupted academic performance (Picou and Marshall 2007). Additionally, there are a range of issues associated with disrupted social networks including family separation (Reich and Wadsworth 2008) and severance of friendship networks and changes in community attachment and support networks (Hansel et al. 2013).

Peek et al.'s (2011) "Displaced Family Adjustment Model" (Fig. 1) attempts to show the process of adjustment by parents and children following a disaster over the period of a year. There is an initial period of "family unity" as families respond in the immediate aftermath of a disaster, but as time goes on, the family goes through a number of adjustment phases, including "parents prioritizing safety stage" and "children missing home stage," before "reaching resolution stage" after about a year. Over the course of about a year, children come to understand their parents' prioritization of their safety and ultimately families reach a "resolution stage." However, Peek et al. (2011) acknowledge that this is not necessarily an easy process as there is likely to be conflict within families as parents confront the necessity to relocate and children miss their original home. Figure 1 shows Peek et al.'s model and explains how the different stages occurred in Christchurch. Some families, who did not relocate, stayed in the "family unity" stage but other families separated as different family members relocated, sometimes together, sometimes not. The "children missing home stage" was apparent in Christchurch as was children's awareness of "parents confronting reality stage." After a year, however, very few Christchurch families were at the "reaching resolution stage."

The duration of the Christchurch earthquakes, and other long-term disasters, requires additional development of Peek et al.'s model. When the Christchurch case study is presented, an elaborated version of Peek et al.'s "Displaced Family Adjustment Model" is included (Fig. 2), elucidated via quotes from children and young people.

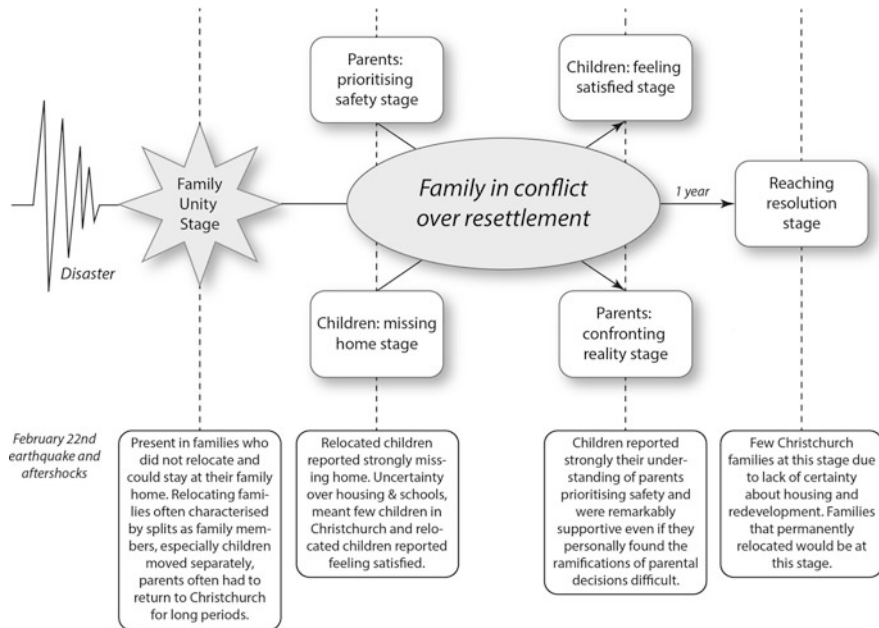


Fig. 1 “Displaced Family Adjustment Model” (After Peek et al. (2011))

Disasters follow very different post-disaster trajectories and time periods with variable impacts potentially within small geographical areas where different neighborhoods can be affected in different ways. Responses vary according to these impacts, but what changes for all victims is their relationship to place, whether it be home, neighborhood, the wider city, or region. In the case of Christchurch, the city center was closed off and some 80% of buildings ultimately demolished. Added to this already disrupted place attachment is the need for many victims to relocate, over varying distances ranging from moves to new neighborhoods to moves to more distant places.

Given the problems associated with relocation, some researchers have tried to establish whether it is better for children and families to remain in place post-disaster or relocate. Milne’s (1977) study of children’s relocation following Cyclone Tracy found relocated children fared less well. Najarian et al.’s (1996) study following the Armenian earthquake of 1988 found there were no strong arguments either way, but given the massive destruction at the disaster site, there were arguments in favor of relocation. More recently a study of relocated children following Hurricane Katrina (Hansel et al. 2013) revealed overall more trauma for those who relocated. Post-disaster scenarios do not necessarily allow for choice, however. When children’s safety is paramount and the effects and likelihood of ongoing disaster activity are unknown, then relocation is necessary. But, this is not always possible. If homes are lost and resources to support relocation, rebuilding, and/or repair are not available, then families are forced to stay in unsafe conditions, regardless of danger and loss. What is known is that whether children relocate or stay, there are initiatives and

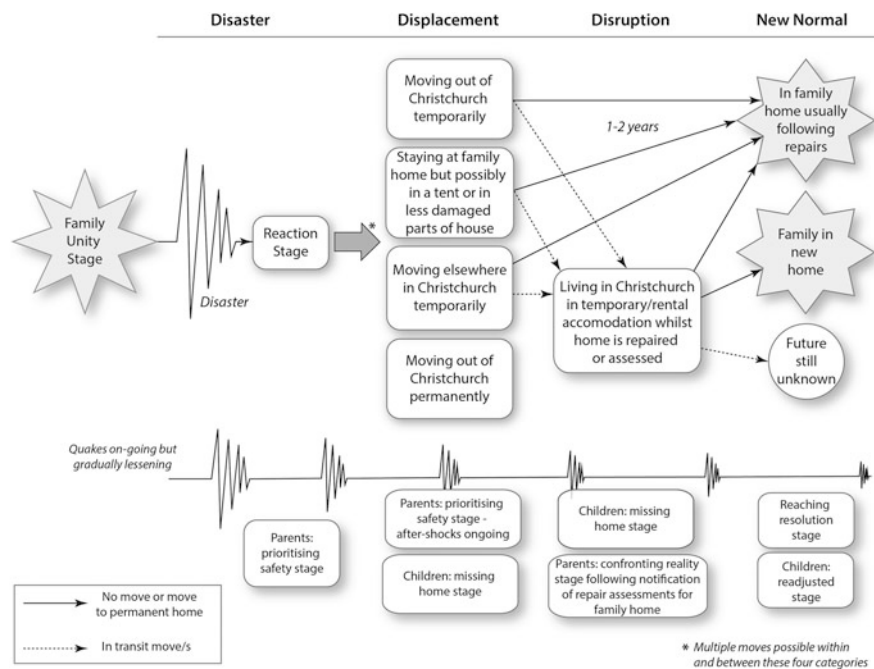


Fig. 2 “Displaced Family Adjustment Model” adapted for the Christchurch disaster

measures that can be taken to support and help develop children’s resilience. Whether children relocate or not, they need to establish very quickly, or retain (under dramatically changed circumstances), a sense of attachment to place and community. It is this attachment to place that is the focus of the Christchurch case study that follows.

6 Method

The study focused on children and young people’s post-disaster experiences in relation to whether they relocated or not. Ninety-four children and young people were interviewed 6–8 months after the Christchurch earthquakes. At the time of their interview, 44 had left Christchurch and were residing elsewhere and 50 continued to live in Christchurch. The children and young people (51 females and 43 males) ranged in age from 5 to 18 years (mean = 11.7 years). Most of these children and young people had experienced some type of relocation because of the earthquake, even if only temporary, and only 8 (of the 94) had not moved from their home at all.

Displacement and disruption were almost universal. Many children and young people moved multiple times, within Christchurch and/or to another area. Often families had several short-term moves to relatives, camping grounds, hotels, or friends before finding more permanent accommodation or returning to their own homes. Even those children who did not move experienced disruption, either because

their home or school was damaged or others came to live with them. In the case study that follows, children and young people's experience of spatial change following disasters is examined in depth. In the following section, the complexity of spatial change is presented, culminating in a new elaboration of Peek et al.'s (2011) "Displaced Family Adjustment Model" to better reflect this complexity. The subsequent sections follow the trajectory of spatial change from children and young people's perspectives: the ramifications of disruption; their attachments to place, which were heightened due to the necessity of relocation; and their adjustments to the "new normal" of "new" places, whether that was a radically altered Christchurch or a new location.

7 Displacement and Relocation After the Earthquake

To stay and leave are often presented as the two key choices in the disaster research literature, but in Christchurch it was far more complex than this as will now be demonstrated. The variety of permutations of family decision-making about staying, leaving, and/or returning are presented as a continuum. At one end of the continuum, there were children and young people in this study who did not move at all, in spite of the relentlessness of the earthquakes, and at the other end, there were those who moved and did not expect to return. The numbers of children and young people in the different categories along this continuum are portrayed in Table 1.

Post-earthquake, approximately half of the 94 children and young people in the study stayed in Christchurch or returned after a brief time away, and the other half relocated. The categories in Table 1 form a continuum of spatial change, ranging from families who stayed, through various permutations of staying and returning, to those who left. The following discussion follows the continuum, beginning with the first three categories which demonstrate the various permutations of families who stayed in Christchurch or returned after a brief time away: (1) did not move, (2) moved within Christchurch area, and (3) fled and returned to Christchurch. The remaining categories describe the various permutations of families who left Christchurch and relocated: (4) fled, returned, and then moved to a new location, (5) fled and moved to a new location, and (6) moved directly to a new location. Children and young people were allocated to these categories on the basis of the main form of spatial change they experienced but there are overlaps between some categories.

In what follows, illustrative quotes from children and young people are presented as a means of privileging their voices and perspectives, demonstrating the diversity of their experiences of different forms of spatial change, which often had the common denominators of the significance of place and of relationships with family and friends (Jack 2010; Reich and Wadsworth 2008; Scannell and Gifford 2010). Children and young people's experiences of the Christchurch earthquakes empirically demonstrate how Peek et al.'s (2011) "Displaced Family Adjustment Model" needs to be modified (Fig. 2) to take account of adjustment processes to disasters that occur over extended periods of time.

Table 1 Continuum of spatial change among children and young people following the Christchurch earthquakes (2010–2012)

Category	Total
<i>1 Did not move; no change of place or house</i>	8
<i>2 Moved within Christchurch area; no change of place but (sometimes multiple) changes of house</i>	18
<i>3 Fled and returned to Christchurch; brief exit from Christchurch but returned (sometimes multiple changes of house)</i>	24
<i>4 Fled, returned to Christchurch, then moved to new location; brief exit from Christchurch but returned then left again (sometimes multiple changes of house)</i>	4
<i>5 Fled and moved to new location; left Christchurch and stayed somewhere else briefly before relocating</i>	16
<i>6 Moved to new location; brief move within Christchurch before relocating or direct move to new location (sometimes multiple changes of house)</i>	24
Total	94

8 Children and Young People Who Stayed in Christchurch or Returned After a Brief Time Away

8.1 Did Not Move

Eight of the children in this study did not move from their homes at all. This depended on which part of Christchurch children and young people lived in, as the eastern suburbs tended to experience much more damage and disruption than the western suburbs. Earthquakes are different from other natural disasters such as floods because there is considerable variation in levels of damage across a city and in any one particular neighborhood or street. The label “did not move” does not quite convey the variety of experience within that category, because earthquake-damaged houses often meant families moved to caravans and tents in their backyards.

Well we went to our caravan which is just outside our house because we weren't sure whether our house was safe to stay in or not, so we just stayed in there for a few nights. . . . we had quite a bit of water ready and we just made our toilet at the end garden. [How much damage did your house have?] It was quite a bit. We had a big crack down the extension of the house and there was a hole in the wall but it is fixed now. . . . I think it's going to get demolished but we will be staying in the area. (Madison, aged 12; all names are pseudonyms)

Even if houses were not significantly damaged, the children who remained in their own homes did still experience significant disruption due to lack of services or family and friends coming to stay with them:

Yes we stayed in our own home but we had other people coming to our house, their house was like falling down and stuff and so we just had a lot of people on us in an average sized house. [Our house] wasn't perfect, and a lot of things had smashed and stuff but it was still ok to live in at the time. (Ella, aged 12)

So while spatial change might have been minimal, children and young people in this category still experienced significant change to their sense of place and relationships with others.

8.2 Moved Within Christchurch Area

Eighteen children and young people moved houses within the Christchurch area, often multiple times. Some children went to stay in towns on the city periphery, before moving back into the city. For example:

Well, our house was badly damaged, but we could still live in it. But it was quite badly damaged so we went to stay in [a town 22 kilometres away] with some of our other friends. . . . It was for one month I think. . . . After about a week, because we didn't know how long until we got back into our house or when [school] was going to open so we decided to take me into [the school in new town]. (Beth, aged 11)

For one young person in this category, it was important that:

None of our friends have moved. They have all stayed. One or two have shifted houses, but all of them have stayed in Christchurch. Which is really good. . . . it was the reason that I was finally staying because I had all my friends. (Helen, aged 17)

Other children had relatives in Christchurch living in undamaged houses that they could relocate to:

During the earthquake sometimes if your house is a bit damaged and you are quite unsure about it and you know some of your family members that have a really good house but is just without power you can go over there. Because that is what I did. . . . It is just that we needed somewhere that won't fall on top of us. (Christopher, aged 10)

These children and young people moved houses, often multiple times, but remaining in the Christchurch area provided a sense of continuity in terms of place and relationships. In Beth's case, as for others, attachments to Christchurch were reconfigured because she was living in, and attending school, in a new area within the Christchurch district.

8.3 Fled and Returned to Christchurch

There were those who fled then returned to Christchurch, which often entailed a relatively brief exit from Christchurch after the major earthquakes and then their return, sometimes with multiple changes of house; 24 children and young people were in this category. The following participant's family initially fled but returned, which consolidated this 13-year-old girl's desire to remain in Christchurch:

Just staying with all my friends and it is familiar like Christchurch and there is something about Christchurch that doesn't want me to leave. Even though the earthquakes have been

horrible. I think the earthquakes have made me realise that I don't want to leave and even though if we did move down to [small town], I would be surrounded by all my family. But, yes, I really want to stay here. (Ruby, aged 13)

At the same time, staying was not straightforward, when Christchurch was so drastically changed and there was the stress of ongoing aftershocks:

I was a bit frightened a wee bit with the earthquakes and I wanted to stay with my family to know that they were all right. . . . somebody says, "Oh, there is going to be a big earthquake". I sometimes get a wee bit anxious and get all worried and bothered. (Jasmine, aged 13)

The families of the children and young people in this category occupied the middle ground of the continuum of spatial change, leaving in response to the severe earthquakes but returning once the aftershocks seemed to have settled.

9 Children and Young People Who Left Christchurch and Relocated

The other half of the children and young people in the study all left Christchurch and at the time of their interview were living and attending school elsewhere. For some, they left after the earthquake, then came back and later decided to again leave Christchurch but permanently this time. For others, their departures entailed moving somewhere else briefly before relocating more permanently, while others moved relatively directly to a new location. The majority of the children moved the same day as the earthquake in February 2010, mostly because of emotional distress and fear and/or damage to their homes. Around one-third knew that the move would be a permanent one, with over one-fifth not knowing. Just over half of those who moved were familiar with the location they were moving to because they had visited and/or holidayed there, and around 70% knew someone who lived there, usually a family friend or relative. The children and young people who moved described complex moving experiences, moving an average of 2.6 times, and nearly a quarter had moved somewhere else prior to their current location.

There was also considerable variety in the nature of the relocations. For some children, it was a planned and organized move. For example:

When I moved it was actually a pretty cruisy experience. We managed to get a bach [holiday home] from our friends we could stay in a bach. And we stayed down there for about two weeks, and then me and my Dad went up and grabbed all our gear, and moved into a house that we are renting at the moment. Yeah and it didn't really have any effect on our stress levels cause we were already stressed up high from the earthquakes and stuff. (Ben, aged 15)

However, for others it was a hurried and panicked escape, as in the case of the following three examples:

We got to the airport, and we just got onto the plane and I basically cried the whole way because I missed my Dad . . . we were still in our school uniforms, it's been three days. And

we were just horrified and scared. And finally when we got up to Grandma's and she just gave us bags of clothes, and toys and everything. We just had to leave. . . . I was absolutely confused. What I wanted most was to get out of there [Christchurch]. (Libby, aged 11)

We got picked up after school and went straight to the house and we had to wait outside because we couldn't go into the house, so my Dad just went in and got all the important stuff and we left, the same night. (Laura, aged 12)

We packed. We didn't have much stuff at all. We just had our dog, and like we had a bag full of clothes and that was it. Bag full of warm clothes, and so we didn't have much at all. We just packed up in the car and came here. (Mia, aged 10)

The following three categories demonstrate the range of children and young people's experiences within the broader category of relocation away from Christchurch.

9.1 Fled, Returned to Christchurch, Then Moved to New Location

There were four children who left Christchurch and returned and left again multiple times, before ultimately leaving Christchurch (at least at the time of the interview 6–8 months later). Mia's narrative is illustrative of the backward and forward nature of spatial change that children and young people in this category experienced:

After the February earthquake, we came down to stay with my Auntie for a week. And then we got our own house and moved in, and that for a bit while we were here, and my Dad kept on coming back and forward. So he was in Christchurch, packing up all our stuff, and cleaning up, then coming back. . . . we had four pets at the time, and he went back and got two of our cats . . . and then came back. Then he stayed here for a bit, and then went back, and got my other cats . . . and then we went back, we all went back, and stayed there for a couple of months. For about two months, and then the June earthquake happened and we decided, oh it's time to go, so we packed up our stuff in about a week, and we left. (Mia, aged 10)

Mia articulates the push–pull factors prompting the backward and forward of leaving and returning to Christchurch:

I wanted to go back, and as soon as I got back, there was another jolt, and I wanted to go straight away. (Mia, aged 10)

Mia, and many others, reported their ambivalence about Christchurch: their desire to return yet their sense of relief upon leaving and escaping the earthquakes.

9.2 Fled and Moved to New Location

There were 16 children and young people whose families fled and moved to new locations without the backward and forward process described by Mia. One participant's family initially fled to a small South Island town, then Australia, before

members of the family were consulted and the decision was made to relocate to another South Island city:

Mum decided she couldn't handle it and that we needed to move. So after packing up we pretty much left straight away. . . . The next day, yes we actually went to [small South Island town] at first for a few days then we went to Australia for two weeks, because Mum wanted us out of the country so it would be easier and we have extended family. . . . so she sorted the move out and we ended up here [another South Island city]. (Olivia, aged 16)

Another participant's family initially fled to a camping ground, south of Christchurch, which was full of other "refugees" from Christchurch, leading to step-by-step progression to other forms of temporary accommodation and ultimately to the search for rental accommodation in a new location:

Yep we went to [a] holiday park but they were already full so we went to [another holiday park] which was quite fun. But the first night we had to sleep in this really shaky bus, so it was quite bad, but then when we woke up we got moved into a cabin and we could see out the back we could see all these bulls and cows. And I liked [this] holiday park because it had a dune buggy that I could ride. . . . then my Dad came home, he came back from Christchurch and got my cat. . . . then we went to [a] motel, then we went and looked for some houses that we could rent. (Aaron, aged 9)

For these two participants, relocation was described in reasonably pragmatic terms, demonstrating how family decisions might include children, and/or how the experience of fleeing might also include elements of holidaying.

9.3 Moved to New Location

There were 24 children and young people whose families moved to new locations, which sometimes entailed a brief move within or outside Christchurch before finalizing decisions about where to relocate. Simon's family had managed to stay following the major September (2010) and February (2011) earthquakes but an earthquake in June (2011) was the catalyst to relocate:

I think it was about two months ago, after the June one. Because Mum had a bad experience and she was just really upset. And also our house was quite trashed because, we got a lot of walls falling down and stuff. My cat was really scared and my other cat ran away. . . . I had problems adjusting to life in a destroyed house. So it was just quite a lot harder than after the February one, because they were both scary but that one was just bigger. It felt a lot shakier. . . . we just came straight here [another South Island city] we've got some friends up the hill and they just came in and had a look around and said yeah it looks nice [referring to rental]. Yeah we knew where we were going. (Simon, aged 12)

For some families, the move involved different family members at different times:

Well my whole family didn't move down here at first. . . . My Dad was a bit upset that I wasn't getting schooling, cause all the schools were closed. I was going to [a school] that

was completely closed down. So they sent me down here [another South Island city] to go to [school] and I lived with my grandfather. And then after about eight weeks, my whole family moved down here. It was pretty easy because we had a rental property. And we just had to move in. . . . I guess it was pretty easy, with the house we just moved straight in. (Harry, aged 16)

As illustrated by the above quote from Harry, it was disruption to schooling, rather than damaged houses, that prompted some families to relocate. Again in these quotes, while there is the disruption of relocation, the support of family friends and/or extended family and/or the availability of rental accommodation, in other locations, facilitated the process of relocation.

10 A More Complex “Displaced Family Adjustment Model”

At least six, often overlapping, categories of spatial change and the lengthy 2-year duration of the Christchurch earthquakes demand a more complex “Displaced Family Adjustment Model,” which is presented in Fig. 2. This more complex model shows a wider variety of forms of “resettlement” or relocation and allows for a longer period of readjustment to “the new normal” of Christchurch post-disaster. Indeed readjustment could still be an ongoing process and a “resolution stage” yet to be reached.

In the next section, the trajectory of spatial change indicated in the model is followed with a focus on children and young people’s perspectives of the ramifications of spatial change, especially the significance of disruption, how they describe their attachments to place, and their adjustment to “the new normal.”

11 Disruption to Family Arrangements and New Ways of Living

Regardless of whether the children moved or remained living in Christchurch, they experienced multiple forms of disruption to their everyday lives, especially at home and school. For some this was related to their changed home environment, for example:

Well we basically had a toilet, a bucket out in the shed for the toilet. We had candles, we had cans of food if we needed it. And we had to like actually pay attention to each other instead of ignore each other and do all our own thing. . . . Well, when we had to do our washing we would go with Grandma to one of our relative’s houses . . . in a different place where they have got everything, where we had a shower. (Tessa, aged 16)

Family life was also disrupted. Many children moved away from family members or had family members move away from them. In some families children were living apart from one or both of their parents and/or siblings. Children from separated families who had relocated now lived in a different town to one of their parents and

stepfamilies. These children worried about family members who were still living in Christchurch. For some children being away from family members also meant they were away from their sources of support, further disrupting their sense of safety and security.

It's really hard not being around my Mum and my little brothers, because they are so young and I worry. I don't want to miss them growing up. It's been really hard at times having like the aftershocks, they can be quite freaky and having Mum around was always handy. Like we would all just sleep in the same bedroom, which was real comforting. Um other than that it hasn't been too hard, it's just mainly been the family situation and that's the hardest. (Helen, aged 17)

I was upset because I don't like not living with my Mum, like not having her around me. . . . I wasn't too sure of what I wanted. I don't want to leave my Dad, I don't want to leave my Mum and I was really confused. (Sophie, aged 16)

I know I wasn't really happy with my parents being up in Christchurch. I didn't really feel completely comfortable. . . . I was worried about them being up there, and obviously, that we're not there with them, like we were not together, that we were separated, it wasn't great. (Josh, aged 13)

Yeah, my parents had to stay for a couple of months before they could get out of their jobs, and so it was kind of hard me being down here by myself. (Harry, aged 16)

Niall's parents "were scared" and so moved the family to stay with Niall's cousins in an unaffected suburb of Christchurch for about a week, before moving back home. He related how the family was fractured because his father did not wish to stay in Christchurch and had subsequently moved to Australia:

I really didn't want to leave . . . but my Dad was desperate to leave. . . . he just left recently . . . he said I could visit him in the holidays. (Niall, aged 9)

For Niall, one of the hard things about remaining in Christchurch was:

I still have to face the earthquakes. It's scarier being alone. [Dad] was like the stronger one. I wasn't really scared. (Niall, aged 9)

With many Christchurch schools closing for several weeks, disruption to school-work was a common issue, particularly for those at high school studying for qualifications. Starting a new school in a new location also resulted in significant disturbance to the routine of school.

I have been used to all my teachers in Christchurch and the way they teach . . . here they teach totally different things and totally different ways of doing things. It is just really annoying because it's literally like having to start all over again. . . . I've had to catch up to the best of my ability and it's pretty stressful. You don't have time for anything else. (Kate, aged 17)

I've never been that good at school I've always had, I just have trouble with distraction, but recently I was getting really quite good and the teachers were starting to really get on with me, but then this happened and I seem to be getting worse, instead of better now. Because like there's just so much to distract you. Because a kid in my class pushes a chair back and it grates on the ground and it's just, it makes the whole class shake. (Simon, aged 12)

Other children experienced significant disruption due to the damage to their school and community curtailing or preventing sport and leisure activities.

We don't have more room to play in and a lot of it's been blocked off. So a lot of us play out in front of the office [at school]. . . . the city has been blocked off. . . . I used to go to the museum a lot and there used to be a lot of competitions there that we used to do, and now we can't go there. (James, aged 11)

There are places we can't go on the school. We used to have a netball team but now we can't do netball because of our netball court over there. And we can't have our assemblies in our hall because we can't go into our hall, and the concrete on the basketball courts is not there, so it's really hard to play basketball and all that. . . . you can't really go to much malls and you are kind of scared to go into the malls now, because you have heard of so many people who have got injured in the malls. So it's kind of given you a fright so you don't really want to go places, you feel like you are going to put boundaries up. Before you wanted to go, now you don't. (Samantha, aged 12)

These quotes from children and young people reveal how disaster has disrupted their everyday lives in ways that have ramifications for their sense of themselves within their families, communities, and at school. Returning to the list of what geographers know about the significance of place identity and well-being outlined earlier, it is clear that when disaster disrupts place, children's and young people's well-being is affected. In children's and young people's words above, the interconnection between place, relationships, and sense of self is evident.

12 Changes to the Physical Environment Post-Earthquake: A Different Christchurch

One key finding of the case study is that attachment to place is heightened during and following disasters, a finding that has wider applicability to other disasters. As noted earlier, approximately half of the 94 children and young people in the study stayed in Christchurch or returned after a brief time away. All expressed strong feelings about Christchurch and the importance of staying, often emphasizing the significance of being with family and friends, and the longevity of their attachment, especially if they were born there. The majority of the children and young people were positive about staying in Christchurch, and many thought it would have been difficult to move away. Place attachment is evident in the following child's description of how Christchurch is home and what this means to her:

I love Christchurch. . . . And it was where I was born so I kind of like staying . . . Yeah I love it [school] and I wouldn't like to go anywhere else. (Grace, aged 11)

For other children and young people, their experiences of the earthquakes confirmed their feelings about Christchurch and their desire to remain in spite of the ongoing earthquakes, although the final quote includes the caveat that staying still depends on how severe subsequent earthquakes might be:

I've got my life down here, I've got my family, I've got my friends, I've got everything that I want down here. And until I have to move away, which is once I finish high school, this is where I want to be. I don't want to be anywhere else. (Tessa, aged 16)

I'm quite happy about that [staying] because I have lived in Christchurch since I was born so yeah. (Madison, aged 12)

I'm planning on staying in Christchurch, but I have thought about moving. It just depends how things go. Like if we had another big one and things turned really bad, I would probably leave. Other than that I plan on staying here, it's home ... even though it shakes and can be a bit scary at times. (Helen, aged 17)

Grace's family had to move because their house was located in the red zone (an area where houses would be demolished and not repaired). This child's description reveals how attached she was to her neighborhood, as well as her capacity to adapt to multiple relocations within Christchurch:

Yes we stayed at home and then I moved around when I started going to another school, I went to my friend's and I stayed there. ... Mum let me decide if I wanted to. [And would you like to stay in the same area?] I would, but we can't, because of everything. ... it's all red zoned. ... Yep, they are all going to be bowled down. (Grace, aged 11)

Children's attachment to Christchurch resulted in ambivalent feelings for some children, however. Many of those who had moved away were relieved to be away from ongoing aftershocks and the fear of more quakes, but they missed family and friends and their school and community:

I moved the week after the February 22nd earthquake but because Mum knew that the house wasn't safe to live in anymore and I refused to go back. ... But I kind of regret it. But at the time, it was like I wanted to get away from it all. I wanted to be somewhere that I would be able to sleep and be safe. ... but like I do miss my friends in Christchurch a lot cause I didn't actually get to say goodbye to them. (Jayde, aged 14)

At first I didn't want to go. I wanted to stay in Christchurch and help everyone. Then I realised it was for the best. ... I feel a little guilty that I've left there. Abandoning Christchurch you could say. (Harry, aged 16)

I was happy because I got to see other people, but I was sad because I wasn't in Christchurch with my family ... and I was excited and sad. (Aaron, aged 9)

We didn't really want to stay in Christchurch but I love going up there for holidays to see my family ... I want to live there again but at the same time, it is really unsafe to. (Chloe, aged 12)

For those children who were no longer residing in Christchurch, the positives of moving included feeling safer in their new locations, enjoying their new schools, and making new friends:

I think it has been better than at my old school because I have been enjoying it more and not having a fright, because I think there is going to be an earthquake. I'm always nervous when people run around and now I can just do my work and there's nothing to be worried about. (Sarah, aged 10)

Away from quakes and aftershocks. Everyone is really nice in [another South Island city]. We get to live by the sea. [I] love my new school and it's been good making friends. (Jemma, aged 16)

I've made a lot of friends. You know friends my age. . . . This school is really welcoming. I'm really comfortable here. We were thinking about moving to Australia but I didn't really want to go because of the school which is really good. . . . since I'm in high school I don't want to move around anymore. (Josh, aged 13)

These children and young people were in effect forming attachment to new places facilitated by nascent attachments to others – peers and adults – in these new places.

Others, however, were unsettled in their new locations. For some, this could be because they knew their relocation was not permanent but there was also a sense of not being in the right place or living the right life. About half of the children and young people who had moved away still regarded Christchurch as home, and the majority (81%) said they would like to live in Christchurch again. The following quotes from young people who had moved illustrated this sense of dislocation.

Not feeling like I'm in the right place. Like most of the time I wake up expecting to be in my room in Christchurch but I'm not. . . . You have to grieve for leaving and all the hard things we have been through, but you have got to get through it. (Jayde, aged 14)

I felt kind of terrible leaving because I felt like I was disowning all this life that I was meant to stay with. Now I look back on it, I really wish I had done things differently. I really wished we just stayed in Christchurch because there was a chance there was a bigger earthquake but now I know there wasn't a bigger earthquake and so it is easy to say we should have stayed. But I didn't know at the time. (Olivia, aged 16)

Will was very happy and settled in his new location, yet he referred to Christchurch as home and, as illustrated in the following quote, still felt a strong connection with Christchurch:

At the corner of our house, for some reason it just makes me feel very happy and it looks exactly like the view we had from our house, so it feels like I'm at home when I go to that corner and look out. (Will, aged 9)

An 8-year-old boy encapsulated the tug between two places – home in Christchurch and the holiday home his family had retreated to – in the following quote:

I would rather be at Christchurch but I like it here . . . I didn't like going to any other school. The Christchurch school was a really good school. (Robbie, aged 8)

For this boy, place is more than simply Christchurch city; it is also the school with established relationships with teachers and peers. Here we can see that place attachment may not necessarily be to one place only, especially for children who regularly visited other places outside of Christchurch. For children and young people who experience attachments to multiple places, relocation might not be as dramatic as it is for children and young people who have mainly lived in one place, without visiting other places.

For some children who had left Christchurch, their sense of belonging/identity was closely linked to their attachment to Christchurch, with some reporting a sense of difference, "apartness," or stigma in being from Christchurch:

Well, when I went to [school], this is straight after the earthquake, I just didn't want to talk to anyone because I felt so much more mature than them. I had lived through this life and death situation and they were still worrying about whose friend gossiped about whose other friend and it really annoyed me. So I stayed out of all conversations, I didn't talk to anyone and I kind of just retracted into myself, and it made me feel really lonely. . . . [I feel] kind of embarrassed because people from Christchurch they either get pity or I don't know is it scorn? I'm not sure if that's the correct word, but I guess they get shunned because the people aren't part of the earthquake and they feel kind of like, oh, they are amping it up you know. I sometimes get that impression. (Olivia, aged 16)

I'm not particularly comfortable there [school]. I feel like I've adopted some sort of skin. They always tell me to be myself but it doesn't happen because I just don't fit. I thought it was going to be temporary at first, which sort of hindered my ability to settle in. But it is not my kind of school. (Adam, aged 16)

If you are moving from Christchurch, keep your head up high, as there is nothing to be ashamed of. (Ben, aged 15)

These young people's insightful analyses demonstrate how their sense of identity has been profoundly affected by living in a place affected by disaster, which becomes evident in their encounters with other (young) people in other places.

Maintaining links with Christchurch was important for some of the children who had moved away. The following quotes are from young people who had left Christchurch yet still retained strong links with family and friends in Christchurch, visiting frequently:

I have kept in contact with about three or four of my best friends, so on the phone, and on skype, emailing. . . . They didn't come down with us, but they have come down to like stay. . . . Yeah we have been back twice. . . . I'm going to go back in about a few weeks. My friend's birthday party. . . . We have been back twice to see friends, and see Mum and Dad's family. (Joel, aged 11)

I didn't know on the last day of term that I was going to be leaving. . . . I had no time to say goodbye. . . . It was sad, but I get to see them in the weekends when I go home. . . . I get excited whenever I get to go home. . . . You still get a nervous feeling in you when you land, because I fly home, but yeah, it's all right. Yeah, well the last two times I've gone home, I have always got woken up in the night and like it's good to be home. (Anna, aged 14)

These quotes illustrate the importance of social connections to a sense of belonging; being away from family and friends was children and young people's most commonly mentioned negative aspect of relocation.

Experiencing a natural disaster, *and* participating in a research project, is likely to have prompted articulations of attachment to place that might not have otherwise occurred in our participants' everyday lives. It is often when the places where people live are irrevocably changed that they notice what they appreciated about that place before it changed. Living through natural disasters can act as a catalyst for heightened expressions of place attachment, irrespective of whether children and young people's families stayed and/or left Christchurch.

13 “Conclusion: The New Normal” and a Children’s Geographies’ Perspective

In her examination of resilience processes, Masten (2001, p. 227) asserts the “great surprise of resilience research is the ordinariness of the Phenomenon” and points to the fact that resilience is the normal rather than the “remarkable” response of children, families, and communities facing adversity. Consideration of this “ordinariness” of resilience with the immutable fact that even in non-disaster scenarios, “places are always temporary and shifting, so too are people’s relationships with place” (Bartos 2013, p. 89), allows children’s geographers to better engage with what happens during and after disasters. The Christchurch disaster represents a shift in place and a call upon innate resilience, a call that the children and families in this study were actively engaging with. One of the key ways they engaged with these changes was in seeking to establish what the “new normal” is. This new normal is being formed out of the sense of sorrow for what has been irrevocably lost:

Yeah you kind of missed everything being normal . . . everything being open, and being able to see people when you want. It’s just a whole new change that you kind of have to get used to. . . . Unrealistically I would love it to all stop and go back to normal. That’s what I say to Mum all the time, I just want everything to be normal again. But in the future I would just like people to kind of continue on as they did before and try and keep going, rather than everyone just leaving, and stopping, you know. We have had a disaster but you can’t stop what you have got to do. And I just want things to continue and the city to be rebuilt and be Christchurch again. That would be nice. (Helen, aged 17)

For young people such as Helen, the forward movement toward a new “normal” is underway; for others such as Madison, the focus is still dominated by what has been lost:

I just would like it to be back to how it was before because I quite like the look of the older buildings. (Madison, aged 12)

In moving on, whether quickly as for Helen or still at an early stage as with Madison, the children and young people in this study were engaging with this process in two main places: first, away from Christchurch, where their focus is on adjusting and integrating into their new place, albeit in less challenging circumstances, and second, in Christchurch, where the need to realistically recognize the challenges coincides with the sense of coming together to create a new sense of belonging and connection:

Whenever Christchurch people go other places you can always see more smiley faces. It sounds weird but people are so much happier here [another South Island city] compared to at home [Christchurch]. . . . People at home are just stressed. *Like it’s good because everybody helps each other now, and we all know the people in our street really well now.* But . . . it’s just sort of not as happy a place like it used to be. (Anna, aged 14, our emphasis)

Children expressed a longing for normality, but largely recognized that it would take the form of a “new normal.” However, the fundamentals of that new normal are as Masten (2001) states very “ordinary,” a feeling of belonging, having a home and family, connecting with neighbors, attending school, and knowing where your friends are, but above all, as Samantha (aged 12) says, it is “To get it back to normal where you feel safe.” As Fig. 2 shows, there are various staging posts in this process where place and relationships with people and spaces change and the “new normal,” which for some has a long transitory phase, is forged. For Christchurch children, the ongoing quakes prolonged the length of time taken to feel safe.

Children’s geographers can play an important role in the post-disaster recovery period by helping to understand the disaster–child–place relationship and how a sense of place can be reasserted in a city whose character has fundamentally changed in so many ways. The privileging of children’s voices by children’s geographers can contribute to disaster research where children and young people are still predominantly positioned as victims and subjects to be acted on rather than as “independent knowing subjects whose voices add something important to the debate” (Holloway 2014, p. 382). Disaster research needs to include children and young people’s voices because, as the Christchurch example reveals, they are active agents in forging their own responses and recovery. This chapter ends with the words of Matthew who was able to find a sense of fun in spite of the earthquake damage:

The damage I guess and some places just really bad and stuff like that. And it kind of bothers you. . . . And the road closures and stuff like that. . . . after the earthquake it did take time getting used to but that was fun to walk. (Matthew, aged 11)

Matthew’s quote encapsulates the sense of realism about the impact of the earthquake but also the positive adjustments evident among many of the children and young people of Christchurch who showed great tenacity of spirit at a time of great difficulty.

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Children, Climate Change, and the Intergenerational Right to a Viable Future

20

Kirsten Davies, Gil Marvel Tabucanon, and Pamela Box

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Abstract

Climate change is arguably the most serious challenge faced by the world in recent times. Its effects are projected to be long term and will impact future generations. Children with their whole lives still ahead of them, and unborn generations, are expected to bear the brunt of the impacts of these long-term climatic changes. Amidst existing literature, there is a noticeable lack of attention given to children, their views on climate change, and their (and the unborn generations') intergenerational rights to a viable environmental future. Children's voices deserve to be heard. They represent the link between the current adult and unborn generations and are our closest connection to future generations.

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This chapter explores the doctrine of intergenerational equity and justice while simultaneously reflecting on what children have to say about current environmental and climate concerns. It counters the main critiques raised against intergenerational equity: that future generations are not capable of having rights and that there is no certainty surrounding what future generations want. This chapter argues that a consideration of children's rights, preferences, and voices, in part, answers the arguments raised against intergenerational equity. More importantly, it calls for increased duty of care actions by present generation adults, including a wider legal acceptance in both international and domestic law of environmental protections for children and future generations' right to a viable future.

Keywords

Climate change • Intergenerational equity • Intergenerational justice • Children and the environment

1 Introduction

1.1 Pledge to a Newborn

(Dedicated to Little O on his birth, written by Kirsten Davies 2012)

Welcome little one. You have just entered this big, beautiful world and opened your eyes for the first time. I wonder, what can you see? There are so many adventures awaiting you. This is a place with big mountains and forests to explore. Together we will swim in the rivers and travel the seas. We will bask in the sunlight and smell the earth as the winds blow. I will show you the stars in the night sky. We will watch the insects that live under the leaves in our garden. We will listen to the birds and learn to recognise their songs. We will sit together through twilight as the earth becomes quiet.

You have been born into a family that loves you. We will cherish, guide and protect you, until you are ready to step forward on your own. Soon you will smile, speak, take your first wobbly steps on the earth and then you will dance and sing. You will learn to read, make friends, lose friends and experiment with life. Your track won't always be easy, there will be bumps, twists and turns. I promise to be there right beside you. Just like a tree, you will grow to become an adult, a decision maker and the next generation custodian of the planet.

I have some sad news. This world you have entered is in trouble because we have not given it adequate care in the past. We have depleted resources, polluted the air and the rivers are sick. I don't think that we intentionally neglected the earth's health, we just lost our connections with its cycles and didn't fully comprehend the consequences of our actions. Somehow we forgot that our survival depends on the health of these natural systems and that we humans are a species within them, just like the bees and butterflies. This all means that you have inherited a world which has some very serious problems and for this I deeply apologise.

My pledge to you on your birth, is that I will do all that I can to change. I will consider more carefully the consequences of my daily actions on the natural world. Together we will restore the earth's ecosystem so that you and your children will have a bright future and the birds will always sing.

The Pledge to a Newborn highlights the significant concerns held for the well-being of future generations due to the deterioration of life-supporting ecosystem services and biodiversity. This situation is being accelerated by the impacts of

climate change, arguably one of the most serious challenges faced by the world to date. Its effects are the disruption of the Earth's natural cycles, triggering environmental disasters. While environmental disasters are "at their foremost human disasters" (Prieur 2011: 247) they affect all strata of society. It is society's most vulnerable and least resilient members that are most disadvantaged the poor, sick, handicapped, elderly and children (Prieur 2011). It is children and future unborn generations who will bear the worst of these changes.

Amidst existing literature on climate change, there is a noticeable lack of attention given to children. Children's views are traditionally excluded from legal and political debates which are largely mono-generational rather than trans-generational in scope. Without a right to vote or decide on crucial issues, children's views are often bypassed or treated with reduced credibility. While children may be entitled to a range of legal and human rights, their relative lack of ability to defend these rights place them in a category similar to that of unborn generations, the articulation of whose rights hinge on the current adult generation. Adults, in view of maturity and expertise, have the duty of stewardship in the protection of the rights of children and the unborn, "[i]nvolving children and young people in the process can help to unblock the log jam that currently exists in climate negotiations" (Martin 2014: viii). This is because, despite their relative inability to fully articulate their views, children are already experiencing the impacts of climate change. They too have unique stories and narratives if provided the appropriate fora. Children's relative silence, and the "silence" of the unborn generations, cannot be taken as a waiver to their intergenerational right to a viable future. Children represent the link between the current adult and future unborn generations. Their voices deserve to be heard as theirs are our closest link to the future.

Mitigating climate change and adapting to its impacts require multiple approaches including; behavioral change to reduce consumption of natural resources and subsequent waste generation (including air pollution), technological solutions and governance which incorporates political and legal responses. The scope of this chapter is focused on investigating the doctrine of intergenerational equity and justice. It argues for its wider legal acceptance in both international and domestic law including utilizing the views of children. The principle of intergenerational equity was referred to in the influential 1987 United Nations report *Our Common Future*, otherwise known as the *Brundtland Report*, which defined the term "sustainable development" as development which "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." This report made the observation that "we borrow environmental capital from future generations with no intention or prospect of repaying" and that we "act as we do because we can get away with it: future generations do not vote; they have no political or financial power; they cannot challenge our decisions" (United Nations 1987: 43). Issues pertaining to intergenerational injustices, despite receiving significant acknowledgment, are poorly represented in international, national, and regional policy (Göpel and Arhelger 2010).

This chapter reflects on what children have to say on current environmental and climatic concerns. It argues for policy and legal positions and practices supporting

intergenerational equity and justice or the right to a viable future for generations to come. It begins by giving evidence of current climate change science and predictions and then moves on to the potential impacts of climate change on children. This is followed by a discussion of legal and religious perspectives on intergenerational rights. Results are presented from three case studies from Australia and Vanuatu demonstrating the concerns of children and young people in regard to climate change. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the integration of intergenerational equity into national systems and legal cases.

2 Climate Change Overview

Scientific predications indicate that the frequency and magnitude of daily temperature extremes are increasing and will continue to increase at a global scale during the twenty-first century and beyond (IPCC 2013). The (US) National Climatic Data Center, which maintains the world's largest climate data archive, has noted that temperature averages have consistently risen since the mid-1970s, although regional results are uneven. The combined average temperature over land and ocean surfaces for June 2014, for instance, was the "highest on record for the month, at 0.72 °C (1.30 °F) above the Twentieth Century average of 15.5 °C (59.9 °F)" (National Climatic Data Center 2014). Melting of polar ice sheets and the associated rising of sea levels is a phenomenon that can already be observed and is predicted to continue. Hansen and Sato (2012) argue that the continuing rise in sea level will not be linear and that it will increase at an accelerating rate.

The extent to which the world is warming and creating extremes in weather patterns is predicted to create an imbalance in the physical environment and "existing species are unlikely to be able to adapt quickly and easily under such conditions" (Gardiner 2004: 558). Climate change affects populations and natural ecosystems disproportionately, influenced by the level of exposure, vulnerability, resilience, and adaptability of the communities and systems at risk. These issues can depend on a range of factors including the physical location of human settlements, the sustainability of current and future development patterns, the effectiveness of political and institutional support systems, and the economic and technological capacity of individuals and populations to prepare for and respond to extreme climatic events (IPCC 2012).

In its 2014 report, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) stated that due to "sea level rise projected throughout the Twenty-First Century and beyond, coastal systems and low-lying areas will increasingly experience adverse impacts such as submergence, coastal flooding, and coastal erosion" (IPCC 2014: 17). These may lead to the degradation of coastal ecosystems such as salt marshes and mangroves, decreased agricultural productivity, changes in disease patterns, loss of income from sources such as tourism, and forced population displacement. While the impacts of a rising sea level present a threat to coastal environments around the world, the potential consequences for enormous populations residing in the coastal megacities of Asia and Africa with low adaptive capacity and high vulnerability are

of particular concern. Additionally small island states with low elevations such as those in the Pacific, Indian, and Atlantic oceans will be subject to high risk and populations may need to be relocated (IPCC 2012).

Glacial retreat and permafrost degradation resulting from increased temperatures in mountainous regions are further issues of concern. Potential threats created by these events include; increased slope instability and associated avalanches, flooding associated with glacial lake outbursts, and changes in hydrological systems and increased snow and glacial runoff affecting the thermal structure and quality of water bodies. As glaciers reduce in size, it is expected that rivers and freshwater supplies will be affected by reduced runoff. This has direct implications for approximately one-sixth of the world's population living in areas that rely on glacial melt for freshwater supplies. The emerging effects of glacial retreat and permafrost degradation have prompted governments to commence building dams and improving water runoff systems in some mountainous regions (IPCC 2012).

Changes in precipitation patterns have been observed and are forecast to continue, include the increased heavy rainfall in high latitudes, northern mid-latitudes in winter, and tropical regions. Environmental impacts stemming from heavy rainfall will result in increased risk of landslides higher incidences of erosion and flooding. This in turn may threaten the livelihoods of communities living in these regions through loss of property and income sources, forced migration, reduced capacity for food production, increased exposure to disease, and potential loss of life. Reduced precipitation and increased evaporation resulting from higher temperatures are predicted to exacerbate the severity of droughts in some regions, particularly in southern Europe and West Africa. The impacts of reduced precipitation will vary from region to region. These will include the potential loss of freshwater supplies, reduced capacity for food production, slow-onset land degradation, including desertification and salinization, and the increased threat of bushfire (IPCC 2012). IPCC (2007) indicated that 20–30 % of plant and animal species surveyed would be subject to increased risk of extinction if global temperatures were exceeded by 1.5–2.5 °C. These consequences of climate change are significant in terms of the loss of life-supporting biodiversity and the subsequent impacts for humanity in terms of health, food, shelter, and water security (IPCC 2007).

According to the IPCC (2013), with a 95 % confidence rate, human activity is responsible for climate change. Damaging human-driven activities, such as pollution, changes in land use, and the exploitation of natural resources in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, have contributed to this concerning scenario.

2.1 The Impacts of Climate Change on Children

While children and the unborn are expected to inherit the world, statistics show that more than six million children under the age of five died in 2013 from malnutrition, disease, conflict, and unsafe environmental conditions (WHO 2014). Malnutrition is

a particular risk linked to 45 % of all child mortality under the age of five (WHO 2014).

The children of today live in an environment markedly different from that which existed generations ago. High industrialization and urbanization, coupled with the unmitigated consumption of natural resources, contribute to worsening conditions of water and air pollution in many countries. As the long-term effects of climate change steadily make themselves felt around the world, it is reasonable to speculate that unless drastic measures are adopted to decelerate the process of global warming, the physical environment of future generations will be vastly different from what it is now.

Changing climatic patterns are projected to have a detrimental effect on human health. Children are more vulnerable due to their age and are more likely to be affected by socio-economic factors (Watts et al. 2015). Children are likely to have fewer financial resources, less mobility, higher care needs, and rely on adults (Cutter 2010).

Respiratory conditions such as asthma caused by, air pollution events are likely to be exacerbated due to warmer temperatures and heat wave events (Franchini and Mannucci 2015). Children will be severely affected they “breathe more air, drink more water . . . eat more food per unit of body weight” and generally spend more time outdoors than adults do; thus their exposure to the natural elements, including vector-borne disease, will be greater (Sheffield and Landrigan 2011: 291). As climatic patterns change, areas previously free from the *Anopheles*, the malaria-transmitting mosquito, are predicted to become populated. Children are the sector of society most affected by malaria, with those under five accounting for 78 % of the almost 600,000 deaths from malaria in 2013 (WHO 2015: 37).

Their physiology and immature immune systems make children and fetuses highly vulnerable to extreme environmental conditions. Malnutrition, pollution, and severe stress may result in long-term harm to the health of young children. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), a “third of the global burden of disease is caused by environmental factors. . . children under 5 years of age bear more than 40 % of that burden, even though they represent only 10 % of the world’s population” (Perera 2014: 16).

2.2 Intergenerational Right to a Viable Future: In International Law, Cultural and Religious Doctrine

It is likely that the long-term impacts of climate change may be the most significant environmental legacy we will pass on to our descendants (Brown Weiss 2008). Climate change raises important legal and ethical questions on international and domestic levels. While the law is accustomed to protecting existing people from the effects of intentional environmental damage, will similar legal protections accrue to unborn generations?

The concept of intergenerational stewardship is not new in the world’s cultural, religious and philosophical traditions. Indigenous peoples have historically

prioritized trans-generational environmental protection through their practices of customary law. Within the Judeo-Christian tradition, there is an obligation to protect the earth intergenerationally:

Pope Francis, in his climate change-focused encyclical *On Care for our Common Home*, wrote

Once we start to think about the kind of world we are leaving to future generations, we look at things differently; we realize that the world is a gift which we have freely received and must share with others. (Pope Francis 2015: 159)

The Dalai Lama explained the Buddhist theory of dependent origination to include an obligation toward future generations:

[T]he existence of each of us is to a significant degree dependent on those who preceded us and those that share this world with us, and that in a like manner those yet to be born are dependent on all those that preceded them. A more forceful reminder of our gratitude to previous generations and of our responsibilities to future generations is hard to come by. (The Dalai Lama 1990: 79–80)

Within the Islamic tradition, Muslims are regarded as trustees for current and future generations through the notion of *khalifah* or stewardship:

[T]he concept of custodial trusteeship, expressed in the Qur'an through the notion of the individual's role as *khalifah* – stewardship – and hence accountability for the way in which such a role is undertaken for the betterment of society and for future generations. (Nanji 1999: 346)

The idea of holding the earth in trust for other members of the human family is also not new in law. In the 1893 case *Pacific Fur Seal Arbitration*, the USA questioned Britain's excessive hunting of fur seals beyond its territorial jurisdiction and argued that nations are not the ultimate owners of the earth and that their responsibilities extend to benefit mankind (*Pacific Fur Seal Arbitration* 1893). The USA anchored its arguments for the protection of fur seals beyond the then three nautical mile limit. These protections were based on established principles of common and civil law, upon the customary practice of nations, the laws of natural history, and the common interests of humanity.

In international environmental law, the 1972 Stockholm Declaration, otherwise known as the *Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment*, became the first document to formally recognize the right to a healthy environment and the right of future generations to a viable future. Though not legally binding, several of the principles articulated in the Stockholm Declaration have been so widely accepted that some consider them “part of customary international law” (Allen 1994: 719). Section 6 of the preamble, along with Principles 1 and 2, specifically mentions future generations and the need to protect the environment for them. Section 6 regards the protection of the environment for future generations as an imperative goal: “[t]o defend and improve the human environment for present and

future generations has become an imperative goal for mankind [sic],” while Principles 1 and 2 see the protection of the environment as humanity’s “responsibility” for the benefit of both “present and future generations” (Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, 1972).

A number of international instruments variously articulating the intergenerational right to a viable future were developed in the decades proceeding the Stockholm Declaration. In 1972 the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and National Heritage* (World Heritage Convention) was adopted, followed in 1973 by the *Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna*, and in 1982 by the *United Nations World Charter for Nature*. These general conventions were followed by more specific, issue-focused conventions such as the 1992 *Convention on the Transboundary Effects of Industrial Accidents*, the 1994 *United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification in Those Countries Experiencing Serious Drought and/or Desertification*, and the 1996 *United Nations Conference on Human Settlements* (the Habitat Agenda). More notable references to the intergenerational right to a viable future were articulated during the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, also known as the Earth Summit. This was one of the largest environmental conferences held with 172 governments participating and 116 countries sending their heads of state or government (Taib 1997). The Earth Summit produced three important documents which all referred to the right to intergenerational equity: (a) Rio Declaration, (b) Agenda 21, and (c) Forest Principles. Though nonbinding and considered as “soft law,” the documents nonetheless set forth important principles of international environmental law and became the inspiration, if not the basis, for later treaties and court decisions involving the intergenerational right to a viable future.

Principle 3 of the Rio Declaration mandates that “[t]he right to development must be fulfilled so as to equitably meet developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations” (Rio Declaration, 1992). Agenda 21 is an action plan for sustainable development to be implemented by the United Nations, national governments, and multilateral organizations. Agenda 21 is significant in that it exhorts governments to adopt sustainable development practices with the view of “protecting the resource base and the environment for the benefit of future generations.” Agenda 21 likewise recognizes that the needs of future generations may refer to any or all of the following: (a) to avoid passing on environmental burdens to future generations (Agenda 21, s. 8.31); (b) assisting developing countries in the common interest of humankind, which includes future generations (Agenda 21, s. 33.3); and (c) realizing that the “cost of inaction” could “narrow the choices of future generations” (Agenda 21, s. 33.4). The Forest Principles, is a nonbinding document exhorting the conservation and sustainable development of forests. Principle 2 (b) states “[f]orest resources and forest lands should be sustainably managed to meet the social, economic, ecological, cultural and spiritual needs of present and future generations.”

While intergenerational equity is mentioned in various international instruments, including treaties, these references are generally hortatory (in the nature of an exhortation) rather than a binding rule. Notable exceptions are the *United Nations*

Framework Convention on Climate Change and the *Biodiversity Convention*, which are multilateral treaties produced at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Earth Summit 1992). Under international treaty law both are not only binding instruments, they expressly mention future generations in the substantive provisions of the conventions themselves and not just in the preamble. Article 3 (1) of the *Climate Change Convention* mandates that “[t]he Parties should protect the climate system for the benefit of present and future generations of humankind,” while Article 2 of the *Biodiversity Convention* refers to future generations within the definition of sustainable use:

‘Sustainable use’ means the use of components of biological diversity in a way and at a rate that does not lead to the long-term decline of biological diversity, thereby maintaining its potential to meet the needs and aspirations of present and future generations.

The above references to the intergenerational equity, or the right to a viable future may be taken as an indication of an emerging norm in customary international law. At the very least, these substantive references may signal a trend to break new ground in the recognition of the future generations’ rights beyond the preamble.

According to Brown Weiss (1994: 22), children are the “first embodiment of the interest of future generations.” Children have “intergenerational rights to a robust environment,” and adults in the present generation have the corresponding duty to “preserve options for them and protect the quality of such shared resources as air, water or soil” (Brown Weiss 1994: 22). The adult generation likewise needs to “develop further the normative framework for protecting the environmental interest of children and through them the interest of future generations” (Brown Weiss 1994: 22). While the 1989 *Convention on the Rights of the Child* does not expressly mention future generations, the protection of their rights is implied. The preamble states “the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth.” The reference to legal protection before birth may be taken to subsume future generations. Allen (1994) sees the convention as a potential stepping stone to strengthening recognition of the legal rights of future generations.

3 Establishing the Rights of Children and Future Generations to a Viable Future

Among the arguments against the intergenerational right to a viable future, two stand out in their logical, if not legal cogency: that future generations are not capable of exercising rights and that we cannot know with certainty what they want. Beckerman and Pasek (2001) argue that future generations can neither claim nor hold rights simply because they do not yet exist. While it may be counterintuitive to ascribe rights to beings who do not yet exist, future generations “can have rights if a critical mass of the present recognizes such rights” (Collins 2006: 46). This represents “both a post-modernist recognition of the malleability of rights consciousness, and the

positivist assertion that legal rights exist to the extent that they are incorporated into positive law” (Collins 2006: 46). The constitutions of Guyana, Papua New Guinea, Namibia, and Vanuatu, among others, have provisions recognizing the interests of future generations. Even if one were to accept that future generations still cannot possess legal or moral rights in the present, current generations can choose to codify the rights of future generations to a healthy environment. Or, as Collins puts it, “one may still recognize legal obligations on the part of the present generations towards future generations” (Collins 2006: 47).

The second common critique is that societies should not enshrine legal rights for future generations as we are unable to ascertain what their preferences will be. According to Gaba (1999: 260):

[a]lthough the satisfaction of preferences may not in itself be the exclusive moral goal, an understanding of preferences is important whether we engage in an assessment of our own actions in utilitarian terms, in terms of distributive fairness or in terms of interference with the autonomy of individuals.

Mechanisms exist, such as voting and protesting for people to express their individual rights. However, “no such mechanisms exist for expressing the values and desires that will be held by persons sometime in the future. Quite simply, we do not know what the future wants” (Gaba 1999: 260). This argument however ignores the basic biological needs of every human being. Barry (1977) argues that although we cannot know what our future descendants will want, we can predict with confidence that it is unlikely they will want bushfires, drought, flooding, lack of food and water security, and increased disease.

While it is not possible to directly ask future generations what they want, it is possible to ascertain the environmental concerns of today’s children and young people and their priorities for the future. As the world warms, attention is increasingly focused toward today’s children, their rights, and views. “Young people” are “tomorrow’s future” according to Sarah Baikame, 17 years old, from Cameroon (UNICEF 2007: 4). Therefore:

[w]e should prevent deforestation, find solution/actions that will prevent air pollution and promote awareness to the people, particularly young people. . .[for] [t]he environment is precious, and we should protect it like a mother hen protects its chicks. (UNICEF 2007: 4)

Although many children and young people probably do not know the technical details of why “loss of natural forests across the globe contributes more to carbon emissions each year than the transport sector,” some children intuitively know that deforestation is seriously wrong: “[l]ogging is getting out of control; all over the place there are big patches of bare earth and I don’t like it!” says Natalie, 16 years old, from Canada (UNICEF 2007: 14).

Researchers across a range of disciplines – including children’s geographies – have provided important insights into children and young people’s environmental concerns and priorities (Malone 2001; Horton et al. 2013). Researchers have

surveyed young adults on their thoughts about issues related to climate change (Carbon Trust 2012), with younger generations often expressing more knowledge of environmental issues and willingness to pay higher prices for products such as petrol in order to protect the environment (Hersch and Viscusi 2006). This chapter makes a contribution to this knowledge base, using three case studies that investigated children's perspectives on climate change. They were conducted by one of the authors of this chapter (Davies) in Vanuatu (2010–2012), Ku-ring-gai (Sydney, Australia, 2006–2008), and the Central West of New South Wales (Australia, in 2012). These projects documented children's perspectives regarding the impacts of climate change. When analyzing this data, the children and young people's variable levels of formal education relating to climate change should be noted, together with the age of respondents. In the youngest group, some of the children were 8 years of age, not old enough to have witnessed significant changes over long periods of time. Their responses should therefore be interpreted as perceptions that may have been influenced by other community members such as their parents.

The case studies use the method *Intergenerational Democracy (ID)*, developed by one of the authors (Davies). ID provides a platform for the collection of data through its age-based approach that accommodates the views of people rarely heard from in policy discussions such as the elderly and children. Representative samples of whole-of – community views are collected through interviews, surveys, focus groups, and forums. The following figures provide key findings of the three case studies.

Figure 1 illustrates that almost one-third of child respondents in the Vanuatu case study (aged 8–10 years) described their attitudes toward climate change as “extremely concerned,” while 31 % of those aged 11–20 years were “very concerned” (Davies 2012).

When asked if they thought the effects of climate change were a problem “now,” or during a time frame into the future (next 50 or 100 years, or after 100 years, or not at all), there was immediacy to the concerns of the youngest age groups. As illustrated in Fig. 2, most children and young people in the Vanuatu case study identified climate change as a problem “now” and “in the next 50 years” (Davies 2012: 187).

Respondents were asked if they had noticed any changes that they thought might be due to climate change. Children and young people in the Vanuatu case study predominantly responded “yes,” identifying the sea as the place they thought had undergone the majority of changes (Davies 2012:188). This response can be explained by these communities being coastal dwellers, dependent on the sea for their sustainable livelihoods.

In a study conducted in Ku-ring-gai, a suburb of Sydney, Australia, by the author (Davies), an interviewee within the 9–12-year-old category said “[i]f we don't decide on it [climate change] in the next five years, we don't put it into action in the next 10, 15 years then I really think we're going to be in deep trouble” (Davies 2012: 151). When asked to draw an image of what they thought climate change is, a 10-year-old participant in that study portrayed the earth getting very close to the sun (Fig. 3).

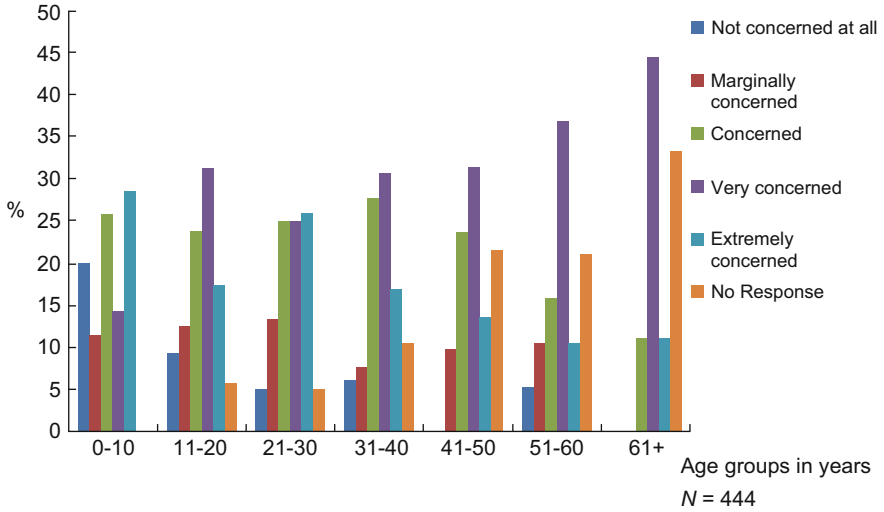


Fig. 1 Level of concern surrounding climate change by age group, Vanuatu (Davies 2012: 185)

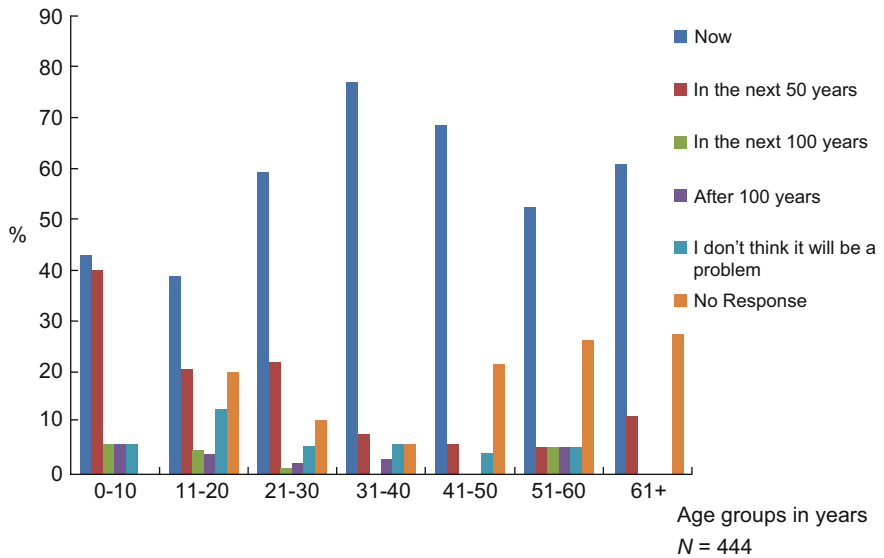


Fig. 2 Time frame regarding the impacts of climate change by age group, Vanuatu (Davies 2012: 186)

Another 10-year-old citizen from Ku-ring-gai drew a picture of the “sun melting the ice” and an “iceberg melting which makes the water level rise” making islands disappear. Under the picture she wrote “[t]his is what concerns me about climate change.”

Fig. 3 *Climate change year 4* (10 years of age) from Kuring-gai case study (Davies 2012: 10)

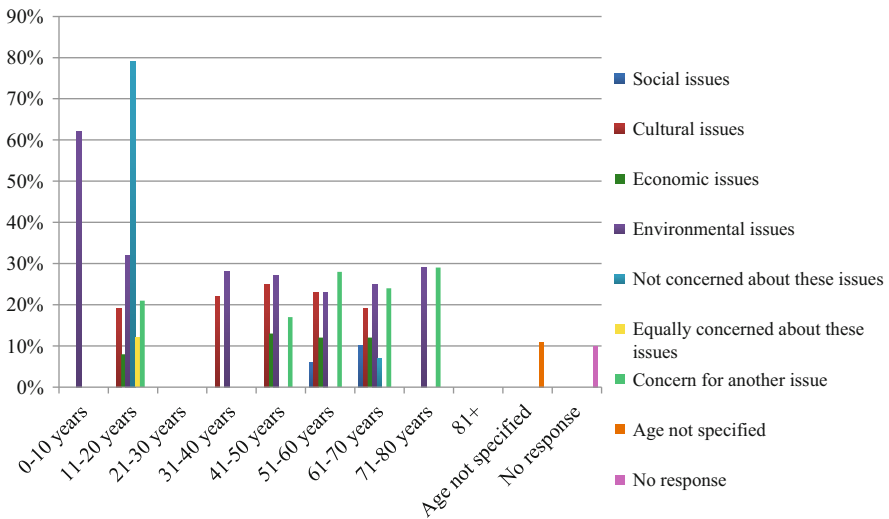


Fig. 4 Responses by age group identifying most significant areas of concern in Central NSW $N = 464$

In a (previously unpublished) case study conducted by Davies in 2012 in the Central West of New South Wales, Australia, children (aged 8–10 years) identified environmental issues as their primary area of concern (Fig. 4). Young people (aged 11–20 years) were more concerned about social issues.

When asked to describe their levels of concern surrounding climate change, children were found to be either “very concerned” or “concerned.” This result was reflected by young people (aged 11–20 years), however a notable 26 % of those in this group responded as “neutral,” indicating they did not have any strong levels of concern (Fig. 5). A further investigation of this ‘neutral’ response group, through

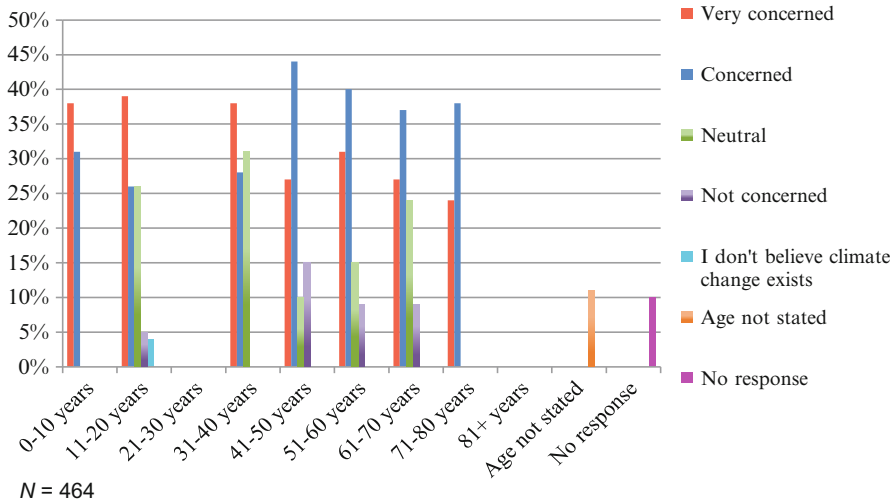


Fig. 5 Responses by age group to the question: “How concerned are you about the impacts of climate change?”

interviews, found that these young people were overwhelmed by the negativity of climate change.

Children’s concerns about climate change in these studies were found to be underpinned by the belief they are powerless to influence decisions related to mitigating and minimizing the impacts of climate change (Ojala 2007, 2012). However young people are also proactively contributing to solutions that will assist positive future environmental outcomes. Abraham Fergusson, 16 years old and the Natural Disaster Youth Summit Ambassador, felt there is a need to establish “[p]rogrammes in schools. . .to empower students with environmentally friendly habits” (UNICEF 2007: 7). He said:

[m]any factors that exacerbate the impact of natural disasters are easily identifiable and avoidable, including indiscriminate dumping into waterways, improper or illegal land development, and unsustainable agricultural practices. . .national reforestation and watershed rehabilitation programmes are aimed at managing surface and groundwater resources and protecting watersheds to maintain an adequate level of water supply. (UNICEF 2007)

For his part, Abraham is already initiating a “disaster-risk reduction” strategy which “allows students to learn about disasters and the state of disaster management in their communities [and] empowers them to take measures for mitigation and preparedness” (UNICEF 2007; Tanner 2010; Tanner and Seballos 2012).

One particular area of concern for the children involved in Davies’ case studies was that their voices (and those of other children) are rarely heard in climate change debates. “I think it’s both [the responsibility of young people and adults] because the adults need to make sure that the young people understand about these issues and the

young people, because they're the adults of the future," said a child interviewee (9–12-year-old) in the Ku-ring-gai study (Davies 2012). Elijah, a 10-year-old (Ku-ring-gai student), proposed that "[w]e should work to a level where children's views are regarded just as important as any adults as we are the ones that shall be living in the future" (Davies 2012).

Horton et al. (2013), in summarizing research on children and sustainability, described a twofold commitment to work with children and young people and to take seriously their perspectives and concerns. The three case studies above, through highlighting the concerns held by children and young people about climate change impacts, seek to provide a platform for their views to be heard, and the findings are in line with those of other research. Comments such as those of Elijah above compare to the findings of a six-country study by Carbon Trust, which found that more than 50 % of young respondents believed their generation was more concerned about climate change than their parents and grandparents (Carbon Trust 2012: 3). Both the Carbon Trust survey and the three case studies presented here represent diverse groups from different countries and backgrounds, yet all provided similar responses in terms of their concerns about the impacts of climate change and their desire to be heard.

As children are on average more vulnerable to the impacts of climate change due to their socioeconomic status and age (Hales 2014; Watts et al. 2015), it is important that their voices are heard. Where the Stockholm and Rio Declarations recognized the abstract right of future generations to a healthy environment, the responses of participants in the three case studies presented here demonstrate a concern held among children and young people that such a healthy future environment is under threat.

4 Models of Intergenerational Equity

Despite international acknowledgment of the principle of intergenerational equity, there are few examples of national political systems explicitly integrating it into legally binding policy. One method of countering the short-term orientation of contemporary democratic political and legal systems, proposed by Göpel (2011), would be through appointing guardians to represent the interests of future generations. These guardians would act as both watchdog and adviser across all government departments to monitor potentially harmful decisions and, reduce policy incoherence where competing concerns are debated. They would provide advice on the long-term implications of proposed policies at the developmental stage to assist government departments to understand the implications of their decisions on future generations (Göpel 2011). A few notable national governments have chosen to take direct action in providing independent representation for future generations within their own national institutional framework, including Israel and Hungary.

In 2001, the Israeli Government established the National Commission for Future Generations. This Commission was given a five-year mandate from 2001 to 2006

and a wide scope that included environmental, social, and economic concerns. The Commission was responsible for defending the rights and needs of future generations across diverse issues: resource protection, health, education, technology, law, development, and demographics. The Commission's role included reviewing and providing options on proposed bills and advising the Parliament on items relevant to the interests of future generations. It did not extend to proposing new bills, carrying out inquiries or adjudicating disputes. While the restrictive and reactionary nature of this role may have inhibited its effectiveness, the Commission still served an important role in raising public awareness of the principle of intergenerational justice and in challenging standard policy-making processes in the region (World Future Council and Centre for International Sustainable Development Law 2010).

In 2008, the Hungarian Parliament appointed a Commissioner for Future Generations, a role that was established to fulfill two key functions. The first function is legislative, with an emphasis on reviewing proposed legislation to ensure that it promotes sustainability in regard to environmental protection. This role extends to all levels of government, including local and municipal bodies. Additionally it has an advisory and representational role with regard to international agreements that Hungary may become party to. The second function is investigative and disciplinary. The Commissioner for Future Generations is given the mandate to investigate allegations of practices that may threaten the principle of sustainability or that represent a direct violation of environmental law. In such cases, the Commissioner has the power to issue a stop order or else refer the matter to relevant bodies for further action within the legal system. While this role is limited in its jurisdiction to issues pertaining to the rights of future generations, it provides a valuable example of a model for introducing the principle of intergenerational equity within an existing political framework (World Future Council and Centre for International Sustainable Development Law 2010).

In reviewing current and historical examples of intergenerational representation in politics, Göpel and Arhelger (2010) identified six key categories for comparing the various models. These included, independence from government and competing political agendas, proficiency, transparency, legitimacy in democratic processes, access to governmental and legal information, procedures, activities, and institutions; and accessibility to the general public. Göpel and Arhelger (2010) argued that the more of these criteria that are filled, the better the institution is equipped for the task of representing intergenerational concerns. They highlighted the Hungarian model as a successful example in that it benefits from the greatest degree of independence, is equipped with legally binding tools to enact its mandate, is guided by a clear directive, publishes regular reports, possesses the authority to request information in pursuing avenues of enquiry and investigation, and may be petitioned by the general public to act on their behalf. The Hungarian model does not provide a definitive blueprint for intergenerational representation in politics and law as its mandate is limited to purely environmental rather than more holistic concerns. However it does provide a significant precedent that could influence governments in establishing similar institutions within their own democratic framework (Göpel and Arhelger 2010).

4.1 Intergenerational Equity and Legal Cases

National and international courts also provide an effective avenue for implementing the principles of sustainability if legal standing can be established. The Precautionary Principle has evolved since the early 1970s. In 1992, the *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change* refined the definition of the principle to include proactive mitigation and adaptation policies and actions, stating that “(w) here there are threats of serious or irreversible damage, lack of full scientific certainty should not be used as a reason for postponing such measures” (United Nations 1992: 4). This principle has been incorporated into international agreements and national policies and has been established in Australian State and Commonwealth Law since 1991 (Kelly 2010). With regard to enforcing and advocating for environmental protection and measures for climate change mitigation, the widely accepted Precautionary Principle provides an effective, legally justifiable argument that scientific uncertainty is not grounds for delaying action.

Similarly, the principle of intergenerational justice offers the potential to defend the rights of future generations in international and national courts. Intergenerational justice has been described as “intergenerational conflict of interest” and an “inter-temporal distributive question” (Barry 1997: 94). Intergenerational justice entails each generation working to “maintain the conditions, resources, goods, institutions and practices that will enable its successors to enjoy just relationships and act justly towards others” (Thompson 2009: 87). Similarly, Howarth argues that, if justice requires equal treatment in the present, it also requires equal treatment of future generations through, what he describes as a “chain of obligation” (Howarth 1992: 135). The extent to which this principle is accepted as a sound legal argument will be influenced by the extent to which intergenerational rights are integrated into national constitutions, codes, and legislation as well as international agreements. Its effectiveness may also be influenced by preceding legal rulings that have recognized the principle. Two important legal examples of intergenerational justice are outlined below.

In 1992, a group of 43 Filipino children acting as representatives for themselves and future generations filed a class action against the Philippine Government’s Secretary of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources, regarding the management of public forest land. One hundred thousand hectares of national forest were being logged each year. The children sought to prevent further deforestation, arguing that continued logging would infringe their right to a healthy environment under the Filipino constitution and that it would cause irreparable harm to themselves and future generations. In the first instance, the case was overturned on the grounds that the petitioners, as children, were not deemed to have the legal standing to sue in court. This ruling was overturned by the Philippine Supreme Court, on the grounds of intergenerational responsibility and with regard to statistical evidence presented describing the extent of forest cover necessary to maintain a healthy environment for present and future generations. The court commented that the human rights of self-preservation and self-perpetuation that were being defended predated all governments and constitutions and should not need to be written into

constitutions as they are fundamental to humankind. While the case was at appeal, a new law was passed by the Philippine Government to protect all remaining virgin forest within national protected areas (World Future Council and Centre for International Sustainable Development Law 2010).

In 2007, 12 states and several cities in the USA filed a suit against the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) for failing to regulate CO₂ and other greenhouse gas emissions under the Federal Clean Air Act. The complaint was founded on the basis of the potential risks of rising sea levels associated with climate change to the Massachusetts coastline and the potential impacts on the welfare of the state's future citizens. The court found that the plaintiff successfully demonstrated injury based on actual and imminent consequences of the unregulated emissions and that the EPA was responsible for this injury through neglecting its responsibility to regulate emissions. The court ruled that the EPA must review a request made by the State of Massachusetts to regulate emissions. Despite the fact that the demonstrated harms were based on future predictions and that the risk of catastrophic damage was marginal, the court found that the redress being sought had the potential to reduce or slow the effects of climate change and that this was sufficient grounds to affirm the plaintiffs' standing against the EPA (World Future Council and Centre for International Sustainable Development Law 2010).

5 Conclusion

Today's 2.2 billion children, representing 30 % of the world population, face in varying degrees the impacts of climate change (Guillemot and Burgess 2014). Unless drastic measures are adopted, the current trend of environmental degradation will continue compromising their future. According to poet Luis Rodriguez "[i]t is not enough to prepare our children for the world; we must also prepare our world for our children" (Gordon et al. 2004: 8). This also includes preparing a viable world for the unborn and future generations. The very young and the unborn are not responsible for climate change, yet "they will unfairly inherit a legacy that they did not choose" (Guillemot and Burgess 2014: 49). Intergenerational justice mandates that the present generation assumes duties and responsibilities toward later generations. This means, as articulated in the *Brundtland Report*, leaving to children and future generations enough resources for their use without threatening the sustainable functioning of the planet's ecosystems.

This chapter has provided an overview of the debates around intergenerational equity, the views of children, and the law and calls for a strengthening of legal frameworks to protect the rights of children and unborn generations. It has discussed cultural and religious traditions that have prioritized intergenerational equity throughout history until the present day. Through the case studies this chapter has provided a forum where we can hear the views of children and their concern for the future as a result of the impacts of climate change. The science has been presented to justify these views and level of concern.

Beyond 'soft law' references to "future generations" in the preambles of international treaties, there is the need to make binding rules in both international and domestic law to protect present day and future children's rights to a viable environmental future. In this unprecedented era, as the impacts of climate change threaten human well-being, it is time to secure our children's futures in the legal instruments that govern the planet.

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Abstract

Children's opportunities, challenges, and well-being are in large part determined by decisions made about their environments without their consent, decisions which are in turn shaped by broader, sometimes global forces. One of these global forces relates to the availability of cheap and reliable sources of energy. Modern Western societies have been built on the cheap energy that comes from fossil fuels, particularly oil. Yet the costs of fossil fuel energy are likely to continue to rise, partly due to increasing awareness of the need to pay for the impacts of this energy use on climate change. While some experts believe that alternative energy sources will seamlessly replace oil as the major source of energy, others argue that replacing oil may not be a straightforward exercise. The implications of global energy stress for children's well-being and for child-friendly cities include both negative and positive aspects. While acknowledging the possibility of increased poverty, hunger, and international and local conflict, this chapter argues that consideration of the possible impacts of global energy stress provides valuable opportunities to increase child pedestrian safety, boost

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the use of the child-friendly transport modes, involve children as active citizens, and strengthen local communities. All of these changes would create more child-friendly cities, as well as cities that are healthier, more livable, and more sustainable for all city residents.

Keywords

Peak oil • Children's rights • Global change • Urban transport and land use • Energy return on investment

1 Introduction

Children's opportunities and challenges are, unsurprisingly, often the result of decisions and structures put in place without their consent. In turn, broad, sometimes global forces can shape these decisions and structures. The structure of urban environments and the patterns of mobility and restriction this encourages in contemporary post-industrial societies have become important issues for children's geographies. A growing literature in children's geographies and related disciplines has indicated the effects of urban form and transport and neighborhood design on the child friendliness of cities, for example, as measured by indicators such as children's independent mobility and active transport (Kytta 2004). Child-friendly cities are those that are committed to the fulfilling of the rights of children, including protection, provision, and participation rights (Tranter and Sharpe 2007; Freeman and Tranter 2011). This literature also includes a discussion of what changes could be made to promote the child friendliness of cities (Garrard 2009; Gill 2008; Gleeson and Sipe 2006; Kytta 2004; Tranter and Sharpe 2008; Whitzman et al. 2010). As well as the impacts on children of "locally occurring processes, practices, and events" (Ansell 2009, p. 191), some children's geographers have highlighted the importance of examining the broad national and even global social, economic, and environmental issues affecting children (Ansell 2009; Freeman and Tranter 2015).

While wanting to avoid a logic of catastrophizing the present, there does appear to be a set of global forces and effects that have had, and will continue to have, significant impacts on the well-being of children. One important theme within this set of broad forces is the issue of the availability of a cheap and reliable source of energy, which, at least for much of the twentieth century and the first part of the twenty-first century, has been fossil fuels and in particular, oil. Homer-Dixon (2006, p. 12) argues that of all the global stresses (e.g., energy, climate, population, economic), energy plays a central role: "when it's scarce or costly, everything we try to do, including growing our food, obtaining other resources like fresh water, transmitting and processing information, and defending ourselves, becomes harder." A major theme in this discussion of global energy stress arising from the increasing scarcity of conventional oil is known as peak oil.

Peak oil theorists argue that oil production will soon start a terminal decline (Chapman 2014). Many also argue that alternative resources or technologies are unable to replace the multiple roles of oil in current industrial society (Friedrichs 2010).

While many analysts have questioned the concept of peak oil, given the importance of oil to the current global economic system, this chapter adopts the precautionary principle and urges consideration of the impact of energy stress on the lives of children. The chapter does not attempt to debate the concept of peak oil but instead considers the possible implications of global energy stress on the well-being of children.

The impact of the global challenge of climate change on children has attracted considerable attention from researchers (e.g., Ebi and Paulson 2007). In contrast, despite the importance of cheap oil to children in terms of their mobility, their exposure to road traffic danger, and their access to unstructured play opportunities (as are outlined below), there has been remarkably little attention paid to the issue of the end of cheap oil by researchers concerned with children's well-being. Exceptions to this include the work by Tranter and Sharpe (Sharpe and Tranter 2010; Tranter and Sharpe 2007, 2008, 2012). These papers have identified some of the possible impacts of the end of cheap oil, as well as the impacts of a sustained period of access to cheap and reliable oil supplies on children's rights.

Despite widespread acceptance of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), not all rights are respected equally (Tranter and Sharpe 2007). While the rights of *protection* and *provision* enshrined in the Convention have at least some degree of widespread, tacit support, the right of children to *participate* in the directions and shape of society has received a far more apathetic response. One possible reason for this lack of positive response about participation rights is that the conceptual demarcation of adults from children is more pronounced with the rise of industrial capitalism, with its associated creation of market niches for children and adults. This chapter addresses these concerns of consumerism, consumerism's reliance on cheap oil, and the effects this has for children. Another related reason is the way in which a seemingly limitless supply of cheap energy over the last few decades has been used to create an environment that helps to reinforce the view that children are vulnerable, incapable, and dependent, rather than being active citizens.

The way that cheap oil has been used to structure our cities and run our transport systems, particularly in the Global North, but increasingly in developing nations, has reinforced the conceptualization of children as dependent and vulnerable. In particular, children are seen as vulnerable to the dangers created by a land use and transport system that prioritizes private motorized vehicles over any other mode. As the dominance of cars continues and traffic levels increase, children are increasingly "protected" from the dangers created by this situation, ironically in many cases by placing children inside cars and driving them around. With fewer cars on the streets (a likely outcome of the end of cheap oil), children are more likely to be conceptualized as capable citizens, at least in terms of their perceived ability to safely navigate the streets in their local neighborhoods. This is because traffic danger is one of the main reasons that children's independent mobility is restricted, and anything that can be done to reduce this traffic danger is likely to encourage parents to give their children more freedom to travel independently (Tranter and Pawson 2001). In addition, as car ownership and use is reduced, more adults use the streets as pedestrians and cyclists, providing greater levels of natural observation for all pedestrians and cyclists, including children, providing a sense of security.

This chapter first outlines the ways in which decades of cheap oil have allowed the creation of cities which have restricted the lives of children, in terms of their access to spaces, adult perceptions of their capacity for activities (e.g., cycling), and opportunities for their independence. The chapter then examines the demise of cheap oil and the potential impact of this upon children. While there may not be a smooth transition for much of the global childhood population when the era of cheap oil ends (and some of the possible negative consequences are outlined in the subsequent section), the consequences for children of a new era of energy production and consumption might not all be negative. The last section of the chapter outlines the possibilities and opportunities for children in a post-fossil fuel economy. The chapter concludes with a discussion of some of the possibilities available to children under new regimes of energy consumption. These new regimes allow for, and even necessitate, a new conceptualization of children, which problematizes the seemingly natural division between adulthood and childhood, showing that those separations may be unhelpful to both groups of citizens.

2 Childhood in the Era of Cheap Oil

One of the important implications for societies based on cheap oil has been the altered mindsets that arise concerning the roles, capabilities, and opportunities afforded to different segments of the population. This affects the corporeal experience of children. From reduced opportunities to engage in spontaneous outdoor activities to their increasingly structured experiences of “play,” children’s bodies have been disciplined in sometimes disempowering ways. However, this constriction of childhood is not limited to the control of bodies; it also insinuates into the very conception of what it means to be a child and how this conception is differentiated from that of adulthood. Aspirations about independence are writ large here – and this independence has been uncritically symbolized by the car.

The current transport systems in Western nations developed during a long era of cheap oil. Cheap oil allowed the transition, gradually over several decades, from urban transport systems with high levels of active transport (walking, cycling, and public transport, all of which, as explained below, are child-friendly modes) to systems dominated by the use of private motorized vehicles. This dominance of motor vehicles is also supported by a political system that subsidizes motorized transport. Despite the fact that most of the world’s population will likely never have their own car, “road building is invariably funded by public funds in “developed” and “developing” countries alike” (Roberts 2011, p. 9). As Roberts (2011) points out, motorized transport places other huge costs on society: road traffic crashes that kill 1,000 children each day (globally), air pollution, physical inactivity, obesity, diabetes, and climate change. One of the reasons that many societies have been placed in this position is that the corporations that benefit from the transport system (mainly oil and motor vehicle companies) are enormously powerful, many with revenues greater than the gross domestic product of many developed nations.

Cheap oil, and the economic and political power of the road lobby, has also allowed the development of lifestyles dominated by the car. This has had complex effects, and while many urban residents believe that cars provide them with advantages, these advantages fade when transport systems are carefully analyzed. For example, in many cities, traveling by car is usually faster than traveling by bicycle or public transport (Joly 2004). However, a transport system based on cars requires enormous investment, and this requires significant amounts of time at work to earn the money to pay all the costs of transport (Tranter 2014). This time is routinely overlooked when the time costs of cars are considered. Another consideration is that when cars dominate the transport system, local schools, shops, and services are closed, meaning that people (including children) need to travel further to access these places. Parents who drive their children to school to save time find themselves trapped in a lifestyle where they spend considerable amounts of time transporting children to all the other locations children are deemed to need to get to (e.g., sport, movies, and friends). Cars have not saved us time, and when cities with car-dominated transport systems are compared with cities with significant levels of cycling and public transport, people living in the car-dominated cities spend more time per day traveling within the city (Joly 2004). The extra speed of cars does not save time, it is used to cover more distance (Tranter 2014).

The fact that widespread car use has not saved parents' time is evidenced by reports that parents today, in Western societies, spend vastly more time supervising and transporting children (Rosin 2014). This large increase in the time parents spend supervising and transporting children is partly due to the distances that children need to travel in a city, where dispersed destinations are made possible by the dominance of the car. It is also due, in part, to the culture of fear and risk aversion that dominates our society (Gill 2007), which in turn is partly due to the dominance of cars (Rudner and Malone 2011). Not only have cars increased the risk to pedestrians, especially children, but they also contribute to increased fears about stranger danger. When the majority of people drive through neighborhoods rather than walk or cycle, this has the effect of reducing the effectiveness of the passive surveillance that helps make people feel safe:

Traffic takes eyes off the street. It divides the street. Interactions between people on the other side of a busy street are less likely to be noticed, voices might not be heard and the mood of interpersonal situations might not be understood. Yes there are eyes inside the cars, but when travelling at speed, sight lines are polarised ahead, along the road, and not on the pavement. (Roberts 2011, p. 5)

The dominance of cars in urban areas, associated with increased risk and fear of injury from road crashes and increased social fears, means that many children's independent mobility is increasingly constrained (Freeman and Tranter 2011). Parents respond individually to the perceived increased risk. Many choose to put their children inside cars, keep them at home, or take them to adult-organized activities. This individualistic response has the collective impact of making the streets even more dangerous for the remaining children. A more effective response would be for

parents, teachers, and other community members to find ways of making the streets safer for children and hence more attractive for all citizens using active modes of transport.

One result of the dominance of cars is that “children today walk less than ever in the history of humanity” (Roberts and Edwards 2010, p. 39). Over the last several decades, children’s lives have become more adult organized, with more indoor activities than in the past. Children have less access to unstructured play and are spending less time outdoors (Freeman and Tranter 2011). This lack of opportunity for children to connect with the natural world is seen as having significant negative impacts on child health and well-being (Skår and Krogh 2009; Tranter and Malone 2004).

The negative impacts of cheap oil on children’s well-being can be powerfully demonstrated with one indicator of children’s health – road traffic deaths. While oil has been cheap and in reliable supply for most years since WWII, there have been periods during which oil prices suddenly jumped. For example, during the Middle East oil crises of 1974 and 1979 oil prices rose and traffic volumes fell significantly. In New Zealand, the oil price changes resulted in a fourfold increase in petrol prices during the 1974 oil crisis. In this nation, during this time of high oil prices, child pedestrian death rates fell by 46 %. When the oil crisis eased, and traffic volumes continued their upward trend, the numbers of children killed and injured increased commensurably (Roberts and Edwards 2010). Similar trends were identified in Britain and the US, with marked reductions in road deaths during the oil shocks of 1974 and 1979. As Roberts (2011, p. 2) argues, “when petrol prices rise, fewer children die, when they fall, more children die.” While Roberts observes that the trend in child pedestrian deaths did not continue to rise in the 1990s as traffic volumes soared, rather than this being due to transport planners and traffic police making streets safer, it was largely due to the removal of children from the streets. They had lost their independent mobility (Tranter and Pawson 2001). As the following section argues, though, it is not just through transport that children’s (and adults) lives have been affected by the existence of cheap oil.

3 Cheap Oil and the Obsession with Consumption

Cheap oil has also influenced Western society’s obsession with “consumption” as well as strategies regarding human nutrition. Following WWII, mass consumption became the new ideal, particularly in the US, where “consuming” fulfilled both “personal desire and civic obligation” (Black 2012, p. 42). Underlying and facilitating this consumption was the availability of crude oil at incredibly low cost – an average price per barrel of \$22–23 (2008 dollars) from 1969 to 2008. Cheap oil enabled both economic growth and the opportunity to consume an array of items that would not be available to societies that had little access to this cheap form of energy. From the end of WWII till 1970, the price of oil remained below US\$20, and economic growth proceeded on the assumption that oil prices would remain low and stable. This assumption was shattered when oil reached \$145 per barrel in 2007–2008 (Black 2012).

At this point it is worth reflecting on the low global oil prices from late 2014 (Benes et al. 2015). There is debate among energy analysts as to whether these low prices will continue. Given the slowing growth in demand for oil (particularly in China), combined with growth in unconventional oil production (e.g., shale oil), supply and demand factors (and likely other political factors) have led to a decline in oil prices. Gilbert and Perl (2010, p. 224) provide a possible clue as to how oil prices might change, predicting “a vicious cycle of high oil prices, economic recession, low oil prices, modest economic recovery, and high oil prices again.” Some analysts are predicting “a permanent near-doubling of real oil prices over the coming decade” (Benes et al. 2015, p. 220). As noted in the introduction, however, the arguments in this chapter do not rely on an imminent crisis in oil production. Simply considering that such a crisis may occur in the future provides the stimulus for a consideration of alternative ways of living and shaping cities that could provide benefits for the well-being of children.

Cheap oil and other fossil fuels are critical for the global industrial food system, which consumes ten units of fossil fuel energy for every one unit of food energy produced. While oil is cheap and readily available, this system allows food to be transported long distances so that people can consume “out-of-season” fruits and vegetables. Cheap oil is also associated with increasing consumption of processed and fast food:

Fast food is the obvious link between petroleum-powered transportation and the human need to acquire the calories that our bodies require – what scholars refer to as American foodways. (Black 2012, p. 45)

The obsession with both consumption and fast food, along with a reliance on cars as a means of transport, is associated with the global obesity epidemic, which is affecting children as well as adults (Roberts and Edwards 2010). Currently, in the US, 70 % of adults are either overweight or obese, and over 30 % of children are overweight or obese (OECD 2014). Roberts and Edwards (2010) argue that global warming and the recent growth in obesity in most parts of the world are both due to our use of fossil fuels, particularly oil.

Linked with the impact of oil on our consumption patterns is the development of aspirations to certain models of adulthood. Many parents see themselves as being in competition to give their children the best possible “chance of being successful adults in a consumerist world” (Wyver et al. 2010, p. 272), where success is measured by the status and income of occupations, the size of their houses, and the number and prestige of cars they own. Parents assume that arranging extracurricular activities, such as sport, ballet, and math coaching, every afternoon of the week and each day of the weekend, will stimulate children’s development and give them a competitive edge. The success of these strategies has been questioned by those who argue that children need time for unstructured play. Evidence from Finland, where high achievement in academic tests is associated with much less adult-organized pressure, a later age for starting schooling, more free time for children to play, and less emphasis on homework, particularly on weekends and

holidays, suggests that fast-tracking children's development is not the best strategy (Malaty 2004).

Despite parents' attempts to provide stimulating extracurricular activities for their children, there is evidence that children in Western societies are less creative now than in previous generations, possibly due to the lack of opportunity for unstructured play that comes with lifestyles that are overorganized and over-occupied (Rosin 2014). In the US, children's scores on creative ability have declined over the last decade or more. They are less emotionally expressive, less energetic, less verbally expressive, less imaginative, and less passionate (Rosin 2014).

Cheap oil has also supported the development of design changes in housing developments that have in turn reduced social exchanges between residents, almost eliminating the public surveillance that once existed in residential streets. In many Australian and US cities, double or even triple garage doors, operated with remote controls, and minimal window frontage and few front verandas, dominate many new housing developments. Combined with a residential lifestyle centered on indoor activity, or if outside, the backyard or deck, this means that residential streets are more alienating places for children. Feelings of insecurity, and the belief that the world is getting more dangerous, have intensified this isolation from the street, and many houses now have high front fences and shutters, making the monitoring of children's safety (on the streets) by adults more challenging (Malone 2007).

4 Global Energy Stress: The End of Cheap Oil?

Awareness of the increasing scarcity of conventional oil has focused on the topic of "peak oil," which has attracted attention from geographers (e.g., Bridge 2010). Peak oil describes the point at which global oil production reaches a peak, after which production levels fall. The logic behind the peak oil argument is that the oil that is extracted first from any well is the oil that is easiest to extract. As production continues, the process becomes less efficient, and eventually the oil in the well declines to such an extent that it is not economically viable (given current technologies) to extract it. At a national or global scale, the same principle applies. Oil production has been seen to peak in many of the world's major oil-producing nations, and global conventional oil production appears to have reached a plateau since 2005: "... there is a growing consensus that the era of cheap oil has passed and that we are entering a new and very different phase" (Miller and Sorrell 2014, p. 2).

Perhaps more important than the concept of peak oil is the concept of "energy return on investment" (EROI). Any source of energy requires the input of some energy. For oil, in the early stages of production, the EROI was as high as 100:1, meaning that for every unit of energy invested, 100 units of oil energy were produced (Cleveland et al. 2006). This EROI has fallen steadily over the last several decades and now is as low as 3:1 for some sources of oil, such as Canada's tar sands (Fridley 2010). To put this EROI figure for the tar sands into context, Fridley (2010, p. 238) argues that the minimum EROI for industrial society is 5:1, "suggesting that no more than 20 % of social and economic resources can be dedicated to the

production of energy without undermining the structure of industrial society.” As EROI falls, the price of oil rises. Consequently it is now widely acknowledged that while the world still has vast reserves of oil (including so-called unconventional oil such as the tar sands), the “costs” of oil are likely to remain high. Indeed, it is only because of high oil prices that many sources of unconventional oil became viable to exploit. One important downside of a switch to more expensive, unconventional oil supplies is that they are much more carbon intensive. For example, producing liquid fuel from coal, one of the simplest large-scale petroleum substitutes, produces approximately twice the carbon emissions of conventional oil production (Keith 2009). This increased impact on climate change has not yet been adequately taken into consideration when the “costs” of energy are considered. When it does, then many unconventional energy sources, including shale oil, are likely to become increasingly unviable. The sustainability of these unconventional fuels is uncertain (Benes et al. 2015).

When oil becomes more expensive, everything that depends on oil becomes more expensive. In effect, this means that virtually everything societies consume becomes more expensive, not only transport but food, clothing, plastics, health care, and education. Consequently economies are much more likely to experience debt defaults, recessions, or even depressions (Tverberg 2012). However, most national governments are still basing their policies on the assumption that cheap energy will continue, seemingly unaware that the “growth model,” which is based on cheap energy, may now be outdated and unviable. As the EROI drops for conventional oil, and unconventional oil is increasingly used, “each unit of produced oil has embodied in it more CO₂ emissions than earlier units of the same energy source” (Brecha 2013, p. 687). Any attempt to account for the climate change impacts of unconventional oils, which can be argued to be a necessary step if catastrophic climate change is to be avoided, will impact economies throughout the world if they continue to be based on oil. While the world is not currently running out of oil, it has already run out of cheap oil, and if we consider environmentally affordable oil, the world is well past the age of cheap oil (Jakob and Hilaire 2015). The chapter now turns to an examination of whether global energy stress is a bane or blessing for children.

5 Negative Impacts of Global Energy Stress on Children?

Pessimistic predictions suggest that the end of cheap oil will likely lead to collapse or at least ongoing disruption in the global capitalist empire (Murray and King 2012). Capitalism though, as many other commentators have pointed out, has been shown to thrive on crisis (Klein 2007). Whatever the case for global capitalism, the transition to an era when oil is no longer inexpensive could have a number of negative consequences for children. At a global scale, a crisis in the supply or cost of oil is likely to be linked to increased levels of poverty, hunger, wars, and possibly accelerated climate change (if nations are so desperate to maintain their fossil fuel supplies that they switch to more carbon-intensive sources – which include tar sands, shale oil, and liquid fuel from coal). The link between the health of a nation’s

economy, or the global economy, and oil prices has been identified by several researchers (Murray and King 2012). Almost every major recession in the US was preceded by an oil price rise, and every oil price rise was followed by an economic recession. Hence, global economic instability may be expected with high oil prices. In nations that are highly dependent on imported oil, oil prices are critical to their economy. For example, in 2012, Italy spent more than four times the amount on imported oil as it did in 1999 (Murray and King 2012).

If the end of cheap oil is associated with increasing levels of poverty, this will impact negatively on children's rights, in terms of all three of the categories of children's rights – protection, provision, and participation – recognized in the United Nations (1989). If the end of cheap oil leads to national or global economic recessions (or a depression), this means that children's rights to sustenance may be compromised. Children's protection rights are likely to be compromised as well, as poverty typically leads to a lack of recognition of universal human rights (Freeman 2002). Thus in Feliciati's (2005, p. 414) words, hunger is "not only a violation of children's rights . . . but it is also at the core of numerous human rights abuses suffered by them." Children's rights can become more marginalized as parents become more desperate to alleviate the effects of poverty (Feliciati 2005). Thus hunger and poverty threaten not only "provision" rights, they can also undermine children's "protection" rights.

Global food production, using current industrial agricultural practices is dependent on cheap supplies of fossil fuels, particularly cheap oil. The experience of Cuba in the 1990s, when supplies of cheap oil from the Soviet Union suddenly dropped to very low levels, shows the scale of adjustment required to transform a food system based on oil to a low-carbon system (Friedrichs 2010). While Cuba shows that such an adjustment can be achieved, for such a transformation to happen for the entire world, there is likely to be significant disruption to food supplies, meaning that children in many parts of the world are likely to suffer food shortages. A perhaps more worrying prospect is that as the search for liquid fuel to replace oil intensifies, more agricultural land will be devoted to growing fuel for cars (biofuels) rather than food for people.

If nations cling to their current goal of relentless economic growth, then wars over remaining oil supplies seem likely, if not inevitable. This is not good news for children. For example, during the war in Iraq, now widely acknowledged to be linked with oil security for the US (Deffeyes 2005), or, more accurately, the profit that can be made from the control of oil (Davidson 2007), it is estimated that the avoidable under-5 infant mortality rate was about 100 times greater in occupied Iraq than in Australia (Polya 2005).

At the local scale, current children's lifestyles that depend on adult chauffeuring in cars will become increasingly difficult to maintain. Children living in areas with long distances to school, shops, services, and even their friends may find themselves increasingly isolated or reliant on virtual communication. Children's access to health care (as understood in a biomedical model of health care) may also be impaired, both due to the lack of access to health-care centers (including hospitals), as well as the limited viability of traditional health-care models that rely on cheap energy

(Frumkin et al. 2009). Oil scarcity may compromise the availability, production, and distribution of medical materials and equipment in which petroleum is a feedstock or plays a role. "This includes pharmaceuticals, supplies, packaging, and capital equipment" (Frumkin et al. 2009, p. 10).

Another way in which the end of cheap oil is likely to affect children's participation in activities relates to organized sport. Currently, children engaged in week-night or weekend sport are very likely to be driven to the sporting event. Research in Sydney revealed that "serve passenger" trips are one of the fastest growing forms of car travel (Battellino and Mendigorin 1999). On an average weekday in Sydney, 17 % of all trips made were "serve passenger" trips (trips involving picking up or dropping off someone). Of these trips, the overwhelming majority were made in a private vehicle (Shaz and Corpuz 2008). On weekends, a significant (and growing) percentage of driving trips in most Australian cities is devoted to parents driving their children to social/recreation (including sport) activities (Shaz and Corpuz 2008). Assuming that these trips cannot be easily replaced with trips to closer locations that are accessible by walking, cycling, or public transport, then children's access to organized sport may well be curtailed with more expensive oil.

6 Positive Impacts of Global Energy Stress on Children

While many will see reduced participation in sport as a loss of children's opportunities, such views show little understanding of the relative value of play versus sport. Although there are benefits for children in participating in sport, "sport is not play and should not be seen as a substitute for it" (Freeman and Tranter 2011, p. 67). Indeed, a lack of ability to drive children to sport may provide opportunities for children to engage in unstructured play in their local neighborhood. Some of this play may well imitate sporting activity (e.g., cricket on the street), but it differs from organized sport in that children control the activity, make up the rules, and decide when to start and stop playing. The replacement of organized sport with more unstructured play could be argued to be one of the possible advantages for children that may be associated with the end of cheap oil.

Tranter and Sharpe (2008) identified the possibility that peak oil might present some valuable opportunities for children (and their parents). In particular, the end of cheap oil provides the possibility of improving children's lives now, by reflecting on how children's lives may change in an environment where oil prices are high and oil supplies are unreliable. It also provides the impetus to consider new ways of conceptualizing children, not as dependent and vulnerable (e.g., to the traffic dangers created by a society based on cheap oil) but as capable human beings who can be involved in the process of creating more resilient cities.

In a future where it is no longer viable for the majority of urban residents to drive long distances to schools, shops, and post offices, there will be incentives for governments and private companies to establish local shops, schools, and services, in the knowledge that people will need to access these services without the use of their private motor vehicles. For those situations where local services cannot be

provided within walking distance, the bicycle and public transport will likely become viable options. The reinvigoration of these active modes will benefit children in particular, as walking, cycling, and public transport (as well as other minor modes such as scooters) are the child-friendly modes. This is the case for three reasons. First, children can use these modes independently, without an adult, thus giving them the freedom to explore their own neighborhoods and cities in increasing circles as they mature. Second, children prefer these modes. When children are asked how they would like to get to school, they don't say "We'd like to be driven"; they are much more likely to say that they would prefer to walk, cycle, or use their scooter (O'Brien 2008). The third reason is perhaps the most important. When adults use these modes, it does not detract from the child friendliness of cities. Instead, the more adults that use these modes (particularly walking and cycling), the more children feel supported in using these modes. This is because the active modes have minimal negative impact on traffic danger for children, and they provide more eyes on the street to give a level of passive surveillance for children that is not provided by car drivers.

Another opportunity for creating more child-friendly cities that is likely to come from global energy stress is that there may be more political support for lower speed limits. The national speed limit reduction in the US in 1974 was an emergency response to the 1973 oil crisis, based on the realization that lower speeds were effective in reducing oil consumption (Button 2011). Many European cities now have large areas with low speed limits, which have been introduced for road safety and environmental reasons. In Berlin, for example, more than 70 % of the streets have speed limits of 30 km/h or lower (Jacobsen 2006). Largely thanks to a law of physics (kinetic energy is equal to one half of an object's mass, times its velocity squared), lower speed limits mean that streets are safer for children, pedestrians, and cyclists. Not only are they physically safer, they also "feel" safer, and hence people are more likely to walk and cycle (Jacobsen et al. 2009). Once this starts to happen, the feelings of safety are enhanced by a "safety in numbers" effect (Jacobsen et al. 2009).

The safety in numbers effect can be reinforced by other programs. Safe routes to school programs and strategies such as "walk together groups" (Victoria Walks 2013) have proved to be useful, but should not be seen as the only strategies and should not have to survive in a situation where cars are allowed to dominate the streets. A change in road safety legislation would also be valuable – toward the model in Germany, where the onus of responsibility to avoid injuring a pedestrian is on the motorist.

The introduction of lower speed limits, safe routes to school programs, and walk together groups are all strategies that will likely assist a cultural shift toward slowing down in the community – part of the slow cities movement (Knox 2005). While they may not necessarily follow from rising oil prices, "slower" cities will be beneficial for children's well-being, as they allow children more opportunities for the unstructured play that is critical for their development. Slower cities will likely produce benefits for all city residents and will aid in the restructuring of lifestyles away from obsessive consumption to a greater appreciation of the value of community,

connection, and local neighborhood well-being. Thus slow cities should be seen as a positive response to global energy stress.

7 Conclusion

When all of the negative impacts of cities designed and operated on the basis of cheap oil are considered, it is possible to see that a switch to lifestyles that are less dependent on cheap energy may provide many benefits for children. If, however, societies insist on maintaining our current energy-intensive lifestyles, then on the current evidence, the future for children looks bleak. The control of energy supplies, particularly oil and gas supplies, appears to play a significant role in many of the world's conflicts. In combination with the overwhelming evidence of anthropogenic global climate change, it is hard to imagine how a continued reliance on fossil fuels could benefit children.

It is possible to be overwhelmed by the apparent enormity of responding to global energy stress. However, a focus on the positive vision of a child-friendly city will likely create a more sustainable future in terms of both energy stress and climate change (Freeman and Tranter 2011). As argued in this chapter, a city that is premised on low carbon emissions and active forms of transport is more likely to be friendly for both children and adults of all life stages. This will necessitate a different conceptualization of children, not as the site of future investment but as participating and capable subjects in their own right. To this end, some concrete, simple steps that can be taken to reduce our reliance on high inputs of energy, and hence to create more child-friendly cities, include:

1. Switching investment from road building to investment in the active (child-friendly) modes of walking, cycling, and public transport.
2. Increasing the supply of local schools, shops, and services, to help create 10-min neighborhoods (where most of what people need is available within a 10-min commute via walking, cycling, or public transport).
3. Integrating cycle parking with shops, schools, and public transport centers.
4. Creating environments where children can playfully explore their own neighborhoods independently, for example, by reducing speed limits to 30 km/h in residential streets.
5. Restructuring the relationship between adults and children so that children have more control over their use of time (for play) and their independent means of transport.
6. Providing greater access to locally produced food (e.g., using urban agriculture or community gardens), with less reliance on fast-food outlets.
7. Developing the capacities (largely unacknowledged over the last few decades in many nations) of children to travel independently within their neighborhoods and cities. For example, children have the capacity to cycle long distances (Garrard 2009), can participate in society (Tranter and Sharpe 2007), and can survive, thrive, and learn to judge strangers.

Whether the end of cheap oil has largely negative or positive impacts on children and child-friendly cities is dependent on the way that society frames its response to the decline in supplies of cheap oil. However, it also depends upon the way that societies reconfigure circuits of desire and children's place in these circuits. As Smith (2007) argues, the desires that circulate throughout society and which shape individual actions are not the attribute of any individual. Rather, they are socially constituted. As products of the existing social system, such desires are replete with internal contradiction and contestation. For this reason, there is no single thing that could be identified as "children's desire," though there are means to gauge both the production of children's desire and the form that it takes, especially in relationship to energy use and its effects on lifestyles. As argued in analyses of the Disney-Pixar films, *Monsters, Inc.* (Tranter and Sharpe 2008), and *WALL-E* (Tranter and Sharpe 2012), popular media can serve as a useful barometer of desire and can tell us much about the relegation of children's desires in relation to those of adults. In these films, society's standard of living comes at a high price for children; in *Monsters, Inc.*, the screams of children power the society in which the monsters find themselves. As is the case in the actual world, there are alternatives; in *Monsters, Inc.*, in typical Disney fashion, laughter is discovered to be a more powerful form of energy. And while individual actions might be *shaped* by the public play of circulating desire, they are not *determined*. In terms of the nexus of children and consumption habits made possible by cheap oil, material conditions such as the physical layout of cities and the spaces and paces of action make the current restrictions on children's freedoms and the organization of their activities seem inexorable. With children madly ferried to activities in ever-increasing numbers of "service trips," the risk is that they become conceived as mere conduits for the failed achievements of adults, playing the violin that their parents never mastered or scoring the goals their parents missed. The habits born of such projections have as their material condition the premise of cheaply available oil. There are alternatives. New models of urbanism, such as Slow Cities, are already available, and these promote active transport. These are, at least, not incompatible with children's independent mobility and children's participation in society. It is the specter of global energy stress that might accelerate the consideration of these models as serious alternatives.

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Living in the Future: Environmental Concerns, Parenting, and Low-Impact Lifestyles

22

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Abstract

Existing work has demonstrated how the presence of children of different ages in families can impact on people's ability to make imaginative connections to longer-term socio-environmental futures and maintain these links in the context of everyday pressures. This chapter explores such connections by presenting selected data extracts from residents of a low-impact ecovillage. The ecovillage represents a relatively unusual case site where people showed strong connections to the future, which had an impact on their present lifestyle choices. In particular, the way in which parents spoke about their children as central to their decision to live a low-impact rural lifestyle is highlighted. The ecovillage data is contextualized via an extended literature review covering issues regarding parenting, rural childhoods, low-impact living, and how these areas relate to a connection with the future. Drawing together these insights, the relevance of resilience is discussed as a concept for thinking about how particular visions of the future may create lifestyles that make possible flexibility and adaptability in the face of uncertainty. In summary, this chapter highlights how parents' views of wider environmental futures can impact on the lifestyles they foster for children in the present.

Keywords

Ecovillage • Resilience • Future • Parenting • Environment • Rural

1 Introduction

This chapter stems from a previous publication (Shirani et al. 2013) that explored people's sense of being connected to, or disconnected from, futures of socio-environmental disruption. That paper (hereafter the "disconnected futures" paper) examined the implications of parenting children of different ages for feelings of connection or disconnection with futures and for perspectives on equity, justice, and other ethical issues related to present-day energy consumption. Although studies have pointed to the way that, for some, the impacts of climate change are already evident (IPCC 2014, Macgregor, 2009), others have indicated the effects on future generations will be much more significant if changes are not made in the present (The Stern Review 2006), making a longer-term temporal perspective on the issue necessary as well. It is this temporal perspective that is foregrounded in this chapter. It has been argued that people have a responsibility to future generations in the context of energy and environmental issues such as climate change or protecting natural resources (Adam and Groves 2007). Yet it can be difficult to make these connections in the context of the gulf that exists for most people between the familiar preoccupations of everyday life and an abstract future of climate chaos (Giddens 2009). The "disconnected futures" paper considered whether the presence or absence of children as living temporal extensions of families had an impact on people's ability to make connections with the future. In particular, the paper explored differences in the experiences of parents with children of different ages and

illustrated the extent to which interviewees made imaginative connections to the future in different ways, correlated with their children's ages. For example, participants with babies spoke about high energy consumption as an inevitable aspect of new parenthood, yet parents of adolescents saw high levels of consumption by their children as wasteful. Those with young children appeared most likely to connect their concerns about their children's futures with more positive feelings about making changes in their current lifestyles. An important aspect of this analysis is that while the ability to make and maintain connections with the future varied according to the age of the children concerned, it appeared that the immediate demands of family life often took priority over longer-term environmental issues and that notions of good parenting were frequently associated with increased energy use, particularly in the early years.

The ideas put forward in the previous paper have informed subsequent work on the Energy Biographies project, which considers people's current energy use against the backdrop of their particular lifecourse trajectories. In this chapter, the scope of the earlier argument is expanded by drawing on data from one of the Energy Biographies case sites – the Lammas Tir-y-Gafel ecovillage. The ecovillage is a relevant focus as residents there showed an unusual relationship between environmental concerns and everyday living, which can further elucidate the connections between children, parents, and longer-term futures. Ecovillage participants were all adults and the majority were parents to at least one child under ten. In order to contextualize this data on how ecovillage residents maintained connections to the future in everyday life, this chapter begins with an extended discussion of relevant literature. Some of the main considerations include the notion of responsibility for future generations and people's ability to think about the future, which relates to conceptions of temporality in discussions of childhood and parenting. This section also reviews studies on perceptions of the importance of an environmental connection for children and on the concept of resilience as a way of thinking about connecting to the future as an intergenerational capacity-building process. An account of the specific methodologies used by the project follows this section, before links are made between ecovillage living and the literature review. Interview data from Lammas Tir-y-Gafel that relate to the imaginative connections parents there build between everyday life and the future is then analyzed. By focusing on this distinctive case study, it is possible to provide insights into the ways that deep concerns about socio-environmental futures shape present-day lifestyle choices and parenting decisions. Moreover, it is also possible to extend previous analyses by showing how those that have taken major steps to advance sustainable lifestyles are also impacted by the wider social and material structures that affect our capacity for developing sustainable ways of living. Our discussion also allows us to highlight more general issues concerning deeply entrenched challenges to people's abilities to adopt sustainable lifestyles that appear to become particularly prominent in the context of raising children.

This chapter represents a unique contribution by focusing on parents' views of environmental futures, how these are influenced by their children and, in turn, how they impact on the lifestyles they foster for their families in the present. While taking

a lifecourse perspective has on occasions been considered problematic in work on children's geographies (an issue that is explored below), this chapter emphasizes the benefits of exploring anticipated futures for understanding family lives in the present.

2 Literature

2.1 Responsibility for Future Generations and Longer-Term Environmental Concerns

Predictions of future energy and environmental scenarios suggest negative consequences for future generations. For example, existing reports such as the Stern Review (2006) foregrounded the need for early action on climate change, suggesting that action in the present could have a profound effect on the climate in the second half of this century and the next. Although scientific consensus suggests that the effects of climate change are being felt now in vulnerable communities globally (IPCC 2014), it remains a problem whose defining characteristic is the long-term latency of many of its most significant effects. The Stern Review proposed that predicted changes in greenhouse gas levels would transform the physical geography of the world, which would in turn have significant implications for how people live their everyday lives. Consequently, mitigation is positioned as a necessary and ethically justifiable cost in the present to minimize serious consequences, including even greater economic impacts, in the future. Page (2006) has noted the increasing number of studies that point to irreversible degradation of many of the Earth's resources. Most prominent are environmental and social problems linked to climate change, associated with anthropogenic carbon emissions, including anticipated biodiversity loss and large-scale environmental pollution related to consumer-oriented capitalist lifestyles (Wilson 2012). These problems are exacerbated by predicted shortages in energy resources (i.e., "peak oil"), which have dramatic implications for the lifestyles of future generations (Wilson 2012).

A central premise of the previous "disconnected futures" paper was to consider whether individuals today have a sense of ethical responsibility towards future generations, as this sentiment is evident in policy and environmental justice debates (see Shirani et al. 2013, for discussion). The notion of intergenerational sustainability came to be enshrined in the 1987 Brundtland Report "Our Common Future" (UNWCED 1987), and evaluating the requirements of both present and future inhabitants of the world has subsequently been described as a question of distributive justice (Page 2006) or of future-oriented care (Read 2012). The importance of keeping in mind the needs of future generations is an idea on which there is wide agreement, although the relative weighting of these obligations against the demands of those currently living is strongly debated. For example, in dominant economic approaches the practice of discounting means that future consequences are weighted with less importance simply because they are in the future, which has been described

as a highly unethical position (Adam 1998). Urry (2011, p. 100) has also argued against this practice:

It came to be widely argued that future generations were part of a given society and should not be viewed as less important or less worthy members. Their interests, to use the language of economics, should not be subject to any discounting.

It has been suggested that future generations will be forced to bear a more than proportionate share of the costs of climate change as there are some aspects that pose greater threats to the not yet born, including extensive and adverse impacts on human health (Page 2006) or the longer-term burdens of some proposed low carbon technologies such as nuclear power (Taebi et al. 2012). An approach which tries to balance the needs of current and future generations must acknowledge that environmental problems have different temporal attributes, with some posing present challenges while others will impact distant generations, thus a dynamic conception of ethics must recognize subjective realities, such as the immediate character or urgent needs of everyday family life (Visser't Hooft 1999). Subsequently, “the links between high energy consuming lifestyles and notions of good parenting arise as particularly problematic, producing direct competition between the moral demands of parenting and those of caring for futures through the adoption of more environmentally sustainable practices.” (Shirani et al. 2013, p. 465). This highlights the challenge identified by the “disconnected futures” paper: it is not so much that making these connections to the future is problematic, but instead maintaining them amid the pressures of everyday life.

2.2 People’s Ability to Think About the Future

Imagining the future has been described as inextricably bound up with what it means to be human, as from a young age people are encouraged to project themselves into the realm of the “not yet” (Adam and Groves 2007). Relatedly, Greene (2003) has discussed how humans are future oriented and involved in planning and setting goals as a way of organizing life and establishing meaning, arguing that people are chivvied into a constant preoccupation with what comes next. In addition, Daly (1996) has suggested that anticipation is a key temporal aspect in the social construction of identity, while Mills (2000) has noted a perception that an individual’s current lifecourse stage is a reflection of cumulative past events and an anticipation of future trajectories, thus highlighting that images of the future are important for our present understanding of ourselves. Yet outside the realms of planning for our own biographical futures, how much of a concern are wider societal changes and trajectories?

Previous research has indicated that individuals are concerned about longer-term futures and forthcoming generations. For example, 67% of participants in a Welsh Government sustainability survey (2011) strongly agreed that we should act to protect the Welsh landscape so it can be enjoyed by future generations, while 65%

agreed that if we continue on our current course we will soon experience a major environmental disaster. However, just over half (54%) felt that they could personally help to combat the effects of climate change. Therefore, while people may be aware of longer-term concerns, they may be unsure how to act on them in the present (see also Giddens 2009 and Shirani et al. 2013 for discussion of this issue).

Uncertainty about the future can affect our view of our responsibilities, although not necessarily by leading us to discount them. Drawing on Luhmann (1982), Adam and Groves (2007) invoked the term “future present” to represent a particular stance towards the future, which is attuned to processes that are already on the way and latent in the present, and which may produce unexpected effects – processes such as climate change. This is contrasted with the term “present future,” a stance which extrapolates directly and linearly from past experiences or accumulated knowledge to make predictions about the future. The first stance is alive to the deeper uncertainties that surround potential outcomes and which derive from the complex interactions already underway on which they will depend. The second tends to view the future in terms of knowable and determinate risks, thus rendering deeper uncertainties less salient (Groves 2010). Adam and Groves (2007) argued that taking responsibility for an uncertain and or longer-term future requires adopting the stance of the future present, which necessitates adopting a particular ethical perspective. This, they suggest, is a version of the ethics of care. Just as such an ethics, some have argued, can awaken us to the complex connectedness that is the foundation of human flourishing in the present, with all its attendant ambiguities and uncertainties, it may also shed light on the scope of our responsibilities to future generations, how we may fulfill them, and what obstacles may confront us (Groves 2011). The emphasis on temporal connection through care has particular implications for parenting and, in particular, the way parents conceptualize and plan for their children’s futures.

2.3 The Temporality of Childhood and Parenting

Childhood as a period in the lifecourse is endowed with a particular temporality. For example, Harden et al. (2012) have explored characterizations of childhood as a period of becoming. They have argued that this future orientation is evident in political discourse and policy, which emphasizes parental responsibility and risk management in the production of a successful adult. This future orientation is apparent in work on contemporary intensive parenting culture, which positions the child as a project, with the “good” parent presenting a myriad of opportunities and support for the child to have a range of experiences to aid development (Vincent and Ball 2007; see also Shirani et al. (2012) for a discussion of intensive parenting culture). As Wall (2010, p. 258) has noted:

The idea that children’s outcomes are almost completely under parental control is a seductive one. It holds out a guarantee of future happiness and success if parents have the time, resources and knowledge to make the correct inputs.

However, alongside concerns about developing successful adults is the valuing of children's autonomy over their own future, with overt parental determination being regarded negatively. Participants in Harden et al's (2012) study appeared to deal with balancing these concerns by emphasizing the way they instilled the right values so their children would make the right decisions, which would put them on a trajectory for a good future.

A temporal dimension is also evident in work on parenting and resilience, which shows some similarities to work on intensive parenting. In this context, resilience is taken to mean good outcomes in spite of serious threats to adaptation and development, or seen as the antidote to risk (Hoffman 2010). Hoffman (2010) has noted that there is a large body of applied literature on how parents can promote resilience in their children, which advocates the notion that parents can raise more successful children if they are able to learn ways to build children's resilience. Similarly, Valentine's (1997a) work on children's geographies has suggested that good parenting involves walking a tightrope between protecting children from public dangers by restricting their independence while simultaneously allowing them the freedom to develop streetwise skills. These studies illustrate the existence of competing messages about protecting children from risk but also increasing their resilience (Lee et al. 2010). Resilience is not an unproblematic concept, for example, it has been critiqued for conceptual ambiguity as well as for blurring individual traits and dynamic processes (see e.g., Luthar et al. 2007). An assumed negative change in circumstances is often implicit in such definitions, with resilience positioned as a way of dealing with this, rather than as a way of addressing the causes of such changes in the first place. Understandings of resilience in relation to energy and the environment should encompass the capabilities necessary to adapt to changing circumstances rather than maintaining the status quo (Butler et al. 2013), recognizing that resilience in the face of uncertain futures is a kind of intergenerational capacity-building project (Sandler 2007). This is particularly important in considering transitions to lower-consuming energy systems (which the ecovillage case site can illuminate). This work on building resilience could be seen as temporally oriented in relation to parental concerns about their children's future.

In children's geographies there has been some reluctance to foreground notions of temporality given concerns about reproducing ideas from developmental psychology of children as adults-in-waiting (Ansell et al. 2013) rather than active agents in the present. However, this apparent distinction between conceptualizing children as "beings" or "becomings" does not negate the relevance of considering the future, as Uprichard (2008, p. 306) has argued:

Looking forward' to what a child 'becomes' is arguably an important part of 'being' a child. By ignoring the future we are prevented from exploring the ways in which this may itself shape experiences of being children.

Thus, rather than positioning a future-oriented perspective as overlooking children's agency in the present, it is important to consider how ideas about the present and future interact in the course of children's everyday lives.

There is a growing literature that explores children's anxieties for the future. In these studies, the environment is a consistent theme, for example, concerns about loss of countryside, increased pollution, or the extinction of wildlife (Hicks and Holden 2007; Strife 2012). In Strife's (2012) interview study with children aged 10–12, the majority of children expressed environmental concerns and shared apocalyptic visions of the Earth in 100 years. Unlike the adult participants in the aforementioned "disconnected futures" paper, who found it difficult to know what action they could take in the present to address longer-term environmental concerns, these studies suggest that children may feel differently. For example, Ojala's (2012) work with children and young people suggests that pessimism about climate change increases with age, and that different age groups draw on different coping strategies to deal with worries about climate change. Hicks and Holden (2007) found that the majority of their 11-year-old participants thought they could do something to bring about change (such as recycling, fundraising, or car lift sharing). The authors suggested that exposure to a cooperative learning environment (e.g., Steiner schooling) with those sharing similar values appeared to have a significant impact on children's sense of agency and subsequent ability to affect change. Kraftl (2006) has explored the construction of an ideal notion of childhood as part of a Steiner school's teaching practices. In the school he studied, he described how young children were seen as being in need of protection, stimulation, and a home-like place, while there was also an emphasis on the use of natural materials. The Steiner school environment emphasizes the perceived importance of children having a connection to nature, with activities such as nature walks being an important part of school life. This is also highlighted in other areas of children's geographies, such as work on forest schools (see e.g., Ridgers et al. 2012). It is evident from these studies then that children's connection to the environment – in both the present and their anticipated futures – is seen as particularly important.

2.4 The Importance of Environmental Connection

Connection to the environment, and attachment to place, has been widely recognized as a shaping influence on identity and agency (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996). The extent and quality of connection to natural environments during childhood have been associated by some children's geographers with specific kinds of childhood experience that affect development. These effects concerning children's relationships with nature have been seen as significant for developing particular capabilities and also for the beliefs individuals form in later life, thus shaping the kinds of actions and activities in which they engage. It has been suggested, for example, that children who are relatively detached from the environment during childhood could be considered unlikely to make responsible decisions regarding the environment in their adult life (Strife 2012, Davis, 1998).

Rural locations have been widely associated with improving connections between children and the natural world. A rural location has, for example, been associated with a more innocent, less worldly, and purer experience of childhood than that

offered by the city (Valentine 1997b) with rural life regarded as closer to nature and therefore more natural (Powell et al. 2013). It is also argued to be seen as safer and as a way of potentially prolonging childhood, untainted by urban pressures (Jones 1999). Critical engagements with these ideas and observations have, however, highlighted how these values are often underpinned by a conceptualization of children as vulnerable and incompetent in public spaces (Valentine 1997a). Other envisaged benefits of rural childhood include a belief that children would be afforded greater freedom with less need for parental supervision, which is valued in the context of concerns about the effects of increasing surveillance and loss of autonomy for children (Wall 2010). However, in contrast to the rural idyll envisaged by parents, to which children's freedom is an essential aspect (Powell et al. 2013), children's free play and independent environmental exploration may well be constrained in rural communities due to concerns about safety or by limited access to public land (Matthews et al. 2000).

The emphasis on the space and freedom offered by a rural childhood can also be seen as a counterpoint to concerns about children leading increasingly sedentary indoor lifestyles, which has been associated with negative health impacts (e.g., Public Health England 2013). However, concerns go beyond present lifestyles to encompass wider future issues as, for example, it has been suggested that children who are detached from the environment during childhood could be considered unlikely to make responsible decisions regarding the environment in their adult life (Strife 2012, Davis, 1998). These studies have focussed on children living in conventional housing and communities, yet some children in the UK experience life in ecovillages, where energy and the environment has a more prominent focus. Children or families living in this distinctive context form the focus for our analysis and discussion in the remainder of this chapter. It looks at people who have, for multiple reasons, moved to an ecovillage taking major steps to advance sustainable lifestyles. In doing so it opens up insights into the complexities of maintaining connections to long-term environmental futures in the context of everyday life and parenting pressures even where significant changes have been made both materially and socially to create and sustain such connections.

3 Methods

The data discussed in this chapter come from the Energy Biographies project, a qualitative longitudinal and multimodal study of everyday energy use and how this is situated in relation to individuals' biographical pasts and anticipated futures. Issues around time and temporality are foregrounded in qualitative longitudinal research due to the design of multiple research encounters over time. In addition, issues of temporality are evident in the content of such qualitative longitudinal studies (see Henwood and Shirani 2012), which have a dynamic orientation recognizing past, present, and future as interpenetrating (Bell and Mau 1971).

The project involved interviews in four case site areas across England and Wales with different levels of energy demand reduction interventions. This chapter focuses

on data from one case site, the Lammas Tir-y-Gafel ecovillage in Pembrokeshire (for information on the other case sites see <http://energybiographies.org/case-sites/>). The ecovillage is unique as the first of its kind in the UK to be granted planning permission (granted 2009), contingent on residents fulfilling certain criteria by the end of a 5-year period. The site is comprised of nine households with residents building their own low-impact dwellings from sustainable materials and meeting their basic needs as well as making their living from the land. Almost half of the permanent residents on site were under 18 at the time of the research, the majority of whom were aged ten or under. All but one of the 17 permanent adult residents (aged from mid-30s to mid-50s) were parents and 15 were currently coresiding with their children. Thus, given this chapter's focus on children, parenting, and environmental futures, the ecovillage offers an abundant source of insights. All participants cited here were coresident parents to at least one child under the age of 10.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted on three occasions over a 1-year period (February 2012–February 2013 at Lammas), exploring a range of issues about participants' everyday lives, past experiences, and anticipated futures. Given the centrality of imagined futures to individual biographies, an important aspect of the Energy Biographies project was developing methodological approaches to help people articulate their views on the future. Previous research has shown that asking people about the future directly can be challenging (Henwood and Shirani 2012) and that embedding prompts within the wider interview may be more successful (Harden et al. 2012). However, as some people are able to articulate clear ideas about their futures, both direct and indirect approaches to generating future talk can be invoked (for further information on methods see <http://energybiographies.org/our-project/project-design/>). The next section outlines relevant literature focused on low-impact living, before moving to discuss ecovillage data from the study and then to draw insights relevant to understanding parenting, environmental concern, and lifestyle change more widely.

3.1 Low-Impact Living: Living in the Future?

Ecovillages have been described as intentional communities where like-minded residents share a commitment to leading sustainable lives (Miller and Bentley 2012). Much of the literature on defining ecovillages includes an element of communal living, which may be off-putting for those used to more individualized ways of life and could potentially limit the transfer of insights from ecovillages to the mainstream (Shirani et al. 2015). However, the Energy Biographies ecovillage case site presented a different model as it does not have a defined social structure but was premised on conventional village living, with minimal communal interdependencies. For example, residents contribute to a fund for the creation and maintenance of communal infrastructure (such as trackways, woodland, and the site's hydroelectricity power generator) but in other respects live largely as independent households. This is important to note as cohesion and social support have been described as relevant contributors to developing resilient communities (Norris et al. 2008). While ecovillages may be

regarded as a niche lifestyle choice, there appears to be increasing interest in ecovillage living as an alternative to perceptions of an unsustainable and increasingly insecure mainstream society (Miller and Bentley 2012) and one which also has the potential to offer the benefits associated with rural living in an affordable way.

Pickerill and Maxey (2009) have suggested that low-impact development is one of the least understood and socially acceptable ecobuild designs. Low-impact development (LID) has been defined as “development which, by virtue of its low or benign environmental impact, may be allowed in locations where conventional development is not permitted” (Fairlie 2009, p. 2). LIDs also often involve self-sufficiency in terms of managing energy and waste, and thus may be seen as unappealing because of a perception that this way of living involves hardship and a return to an earlier mode of living without modern conveniences. However, some have set out to challenge this stereotype. For example a miniseries including the Lammas ecovillage case site was recorded under the title “Living in the Future” (<http://livinginthefuture.org/>) thus implying that ecovillage life offers a sustainable model for life in the future, rather than a past-focused lifestyle. Part of the emphasis on ecovillages as a model for future living stems from the notion of LID evolving and adapting to changing needs and climatic uncertainty (Pickerill and Maxey 2009). In this way, ecovillages can be seen as making efforts to establish resilient communities. In addition, ecovillages could be described as having environmental capital by being well endowed with natural resources, which has also been identified as an important element in creating resilient communities (Wilson 2012).

The term resilience has become something of a buzzword in political and policymaking rhetoric (Wilson 2012), both for individuals in the context of parenting and development, as discussed above, and in relation to communities. Community resilience is commonly defined as a complex, multilayered process through which communities demonstrate a capacity to withstand and respond positively to stress or change. Many definitions of resilience focus on the ability to adapt after a disturbance, although there have been moves to conceptualize it in a more dynamic way, as a process rather than a set of characteristics (Norris et al. 2008). However, in conceptualizing resilience it is also important to adopt a perspective that focuses not on maintaining a given situation but on the capacity to adapt to changing circumstances (Butler et al. 2013). While much work has focused on community responses to sudden natural catastrophes, there is less work on slow-onset hazards (Wilson 2012), which could be more relevant in thinking about the longer-term impacts of climate change. In this context, it is useful to also consider Wilson’s (2012) definition of community vulnerability as a function of exposure and sensitivity of a system that is usually not able to cope with risks, hazards, and slow or catastrophic change, leading eventually to the disappearance of the system or parts thereof. Given the longer temporalities many appear to associate with environmental concerns (although increasingly evidence suggests the impacts are being felt by some in the present; IPCC 2014, Macgregor, 2009), ecovillages could arguably be seen as developing a different kind of resilience: guarding against longer-term climatic uncertainty, food and energy insecurity, and therefore insuring against community vulnerability. In this way, they are aiming to develop a lifestyle for themselves but

also for subsequent generations that can potentially flourish in changing societal circumstances, which may reduce or at least make it easier to cope with a sense of uncertainty about the future. Parental responsibility may be seen in such circumstances as a vital link (involving affective, emotional, and imaginative capacities) between present and future. Rather than trying to predict, in what appear as highly unstable times, intrinsically unpredictable outcomes locally, regionally, and globally, responsibility in these conditions may be thought of as being about striving to culture capacities, capabilities, and “virtues” in the next generation that enable them to live adaptably, flexibly, but also according to certain guiding principles.

3.2 Analysis

In initial interviews, participants were asked about the future in relation to expectations and aspirations for their own lives, and, where relevant, also for children, grandchildren, or younger generations. Lammas residents indicated a different, and perhaps unusual, relationship to the future, which offers insights into the benefits and challenges of connecting long-term environmental concerns with everyday living where significant moves have been made to step outside of “mainstream” lifestyles. As Pickerill and Maxey (2009) have noted, people are involved in low-impact development for a variety of reasons, for example, as a form of survival in a fragile global climate, as a means of surviving economic crises, and due to concerns about “peak oil.” Alongside this diversity of experiences and motivations were some commonalities, foregrounded in this chapter. Discussed below are, in particular, the strong connections that people made between current ways of living and future socio-environmental conditions, links parents made between having children and the future, the importance of facilitating connections for children with nature, environment, and futures, and the challenges that still remained for parents in enacting low-impact lifestyles even within ecovillage contexts.

3.2.1 Connecting to the Future

For some Lammas residents, concerns about the future were a significant part of their decisions to live in a low-impact way in the present:

So we're establishing a forest garden and a big pond system and new-plant woodland and we're trying to do things as best as we possibly can but it's security and then, separately, there's the idea that if fuel prices go up, which they're going to and food prices go up, which they're going to because they're intrinsically linked, because for every calorie of food is multiple calories of diesel in our mainstream agri-business system. So food will only go up in price and all of the non-jobs that people do, that don't need to be done will disappear because you don't need someone selling you advertising space for a product that doesn't need to be sold because it's actually not necessary in any way whatsoever. So all of these people living in houses in towns and cities where they don't have a garden, they have to buy their water, they have to buy their electricity, they have to buy their gas and they go to work to do a job that doesn't need to be done, as soon as the oil prices go up, so they can no longer afford to eat, if

the system really crashes the people will be better off taking their houses apart, taking the window frames out, sticking them on a back of a wagon and go to the countryside and find some land; 1930s America, Dust Bowl, Grapes of Wrath and all that. It's happened so many times in recent history that to think that it can never happen again is ridiculous. So if things dramatically and abruptly change I want to know that I'll be okay. (James)

As James' quote indicates, some participants' narratives of anticipated futures pointed to negative or even apocalyptic scenarios for society at large. This raises a number of longer-term issues they see in relation to current mainstream lifestyles, such as: energy and food security, unsustainable development, climate change, and environmental degradation. Some participants explicitly articulated their efforts to deal with this potential crisis or uncertainty in terms of creating a resilient community or way of living.

I think because we have quite a strong feeling that the world is a very unstable place at the moment, I think we're not really planning on particular courses of action; we are doing a lot of planning for the future but it's mostly about building resilience within our family and community units more than it is about any particular outcome. So, yes, tools; good facilities; workshop; good productive food growing systems; a robust local community; good stable family; good mental health; good relations with children; all those sorts of things seem to be really important and they are what we are working towards but exactly what they are going to be applied to I don't think we'd really presume to know . . . I don't think we'd even really presuppose that we could even go to the shops and buy food next year really. I think we're quite, not that that's a threat or much of a burden but I think we feel it as being quite unstable and maybe more than other people do and maybe even more than it really is. We're quite conservative; I think there's a kind of conservatism of not relying upon infrastructure of the wider society. (Darren)

Concerns about longer-term environmental futures had been raised by other participants across our dataset, although arguably to a lesser extent, yet many people who were concerned about environmental futures felt powerless to effect change in their day-to-day lives. Where Lammas residents differed then was in taking what could be considered – by those with more mainstream lifestyles – radical action in their current lives to create a way of living that they felt would allow adaptability, avoid fragility, and thus achieve more resilience in the future. Indeed, developing the individual and collective capabilities that enable this kind of resilience is a central element of the ecovillage vision as described on their website (<http://lammas.org.uk/about-lammas/>). Both James and Darren articulated their current lifestyles in terms of future threat or uncertainty; the way they live now is influenced by both longer-term concerns and perceptions of the more immediate future. In this way, their understanding of resilience as a future-oriented concept is evident, ensuring longer-term security in the context of uncertainty and in relation to potential futures. Efforts to develop these lifestyles, and their constituent capabilities and competences, were not only related to their own situations but through the various channels that increased the ecovillage's visibility, residents sought to provide information and examples to others contemplating making changes to more sustainable lifestyles.

3.2.2 Connecting Children to Nature

For some, becoming more sustainable was explicitly related to having children, described as a catalyst towards taking more direct environmental action.

Because you're thinking of the future, I would say that's the most, for me that's the most obvious answer . . . the future is your children and for me, it made it plainer for me that I had to do more, had to be more aware of it . . . I guess you want your children to grow up in a beautiful world where there's plentiful water and air and grass and food. . . (Julia)

Children were a significant part of ecovillage life, making up half of those living on site. Decisions to move to the ecovillage were often described by participants in terms of a good environment to raise children, in part, drawing on assumptions about the higher quality of connections to the natural world made possible by living in a rural location and the development of valued capabilities made possible by such connections, as outlined above. In particular, emphasis was placed on children having freedom and a connection to nature, while also allowing them a longer childhood, not focused upon technology.

Before having children I could have lived in London or Manchester and been one of these sorts of allotment people or city garden . . . I love all that, but every time I thought of the ability of the children to be outside I couldn't square the two environments; no gardens, you've got those big parks but they can't kinda just have the freedom . . . I'd already kind of become quite attached to that idea that it was very good for children to have the same thing that everybody had of our parents' generation, whereas we probably didn't really have that did we, just running wild out to the countryside . . . I definitely wanted that for them and I saw that as really vital. (Rachel)

However, some parents found that the realities of rural life once they had moved to the ecovillage did not always present an idyllic situation for their children. For example, the distances between the ecovillage and primary schools and the lack of public transport meant that driving was the only way of undertaking the school run, which may not have been the case in an urban area. Similarly, children were somewhat restricted in their ability to socialize with friends who lived outside the ecovillage as meeting up required parents providing car transport. Other parents found that restricted access to energy and technology during the initial phases of the ecovillage setup had consequences for their children's ability to complete school work or participate in similar activities to their peers (particularly those in mainstream as opposed to Steiner or home schooling). However, views on the importance of formal education and children's relationships with technology varied widely across the ecovillage. Over the course of the qualitative longitudinal Energy Biographies project, changes were evident in the way some parents spoke about their children and rural living,

[i]n the summer when it's light they tend to bounce on the trampoline with their friends until its bedtime . . . the children don't really see the other children so much in the winter, it's just a bit miserable, a bit wet, a bit dark, they do sometimes at the weekend if it's especially nice but yeah there's a big difference, yeah there is. (Laura)

Here, Laura's comments are indicative of a general tendency to view the rural setting as more positive for children during the summer months, but as imposing restrictions and hardships during the winter when children were less able to make use of outside space.

3.2.3 Connecting Children to the Future

In contrast to some of the participants discussed in the "disconnected futures" paper, where increased energy use was seen as an unavoidable aspect of good parenting, notions of parenting appeared somewhat different at Lammas. The hydroelectricity system took some time to establish, so for the first couple of years on site residents' electricity needs were met by solar panels and rented access to a building with mains electricity where they could charge batteries and devices and access the internet. Residents also initially had to collect water, until a piping system was established, and those who had lived in conventional housing moved from indoor flushing toilets to outside composting ones. These experiences of managing energy and waste became a central part of everyday life, which children also needed to understand and be involved with:

I've only got a limited amount of things that use energy so in the dark, it's getting good now but it was like only two lights on at a time because we just would drain the batteries right out quickly. The kids were actually really good. Especially Jessica, she was very aware 'there's three lights on!' she would say and then go and turn one off, so we used a lot of candles when we didn't need leccy light, so yeah very conscious actually. (Joseph)

In this context then, good parenting was associated with reduced energy use and instilling environmental awareness and energy consciousness in children, which would be beneficial for both present experiences and their future adult lives, as considered further below.

Although energy use was a present issue, families took different approaches to telling their children about the longer-term environmental concerns that were often part of their motivation for ecovillage living. While some discussed these issues, others felt that children should not have these concerns at a young age (given that the majority of the children living on site were aged 10 or under). Below, the difficulty of achieving this balance is considered by Roy:

We don't want him to be too serious. But he is a very serious thinker and without doubt he's getting the picture of what's really going on. Now I sometimes worry about it, in a little way it kind of destroyed me, that discovery the planet getting murdered, which it still is, I just couldn't take it, ultimately I still can't, you can't do anything about it. But especially a little person like that, it's very damaging, he can't believe that a blue whale is possibly going to become extinct, these types of things. He cannot comprehend it and I was the same . . . and then you've got this counter thing, that there's this risk which you see; if you ram all this sort of stuff down a kid's neck too much they will then, the only thing they'll want is to live in a nice high-rise apartment and never go outside and spend all their money in going to the gym and pumping iron or something. So it's a tough one . . . I wonder sometimes how much of the truth as we see it you should give a young child because it's not, the actual truth of what's

going on out there and how things have been run for the last 'X' number of years is not palatable, it's not exactly what they tell you and it's not a happy fairy story is it you know? So but I can't see either, you've got an intelligent young human being that you're trying to set up to go off into the world; you've got to prepare them for what it's like as you see it and you're not doing them any favours by too much deluding them about what you think is good and real and what you think is delusional about what is out there. So yeah I think we do our best (Roy)

While the ecovillage was seen as a positive environment for family life now, participants also felt it could offer their children a better way of life in the future, when living in a low energy-consuming way may be necessary. Like many parents, ecovillage residents did not articulate prescribed futures for their children, indicating that they should be able to choose their own pathway. Although a number of residents felt that at least one of their children was likely to adopt a more conventional (and higher energy consuming) lifestyle, at least for a time, other children were seen as more likely to continue low-impact living in the longer term. Whatever choices their children made, parents described the benefits of their current lifestyle in terms of developing skills and experiences that would enable their children to cope in an uncertain future.

I think this whole kind of awareness around environmental issues and around needing to conserve resources and moving out of this idea of endless growth and endless resources, to much more awareness around utilising our resources correctly is something that's an inevitability, both for my own children and I think for everybody's children and I think that's a good thing! I think there's a huge amount of skills that, this has taken me years to get to here and I don't feel like I know everything by a long, long shot, I'm still very much making it up as I go along. But I am aware that there's a lot of basic skills that have been lost and people are trying to regain and there are big steps being taken but probably not enough so I think like I was saying earlier, whether or not my children stay on the land I don't know and I don't really mind, I don't have any expectation of them taking over the farm or something, chances are they'll want to bugger off to the city and do something completely different and that's totally fine, I don't have an issue with that but I think having given them this opportunity they will have a sense of what this involves and have the potential to come back here if things were to really go pear-shaped; they'd know that they had somewhere they could come. (Vanessa)

In this way, parenting is represented as being about instilling the right values (Harden et al. 2012) and offering children capabilities to be responsive to uncertain futures.

3.2.4 Conflicts and Challenges

Alongside these environmental values and experiences, parents also wanted their children to be able to engage in mainstream social, sporting, and creative activities. Yet this raised challenges for some parents in reconciling the requirements of these activities with their own environmental practices. For example, while some parents would have chosen to live without a car and spend most of their time on site, enabling their children to participate in local clubs or activities was viewed as important for socialization and therefore car use was deemed undesirable but

necessary. Therefore, the presence of children and catering for their needs presented some restrictions on environmental behaviors. As Roy noted, even at the ecovillage the demands of everyday family life take priority over environmental concerns on occasions where the two are potentially opposed:

[w]e've done as best as almost anyone can in terms of, we've got the shop thing working here, we do as much lift sharing as we can but you need to take your kids to things. My girl wants to go to ballet, we try and do as much of that as we can because our kids, they don't get telly, they're not getting DS's [game consoles], they're being to some extent as some kids would see their, loads of their important and essential options taken away from them. Well we want to make sure we get them some good things and particularly if we're not, if they're not going into school. So we take them to social opportunities and all sorts of things; swimming lessons tomorrow but we lift share . . . I mean not long ago I was as bad as anyone really; I'd just blast out to the shops because we'd run out of milk you know . . . a lot of it was you kinda need to have milk because you've got to give cereal to your kids in the morning and that's all they bloody eat for breakfast or something like that so it becomes these essentials. (Roy)

Despite the challenges of low-impact living, participants were positive about the benefits it provided to their family, both in the present and future. The ecovillage offered children valued aspects of rural living during childhood (such as freedom and connection to nature – upholding the notion of the rural idyll discussed above), while also providing opportunities to develop skills and build resilience for future living. In addition, the ecovillage development was seen to provide some security for children in the longer term: either as a place to return to and live or something they could eventually sell to fund their own lifestyle choices. Thus it could guard against uncertainty in wider society both in the longer term and more imminent future.

4 Conclusions

This chapter has discussed and developed previous work on people's ability to make and sustain imaginative connections to socio-environmental futures. Focusing on an ecovillage case site has foregrounded a relatively unusual situation in which visions of environmental futures are sustained and have an impact on the way people choose to live their lives in the present. In this case, concerns about the longer-term unsustainability of mainstream society prompted ecovillage residents to develop ways of living that are seen as resilient in the context of this wider uncertainty.

Resilience is an important concept in this context, with participants describing their efforts to develop it at both individual and community levels, and as a trans- or intergenerational capacity-building project. Rather than feeling powerless to effect change, ecovillage residents saw low-impact living as a way of developing a more resilient lifestyle in order to withstand future challenges or uncertainty, as well as to limit their contribution to socio-environmental degradation and offer a model of sustainable living to inspire others. Despite some of the conceptual challenges outlined earlier, resilience has value in the context of anticipated futures for

elucidating strategies to deal with uncertainty. In this chapter, the focus has been on the way ecovillage residents sought to provide resilience and security for their own families in the context of perceived wider unsustainable social systems and environmental changes. By creating a lifestyle in which many elements were under their individual control (such as food, fuel, and making a living from the land) residents felt their way of living could be maintained regardless of changes in mainstream society, thus reducing a sense of uncertainty about the future in both the short and longer term. However, participants did not seek to create an insular community with no relationship to wider society. Indeed, many residents emphasized the importance of demonstrating the wider insights from this pioneering project, illustrating the possibilities of sustainable living in the hope that it may encourage others to make changes to their own lifestyles. As noted elsewhere (Shirani et al. 2015), however, wider perceptions that ecovillage life involves elements of communal living as well as privations and hardship could limit receptiveness to insights that can be gleaned from this way of life.

While visions of the future were an important aspect of the life choices of many ecovillage residents, it would be misleading to suggest that this was their sole motivation. This aspect is foregrounded here given the original perspective it can offer on the ability to sustain connections to the longer term in the everyday. The choice to live in a low-impact way was made for a variety of diverse reasons, including that it offered a positive environment for family life in the present.

The ecovillage example drawn on in this chapter has wider relevance through showing that choices for everyday living are not necessarily incompatible with addressing longer-term environmental concerns. Raising awareness of what actions can be taken in the present may help people overcome some of the uncertainty about what changes they can make in their current lives in an effort to address these future concerns. However, even at the ecovillage, where families are committed to energy and environmental issues, there are occasions when the demands of everyday family life took priority over longer-term environmental concerns. Recognition that families are dealing with these competing temporal priorities and more support for keeping future concerns in focus, in a way that is not experienced as overly pressurizing, is therefore an important challenge. Given the distinctive nature of the case presented here, the consistency with previous findings about the challenges of maintaining connections to the socio-environmental futures being created, makes clearer the continuing need for sustainability to be more strongly foregrounded across multiple aspects of daily life, with parenting and education representing two key areas where such issues appear to remain peripheral to dominant social and material structures. For sustainability challenges to be met (even partially) through widespread lifestyle change, it seems there remains a need to integrate sustainability so that conventions of parenting align with, rather than make difficult, sustainable lifestyles. The ecovillage case site offers initial insights into how some notions of “good parenting” do align with sustainability, such as developing the capabilities needed for children to make imaginative connections to environments, nature, and futures that could form the basis for a first step in decoupling ideals of good parenting from environmentally unsustainable practices.

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Intergenerational Sharing of Indigenous Environmental Knowledge in the Torres Strait

Karen Elizabeth McNamara and Ross Westoby

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Abstract

Torres Strait Islander communities are faced with ever increasing challenges related to changing weather variability and climate change impacts. These island communities have long managed their natural resources and effectively coped with and adapted to changing local climatic and environmental conditions. In particular, understanding local seasonal patterns and indicators, species behavior, crop planting times, and other environmental conditions has been a long held practice for Torres Strait Islanders. While climate change presents new sets of pressures and threats to maintaining sustainable livelihoods, this intimate local environmental knowledge should not be underestimated in its role in climate change science, policy, and action. This chapter describes a research project undertaken with community Elders, local primary school teachers, and young people on Erub Island, a volcanic “high” island in the Torres Strait but with significant infrastructure, housing settlements, and cultural sites located on the

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coastal fringe. This project worked with Elders to document their vast and diverse local knowledge, including details of the nesting and migratory patterns of birds, movement of the Tagai star constellation, and onset of wind patterns indicating certain planting or fishing cycles. This knowledge was synthesized into a local seasonal calendar. Working with the local school, both teachers and students, this calendar was then developed into a large school mural which involved the active participation of the entire school populace. Through this intergenerational process of knowledge sharing (from Elders' past and present knowledge), it is hoped that young people (who observe present and future changes) can monitor local environmental conditions and "read" landscape signals as a way of understanding and preparing for short- and longer-term shifts in the climate.

Keywords

Adaptive capacity • Climate change • Indigenous • Intergenerational • Local knowledge • Seasonal calendar • Torres Strait

1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to build on the growing body of work showcasing the contribution of Indigenous knowledge in monitoring and understanding changes to local environments. The chapter begins with an exploration of the evolving story of how Indigenous knowledge (past and present of Elders) is being increasingly incorporated into Western scientific understandings of environmental systems and change. This is emphasized within the context of climate change, given the susceptibility of the research study site to the impacts of climate variability and change. Building on this, the chapter explores the significance of young people as important agents in monitoring climate variability, as well as planning for, and adapting to, climate change. It is the premise of this chapter that past and present observations and knowledge from Elders can assist and act as a reference point for young peoples' present and future observations, monitoring of local conditions, and responding to such. The chapter then moves on to describe in detail the study site in which this project was undertaken: Erub Island in the Torres Strait region of Australia. A general overview of the island and some historical context will be provided to lay the foundation of the chapter. The chapter then explores the research aims and methods used for this project, each of the phases of which is described in detail. Following this, some of the Indigenous knowledge around seasons, migratory birds, winds, and other environmental indicators are presented. The process of synthesizing and assembling this information into a seasonal calendar for Erub Island is then explored. By outlining this knowledge, the chapter offers insights into how "reading" seasons and climate can be an important tool in monitoring and managing local environmental change, including climate variability and extreme weather events, now and in the future. The discussion explores some of the contributions of this project, including how safeguarded knowledge can be transferred to the younger generation through culturally responsive education and tangible activities involving art.

2 Environmental Change, Indigenous Knowledge, and Young People

There is certainty that anthropogenic climate change is now occurring. Communities across the world have already begun to experience the impacts of climate change, including increased mean temperatures, sea level rise, and more extreme and damaging weather events (IPCC 2013). According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the world's peak scientific body on climate change, Indigenous populations and those living on remote small island states are widely considered the most vulnerable to climate change impacts (Parry et al. 2007). This assessment is usually based on remoteness, existing social and economic disadvantages, and physical constraints of small island environments – factors that appear to produce a high level of exposure and sensitivity to environmental change and a low capacity to adapt.

The concern with such a characterization is that there is limited scope to then recognize, appreciate, and learn from the resourcefulness of these Indigenous communities and the ways in which they have adapted to past environmental change (Ford and Furgal 2009; Salick and Ross 2009). This is the pivot upon which this chapter rests. That is, despite limited access to goods, services, and economic opportunities, many Indigenous communities are resilient to climate-related events. This point emphasizes the intrinsic resilience and endogenous adaptive capacity held within many Indigenous communities, likely developed over many generations of dealing with environmental perturbations. Much can be learned from these communities that have long managed their local environments and have appropriately and effectively utilized coping and adaptive strategies in the past. As global forces increasingly impinge on, and break down, traditional languages, customs, and knowledge systems (McNamara and Westoby 2014), it is important to take heed of the message of Indigenous communities to safeguard what could be invaluable resources for our collective future (Indigenous Peoples' Global Summit on Climate Change 2009).

Indigenous people around the world have long-established environmental knowledge from adapting to environmental change and events, monitoring their surroundings, and managing natural resources (see Turner and Clifton 2009; Weatherhead et al. 2010). Deeply embedded in practice and belief systems (Berkes 2008), Indigenous knowledge is a crucial resource to further understand meteorology and climate and develop appropriate and sustainable community-based strategies to adapt to the impacts of climate change. These close interactions with land and sea environments can offer records of seasonal observations and coping mechanisms in response to environmental change, which can enhance adaptive capacity and resilience to climate change (Salick and Ross 2009). For Brodnig (2000, p. 4), local knowledge is not “static” as the information is continuously “renewed and revised” as it is passed on from one generation to the next. Each generation therefore “incorporates” its own set of local knowledge, observations, and experiences into renewed knowledge systems (Nicols et al. 2004, p. 69). These ongoing observations of changes in localized weather, seasons, and climate, particularly from Elders in Indigenous communities, offer an alternative knowledge set that is integral for future planning.

Scientific knowledge nomenclatures often stem from *outside* the community (Mercer et al. 2008). Drawing on a growing and substantial literature in this area, this chapter posits that responses to the impacts of climate change could be more effective if Indigenous knowledge and experiences were better understood and incorporated into climate change adaptation planning. In recent years, it has been acknowledged that Indigenous knowledge can enhance scientific understandings of climate change impacts and cost-effective, appropriate, and sustainable adaptation measures (Berkes et al. 2000; Riedlinger and Berkes 2001; Nyong et al. 2007; Ford and Furgal 2009; Salick and Ross 2009). Integrating this knowledge into climate change adaptation planning can also promote community-based participatory approaches and the formulation of culturally relevant and sustainable adaptation strategies to enhance the resilience of these climate susceptible communities (McNamara and Westoby 2011) and encourage communities themselves to develop and deliver solutions. Finucane (2009, p. 1) defends that “scientific knowledge is only one element of an effective risk-management process” for addressing climate change. Of paramount importance is that such ways of knowing are *internal* to communities (as opposed to external scientific sets of knowledge), which has allowed communities to develop an intimate understanding of localized conditions, patterns, and changes to their surrounding environment.

Despite the value of Indigenous knowledge, it has not been exhaustively acknowledged or integrated into policy and programmatic efforts to address climate change. For example, Srinivasan (2004) argues that policy makers in Bangladesh have rarely taken local knowledge into account, which has impeded the effective implementation of adaptation strategies. Similarly, Denton (2002) reveals that only modest efforts have been made to incorporate Indigenous and local knowledge into higher-level environmental policy outcomes in various locations. As a result of this, Salick and Byg (2007, p. 18) state that “local people may feel powerless and not responsible for combating climate changes, despite their own vivid experiences of climate change.” As these examples show, there is a greater need for the inclusion of Indigenous concerns and knowledge, woven together with scientific knowledge, when developing and implementing climate change adaptation initiatives.

At the international level, the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (Parry et al. 2007) acknowledges that Indigenous knowledge and practices for coping with extreme weather events can effectively contribute to the development of culturally appropriate strategies for preparedness and adaptation. During the Indigenous Peoples’ Global Summit on Climate Change (held in Anchorage, Alaska, in 2009), participants called for action by the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change to recognize the importance of Indigenous knowledge and practices in developing strategies to address climate change. Recently, representatives from the Indigenous Rights Organisation shared their experiences of climate change at the international negotiations in Doha, Qatar, in late 2012. Here, issues such as the need to acknowledge Indigenous knowledge were raised, including the critical importance of effectively involving Indigenous people in the international climate change negotiations and related activities.

Often placed far from the center of the agenda in planning and adapting to climate change are young people. Young people are often perceived as passive victims (Cannon 2008). A growing body of evidence from disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation theory and practice is showing young people's agency to plan, prevent, cope with, and adapt to climate change (see Peek 2008; Tanner et al. 2009; Walker et al. 2012 as examples). According to Haynes and Tanner (2013, p. 2), young people can participate in a number of ways including:

- Contextualizing knowledge, using analytical tools and prioritizing action
- Advocating and mobilizing, building coalitions with parents, community members, and other stakeholders
- Conceptualizing, designing, and implementing projects that tackle climate and disaster risk pertinent to children's lives
- Communicating risks, sharing and contextualizing knowledge, building credibility and trust, and persuading others to take action

Young people are the present and the future. They are a resource and have enormous capacity to make changes both now and when they grow into adults. Building on such, this chapter argues that young people can and will be important seasonal and climate knowledge observers. This knowledge will mutually reinforce or challenge other scientific observations. At its core, this project was about sharing Elders' knowledge about climate and seasons with young local people and safeguarding it for future generations so that they have a point-in-time reference of past and present climate and seasons. It is then hoped that this intergenerational knowledge transfer will enable young people to monitor and observe environmental change as they grow up and, through their engagement with cultural practices of "reading" landscapes and seascapes, allow them to better advocate, mobilize, and participate in adaptation planning and actions. In presenting this overarching goal, however, it is important to take on board and acknowledge the critique of Smith (2013), who argues for a crosscutting intersection between development geography and children's geography. In this vein, this project did not aim to reinforce dominant local knowledge (held by Elders) that might contradict and marginalize young people's knowledge. This was justified through observations that the local knowledge of Elders mutually reinforces that of scientific evidence relating to shifts in seasons and climate and what young people are taught through the "official" science school curriculum.

3 Study Site: Erub Island, Torres Strait

The Torres Strait region is located between the tip of Cape York on mainland Australia and the southern coastline of Papua New Guinea. The region traverses across more than 48,000 km² of land and sea country, with over 100 islands scattered throughout. The Torres Strait Islands are incredibly diverse, both physically and culturally (Jones et al. 2008). Based on the 2011 census, there were 7,489 people

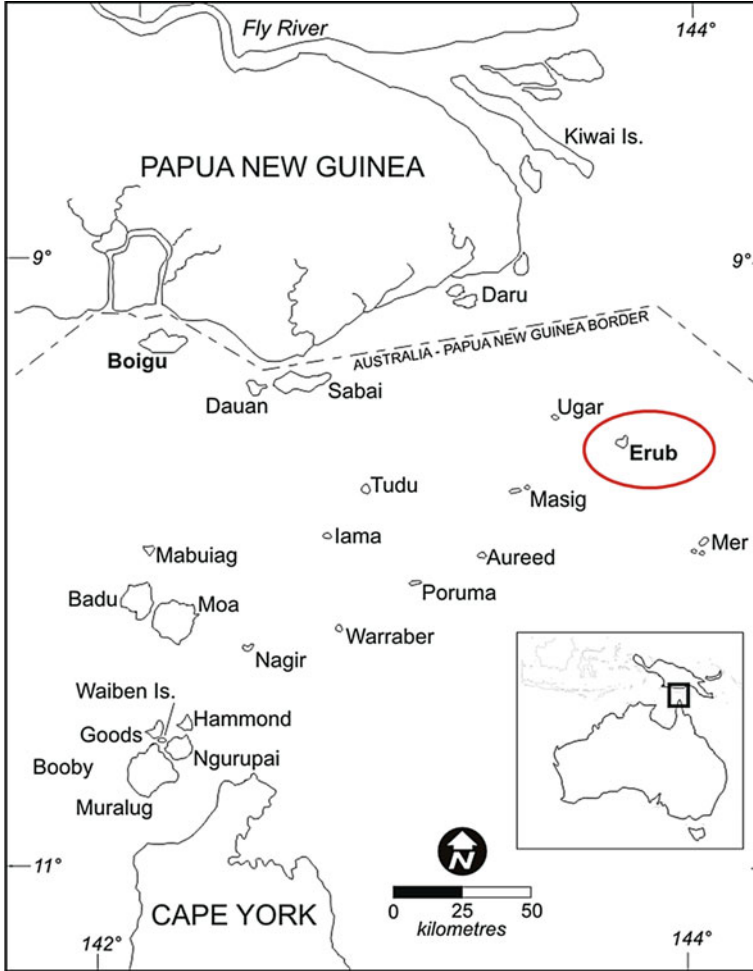


Fig. 1 The Torres Strait region, showing the location of Erub Island (Source: McNamara et al. 2011)

living in the Torres Strait Islands with 5,921 of these people being of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander heritage (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011).

Erub Island (Fig. 1) is located 185 km east of Thursday Island in the Eastern Group of islands in the Torres Strait (9°17'S, 142°12'E). As a volcanic island, basaltic slopes rise steeply from the coast to an elevation of 181 m above sea level. The island covers an area of 570 ha, much of which was previously covered in dense vegetation, now replaced by grasslands due to anthropogenic modifications of the fire regime (CONICS 2010). There is also a strongly held belief by locals that they are the traditional owners of Bramble Cay, which is a small, sandy cay 45 km northeast of Erub Island that hosts large booby bird and turtle populations, especially during egg-laying season.

Atypical for the region, Erub is a “high” island. Regardless of its high elevation, significant infrastructure, housing, settlements, and cultural sites lie on the low coastal fringe. The location of these settlements and other community infrastructure is common throughout the region (Australian Government 2009). Rocky headlands largely make up the coastal fringes around Erub Island with a small number of pocket beaches.

In 2011, 376,400 people were living on Erub Island, mostly concentrated in seven of the eight villages scattered along the south and southwest coast (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011). The traditional language, Miriam Mir, is still spoken, but Yumplatok (Torres Strait Creole) is the dominant language used (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011). Villages are located according to traditional clan land ownership along the coast, often appearing to merge so that to an outside observer they seem to be a single settlement. All of the houses on Erub Island are public housing. There are 4.4 people living, on average, in each household, and the median age of Erub’s population is young at just 24 years (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011). Less than 15 % of the population is over 55 years.

People from the eastern islands of the Torres Strait, including Erub Island, are well known for their gardens and subsequent produce from the rich and fertile volcanic soils (Beckett 1987). However, interest in subsistence-based gardening has been declining as the local store, supplied with goods from mainland Australia, increasingly provides the bulk of people’s produce needs. This trend and the accompanying shift away from large-scale locally grown produce is commonplace throughout the region. Despite this sociocultural change, specialist knowledge about gardening still exists among the Elders on the island – some of which has been documented as part of this research. Subsistence fishing and hunting for use and exchange remains an important activity on Erub Island. From interactions with locals, many young men continue to go out fishing, and a small number of young people have shown interest in reconnecting with traditional gardening practices.

Life on Erub has changed substantially since the late 1800s. This can be attributed to two major events. The first was the establishment of the pearl and *bêche-de-mer* (sea cucumber) industries in the 1860s and subsequent migration of Pacific and Asian workers to the island community. The second major event was the arrival of the London Missionary Society in 1871. The historic neglect of Indigenous knowledge systems as a result of the above, as well as racism, ethnocentrism, and modernisation in the last 200 or more years, has impacted local culture and traditions. According to Johannes and MacFarlane (1991, p. 82), Erub locals acknowledge that these events resulted in some “loss of traditional customs.” For instance, the church consolidated the population to a central mission on the south coast, which resulted in people moving away from their traditional lands and on to lands traditionally owned by others. Despite these enormous pressures, Erub Island has tried to maintain its identity, culture, and knowledge systems.

As alluded to above, there is a youth bulge in Erub Island’s population profile. This project is therefore even more pressing because young people will in the future be planning for, and adapting to, climate change in their community. Given the historical oral tradition of the Erub people, our focus on Elders sought to actively

generate intergenerational sharing of Elders' knowledge. This project was about supporting Elders, often seen as gatekeepers of knowledge, with their role in transmitting cultural and other knowledge to young people (Warburton and Chambers 2007). From this starting point, young people can in turn integrate this traditional (Elder) knowledge with scientific knowledge (gathered through the school curriculum) and importantly with their own local knowledge to make sense of climate change in their unique contexts. But if this traditional knowledge is never recorded, they may lose this opportunity.

4 Research Aim, Objectives and Method

The overarching aim of this research project was to safeguard Indigenous knowledge relating to local seasons and environments and to foster a process for knowledge sharing between generations. A series of objectives also guided the research. The first was to document this knowledge through interviews (described below) and any secondary data sources. The second objective was to collate and analyze this knowledge. The third and final objective was to synthesize this knowledge into a seasonal calendar, specifically for Erub Island, and provide a way of sharing this with the local community, particularly young people.

Relevant secondary material was collated and used to see if the knowledge recorded had been replicated elsewhere. In this case, these materials were utilized to verify Elder accounts (see Sharp 1993; Edwards 2000; Queensland Government 2009). This secondary information, combined with the interview material, was then used to create a seasonal calendar for the island and transpose it onto a large mural for the local primary school. This research also drew on other work conducted on seasonal calendars in Indigenous communities throughout Australia (see Australian Government 2010).

Given the extensive amount of time required to develop trust and rapport with Elders to gather this specific environmental knowledge, just three Elders, representing two different local clans, were interviewed. These Elders were recommended by the community liaison officers at the Torres Strait Regional Authority and also the Erub Island community forum committee. These in-depth interviews, conducted in English, gathered information on the wet and dry seasons, trends in plant and sea life, fishing movements, planting and cropping times, bird nesting and migration patterns movement of Tagai – a constellation of stars in the southern sky that represent the creation deity, seasons and wind patterns, and other environmental or landscape indicators.

Unstructured, conversational interviews on land and sea country were deemed to be the most appropriate method of knowledge collection. The informal and open setting allowed fluid conversations to evolve (Dunn 2005). Building on Indigenous and feminist critiques of research-subject relationships and interviewing techniques, this project grappled with these issues as non-Indigenous researchers in a relationship with Indigenous communities. As Louis (2007) rightly argues, researchers have consistently failed to hear the concerns voiced by Indigenous research participants.

Wanting to avoid this at all costs, this project was guided by the need for Indigenous communities to actively participate and engage in the research agenda and drive the outcomes. According to Kovach (2005) and Sprague (2005), it is also critically important to maintain positive research relationships and capture multiple and diverse ways of knowing. Building on Smith's (2012) work, the knowledge elicited and safeguarded is not our commodity; rather, the evolving knowledge shared is a testament to Erub Islanders' experiences and a resource for current and future generations of young people. These experiences and knowledge sets have been documented in a series of reports that have been deposited in the Torres Strait Island Regional Authority, local council, and library. Furthermore, it is important to note that this project was under the overall guidance of the community who incorporated this knowledge into participatory and collective artwork and future learning avenues through the development of the mural and teaching curriculum at the local school.

The interviews were conducted during fieldwork visits (three in total) to Erub Island during 2009 and 2010. The first visit (September 2009) was a reconnaissance trip to develop initial relationships with Elders and local community members. The second trip (December 2009) involved the major data collection visit which entailed interviews, meetings, and fieldtrips to important sites on or around the island. The Elders involved in this project represented two of the four clan groups (Samsep Serar, Meuram Beuger, Perudu Waumer, and Saisarem Karr) on Erub Island.

Once the interview material was synthesized, two "cultural advisors" were recommended from the local school to review and provide feedback on the material collected in these earlier research trips. The feedback provided by these two Elders was invaluable and included necessary (albeit slight) modifications and further insights to ensure the knowledge assembled for the final seasonal calendar was appropriate and accurate. The third visit to the island (May 2010) involved further consolidation of the seasonal calendar material prior to finalizing the calendar and developing the mural, as explored in more detail below.

These phases contributed to the success of the seasonal calendar, including the mural. Following the completion of the mural, Tagai College (the local primary school on Erub Island) planned to turn this Indigenous knowledge material into lesson plans to teach the primary school students about seasons, changes, and environmental indicators. Again, this highlights the enthusiasm of the teachers and young people to participate in the mural production and take ownership of this project, knowledge, and outputs.

5 Documenting, Collating, and Analyzing Indigenous Environmental Knowledge

An old African proverb states that when an old knowledgeable person dies, then an entire library disappears (Grenier 1998). Knowledge is being lost with the passing of Elders:

Orally based knowledge systems lost in this way cannot be retrieved. It is only through documentation that the usefulness of [Indigenous knowledge] can become apparent and an improved understanding can be gained of the practices and conditions that lead to the breakdown and reestablishment of [Indigenous knowledge] management systems. (Johnson 1992, p. 11)

Safeguarding oral traditions as a source of cultural and environmental knowledge for young people was a major emphasis of this project. Oral history methods are being increasingly used to protect invaluable resources that would otherwise be lost. This project documented oral histories of weather and climate and traditional practices of reading landscapes and by its virtue sought Elders' perspectives of past and present experiences and knowledge.

This section details how three Elders (all in the latter stages of life) each described in interviews, on land and sea country, their knowledge of climate and seasons (Some of the findings presented in this section and the next appear in an article written on the same project (but from a different angle): McNamara and McNamara (2011).) Due to the unfortunate hierarchy that exists between researchers and the subject, particularly in intercultural research, utmost respect and rapport was built. To illustrate how the Elders described their seasons and land and sea country, a few examples have been provided below based on these interviews.

One Elder described the weather and how it has been changing over the last few decades:

The weather pattern, the weather change again. When I was a young boy, the weather was like this; wind, the tide and the rain, but since 1960 or '61 it started to change. . . That weather been changed. The tide also, in that time, south-east wind will get high tide during the night time (Elder, pers comm.).

This Elder discussed the changes to weather patterns and also his observations of specific changes such as higher tides and declining coral reef health. Another Elder mentioned climate change and how seasons have been shifting:

Whereas previous generation hardly seen change because of no greenhouse effect. The water was nice and clean and air. . . So we knew now that scientists are definitely telling the truth there's a rise in the sea level, because we see the changes (Elder, pers comm.).

For this Elder, rising sea levels was a key change that he has witnessed on Erub Island. Based on numerous informal conversations with locals, this too was a core concern for the community, especially given the extensive housing settlements and infrastructure located on the island's low-lying coastal fringe.

In terms of recognizing indicators in the landscape, the key example given by the Elders interviewed concerned the changing of seasons. Elders spoke of various indicators to illustrate the beginning of the monsoon, including the migration of particular bird species, logs floating in the ocean, down from Papua New Guinea, emergence of small clouds, ripening of mango and sorbi (red fruit tree), shifts in

tides, and changes in the night sky. One Elder described the role of the frigate bird as an indicator of the start of the monsoon season on Erub Island:

They [frigate birds] on the monsoon time: yeah, monsoon, when we see them come low, we know monsoon come close, when they way up in the sky that's sager time [which refers to the south-east trade winds]. They always glide and there small one on top. Sager is the south-east. Then they fly way up in the sky, then when north-west time now they come low. We know north-westerly (Elder, pers comm.).

This Elder emphasized the pivotal role of the frigate bird in indicating an important seasonal shift for Erub Island. The start of the monsoon brings with it a number of follow-on impacts including a greater frequency and intensity of rainfall and possibility of extreme weather events.

In another interview, an Elder explained when the northwest or monsoon season (Koki) begins:

When you see the Maidu [a type of tree] go sailing past here non-stop, that's when the tide is flowing out of the Fly [River], empties into the Torres Strait because they [Papua New Guinea] get the north-west first (Elder, pers comm.).

The Koki season is from about January to April each year. The importance of Papua New Guinea's role as an indicator of the impending northwest season is further illustrated by this Elder:

You can see the lid lid [small clouds] they sprang out of the horizon, and they disappeared, the lid lid they're linin' up [Elder sings in Miriam Mir] a bit of lightning, you can listen the rumbling from Daudai, New Guinea men land. It's all happening (Elder, pers comm.).

This Elder, during the interview, sang a traditional song in Miriam Mir, which functions as a "seasonal map" of the impending northwest season:

Well it [the song] tells you about the beginning of north-west, you know the things that started to come into play, the clouds the wind and the thunder, they all usher in the new north-west. The big tides during the lull, the mango is ripening, the sorbi is ripening, they're all the signs that the north-west is coming (Elder, pers comm.).

A variety of indicators are used, according to this Elder, to recognize the changing of seasons such as clouds, wind, and ripening fruits.

The importance of astral and marine activity as indicators of seasonal change was also emphasized by this Elder:

When they start to get the little rollers [clouds] on the beach, it's flat calm, and they watch the stars, when the top stars, they twinkle more quickly, when the others more slowly it tells you something. Anyway he read all the signs and said it's gonna blow shortly, and then they start to get the rollers (Elder, pers comm.).

For this Elder, there are a variety of seasonal indicators in the landscape to draw from, which can be used, for instance, to understand when to plant, fish, crop, or prepare for the wet season.

These Elders also provided detailed descriptions of bird migratory patterns and the mating season of turtles. One Elder provided the following description of the “weather bird”:

When we seen sorts of birds come up here, coming in a group or something, we know the change of the weather, you see them birds come out here. They fly right up in the air there, right up. We know that’s good weather right up there but, if they’re down here lower, you know there’s strong wind: they sort of weather bird (Elder, pers comm.).

In terms of other indicators, this Elder described the time for turtle mating and the best times, according to this mating, to hunt:

Turtle the same as everything. Turtle doesn’t come any time. They got season for it, when it gets toward Naiger [northerly winds], that’s the time for turtle for mating. Before the mating season we always go for the male one. They got more fat and more meat, better. After mating or time of mating they after them female ones. . . The prevailing south-east, that’s the time you look for the male one. So, when we catch a female one during the time we let it go. . . We learn from the older people, care for them too, not too greedy on it, just take enough. Out in the seas like a butcher to use, we got fish, turtle, dugong and crayfish and then we go up in the garden and get all other stuff. That’s how our life been, we live from the sea and from the land, you know (Elder, pers comm.).

This Elder illustrated how to “read” the sea country for signs, which indicate, for instance, when to go out turtle hunting.

This knowledge remains significant for Erub Islanders as subsistence fishing and hunting for both use and exchange is an important activity for the community. For this Elder, the ability to “read” landscapes is important to help connect young people to country and, through such connection, ensure it is respected. In discussions about “caring for country,” this Elder described the traditional laws on the island, for people to respect and live in harmony with their land and sea country:

All island laws, them natives are perfect in them laws, it didn’t happen overnight, it took them blood, sweat, tears to put them things for so many generation in place and when they were in place, everything ran. . . The laws they said, you got time for eat certain things; certain things you got around the calendar and you give everything a chance to rejuvenate or reproduce. . . Everything has survived because you stuck to the calendar, them ancient people. . . When them things are left, when you’ve got a simple law from Eastern Island; it mean take enough and only enough, you got more day tomorrow (Elder, pers comm.).

For this Elder, such environmental knowledge and traditional laws, based around leaving enough for tomorrow, needed to be passed on to the young people so that they too could listen to, and read, their country. Listening to country and reading landscapes are often considered to be the hallmark of Indigenous science (Cajete 2000). For Berkes (2008, p. 161), reading country is part of “ways of knowing,”

which can then be applied to care for and provide custodianship of local environments.

Of further interest has been the ways in which knowledge about seasons has been both stored and transmitted through other forms of oral tradition, most notably in song. While on Erub Island in November 2009, one of the authors came across a book in the local library on “Songs from Darnley Island” (Edwards 2000). From this book of songs, the majority of which are written and sung in traditional language (Miriam Mir), a number were about changing weather patterns and seasonal shifts. One of these songs was called “Metalug Nole Wagkak,” meaning “Calm weather, then South-Westerly Winds.” The song referred to the end of the wet season and indicated that at this time the wind drops and sea becomes calm. With little rain also during this season (the dry season), the grass becomes dry and fires emerge. With the rain and wind playing an important part in how and where Islanders live and make a living, along with song and dance, it is no surprise there are songs from Erub Island denoting changing seasons. Another song was about the rain and wind, titled “Irmer,” meaning “Rain and Koki Wind.” This song was concerned with the wet season and northwest wind. Both the wind and rain play a pivotal role in the sustainability of livelihoods on Erub Island.

6 Synthesizing and Sharing Indigenous Environmental Knowledge

Following on from the three interviews, the information and knowledge of seasons and wind patterns, bird migration, plant and sea life, and the Tagai star constellation were compiled into a table (based on the 12 months of the year). This information was then further compiled into the shape of a 12-month calendar. The seasonal calendar produced was based around the familiar 12-month Western calendar. The Elders requested this design, given that the majority of people on the island, particularly the younger generation, follow the 12-month calendar. While the final seasonal calendar indicates the 12 months as the major time intervals, the researchers made particular effort to work with time intervals that Elders most recognized. Figure 2 provides a detailed illustration of the final seasonal calendar.

This project was guided by those involved. As such, it turned into one of action and tangible outcomes. Based on the desires and recommendations of those involved, including the school principal and teachers, it was decided that the seasonal calendar should become a teaching tool. These stakeholders developed the idea of a mural as a way of actively involving the students at the local school. As emphasized by one Elder:

This knowledge needs to be taken to the school: the parents need to bring in the children to see their environment and they respect and learn laws, what traditional law connects to it (Elder, pers comm.).

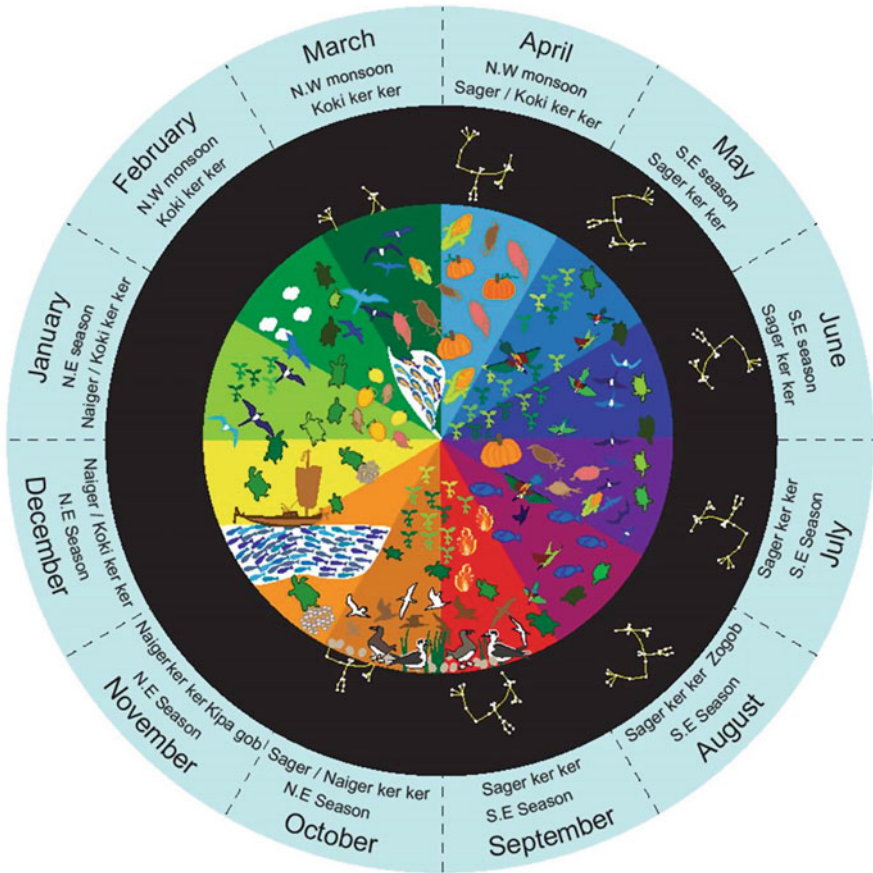


Fig. 2 The final seasonal calendar for Erub Island (Compiled by Emma Davidson). The *outer circle* indicates the time of year, the *middle circle* shows the movement of Tagai, and the *inner circle* summarizes some key seasonal indicators (such as clouds, bird nesting and migratory patterns, turtle nesting, and when to plant crops and fish for certain species)

For this Elder, such environmental knowledge, including laws to sustainably manage resources, was not part of the school curriculum, which was of significant concern. For him, young people, regardless of gender, age, or family status in the community, should all have the opportunity to learn and engage with this local environmental knowledge.

Incorporating the ideas of these community members into this project was critical in considering and addressing the provocative and yet critical question posed by Jones et al. (2008, p. 2351): “why should Torres Strait Islanders support and participate in research if they do not see clear benefits in doing so?.” The development of *both* the seasonal calendar and mural provided a clear pathway, whereby



Plate 1 Images of the development of the mural (*left*) and the final mural (*right*) (Photos: Emma Davidson)

both the researchers and participants could work cooperatively to produce tangible learning and sharing outcomes that spanned generations.

As mentioned earlier, during the final fieldtrip to Erub Island in May 2010, the seasonal calendar was finally consolidated and a mural of the calendar (in a more simplified form) was built onto one of the outside school walls (Plate 1 documents the creation of the mural and final product). The mural was 2.5 m in diameter made from marine plywood. With the assistance of the local school and art center on Erub Island, the school children were involved in assembling the mural. All of the island's clan totems were cut out of craft wood, which were then later fastened to the mural. Every student at the school painted one of these four totem animals – tern bird, booby bird, frigate bird, or parrot fish – or a green turtle (a sub-totem for all of the four clans on the island).

7 Discussion

In terms of the impact of this project, there are a few key contributions to the community on Erub Island and also contributions to the literature. These contributions include the important safeguarding of Elders' knowledge, the transfer of this knowledge to younger generations, the potential for enhanced adaptive capacity, a sense of empowerment, and also a pedagogical contribution. Each of these will be briefly discussed in turn.

The safeguarding of knowledge from Elders cannot be overstated. As articulated previously, the loss of a wise Elder in an oral history culture is like the loss of a library. Documenting and verifying this knowledge through cultural informants can safeguard it for current and future generations. In other research that we have undertaken on Erub Island, and elsewhere in the Torres Strait, young people expressed their appreciation of the value of local environmental knowledge and the importance of its intergenerational transfer (McNamara and Westoby 2011). As stated by one young islander:

I think it's very valuable for the Elders to pass on traditional knowledge down to the younger generations while they still are alive in the community, especially regarding our seasons, change in this area of the Torres Strait, and how we understand. (Young Islander, pers comm.; quoted in McNamara and Westoby 2011, p. 898)

For a number of young people, there was significant value in learning this local knowledge to understand seasons and landscapes and sustainably manage local resources. This project therefore ensures a written and physical artifact to be preserved for present and future generations – at a point-in-time so that shifts over time can be observed.

This project contributed to knowledge transfer from older to younger generations and this is a critical process in cultural maintenance. This knowledge allows for the Erub people to continue valuing their capacity to intimately understand their local environment and ensure that present and future generations maintain that connection. An extremely receptive local teacher fraternity drove this agenda. This in turn allows for changes in the environment and climate to be carefully observed which in turn enables more appropriate and effective planning for the future.

Such a process ensures that Erub Islanders, particularly the younger generations, can resist the prevailing orientalist mentalities that “Anglocentric” knowledge and science are the only valuable knowledge. Instead, Islanders can feel empowered that their knowledge is valuable, useful, and equally important both now and for future planning in a climate-changed world. As Apple et al. (2003) argue, the official knowledge that is taught – created by the State – ascribes to hegemony of the day. Importantly, this project supported the process of Torres Strait Islanders’ contesting whose and what knowledge is valuable. As mentioned earlier, the knowledge that was safeguarded and transferred does not undermine what young people may learn through school-based curriculums. Yet it does enable alternatives to be equally considered and, importantly, used by young people.

The use of art, including murals, theater, and participatory video, as a tool for education, engagement, health, and empowerment among children and youth has been well documented. Increasingly, theater and participatory video are being used as means to engage young people to prepare for climate-induced disasters and longer-term climatic shifts (Mitchell et al. 2008). The interactive mural that was constructed, with the participation of young people, is another example of engaging young people in climate change-related issues through creative means. Furthermore, mnemonics such as these act as triggers for future cohorts of students to also learn

about, and engage with, this knowledge of seasons and reading landscapes. Among Indigenous communities, this is even more important, where young people may be more likely to be disengaged from the education system (Ewing 2010). Although not the initial intent of this project, this mural production, and the subsequent curriculum development to follow, will allow for continued engagement with the artwork – for the adult community of Erub Island, who use the school as a hub of social interaction, and also for the children and youth. This aligns closely with what Kostogriz (2011, p. 25) argues as balancing “the two key rights of indigenous people – the right to access mainstream knowledge and language through the provision of empowering education (redistribution) and the right to sustain their own languages and cultures through culturally responsive education (recognition).”

Such a process aligns closely with Freire’s and Gramsci’s work on education and learning across generations as being critical and emancipatory (Fischman and McLaren 2005). Working with the school and involving children in art that engages them with their culture and shows the value of their people’s knowledge can give an increased sense of pride and dignity for their people. The incorporation of these learnings in the school curriculum ensures that this knowledge is restored as valid and important and parallels the other curriculum that is governed “from above” (the nationwide Australian school curriculum).

This participatory project was driven by a need to document and safeguard local environmental and climatic knowledge to assist in future adaptation planning. In attempting to make this project emancipatory, this project’s overarching contribution has been to enhance culturally responsive education and support its recognition on Erub Island for young people.

8 Conclusion

The involvement of the school principal, teachers, and students was paramount to the success of this project. With such support and involvement, the seasonal calendar will now be used as a component of the teaching curriculum for the school. The production of the calendar into a large-scale mural on the school wall acts as a mnemonic to trigger discussion and learning for present and future young people on the island. This has a twofold benefit. First, it provides another way for students to learn about the importance of these local species: in the broader landscape, as environmental indicators, and as integral parts of ecosystem functioning. Second, it is likely that this hands-on participation, which mnemonics such as these enable, provides another way for students to access and recognize the knowledge that is held by community Elders, which they wish to share with all young people.

This project was also useful in the process of valuing culturally and locally grounded knowledge in the school setting where reading land and sea country can be transferred across generations. Seeing cultural and local knowledge as valuable and incorporating culturally responsive education challenges the dominance of mainstream education. The local teachers and young people saw the importance of this, and by doing so this project has overcome some of the tendencies of Western

researchers to conduct research “on” Indigenous people instead of researching and collaborating “with” Indigenous people. While the seasonal calendar was the core objective of this research funding, the final outcomes of this project contributed in positive yet initially unexpected ways.

It is hoped that this project makes a contribution toward deepening our understanding of the interconnectedness between Torres Strait Islander livelihoods, culture, and their local environment. The long tradition of Islanders to “read,” understand, and listen to landscape changes reflects their close relationship with their island and land and sea country. This knowledge value adds to our understanding of the impacts of climate change at the local level. As such, the intergenerational transfer of this knowledge and ways of “reading” landscapes is critical to further understanding the impacts of climate change and appropriate adaptation responses. The collation and sharing of this knowledge with the younger generation provides another avenue by which knowledge about seasons, landscapes, and environmental indicators, specific to Erub Island, can remain useful and alive. Recording and safeguarding this knowledge before it is lost ensures that young people – present and future – have a wide range of resources upon which to draw to monitor and manage resources and understand and prepare for environmental changes now and in the future.

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Changing Aspirations, Education, and Migration: Young People's Declining Agroecological Knowledge in Rural Asia

24

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Abstract

This chapter explores the interrelationships between economic change and environmental issues, by showing how aspiration, education, and migration are variously connected to a loss of agroecological knowledges for rural young people. It reviews a series of case studies from Vietnam, India, and China on the implications for rural youth of changed aspirations and ecological and economic stress. The economic and cultural pressures of globalization mean young people increasingly aspire for a life outside of agrarian- and natural resource-based livelihoods. A consequence of this change has been the migration of young people to urban centers and a drive for families to invest in education. This has far-reaching consequences for communities. Those who stay behind face an increased labor burden, and economic pressures can be aggravated when the

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promise of improved livelihoods outside is not realized. The chapter also points to the negative implications of these changed aspirations on the intergenerational transfer of agroecological knowledge. Thus, in relation to issues of environment and development, the chapter considers why this complex set of relationships between aspiration, education, and migration is important in the context of children and young people's lives.

Keywords

Migration • Youth • Education • Agroecological knowledge • Labor

1 Introduction

The combined processes of ecological degradation, climate change, and economic pressures wrought by globalization are putting rural communities in Asia under new patterns of stress. This is leading to changes in the aspirations of young people, who increasingly foresee futures outside of “traditional” livelihoods such as agriculture, livestock rearing, or fisheries. This chapter draws together three case studies from recent research in highland areas of Asia as well as insights from elsewhere in the region, charting the impact of young people's changing aspirations and exploring how such aspirations affect young people themselves, their families, and the wider community. This review identifies how changed aspirations among young people are driving the out-migration of youth, partly as a result of increased investment in education leading to a search for skilled or semiskilled work away from the land. This has far-reaching implications for communities and those who stay behind, including an increased labor burden for women and older people. Furthermore, investments in education often do not pay off for young people themselves. At a village scale, out-migration and investment in education are resulting in a decline in agricultural and ecological knowledge, with long-term consequences for rural communities as well as for young people themselves. While this chapter focuses on rural Asia, similar patterns have been found in other parts of the majority world and some of these will be included in the discussion where relevant.

This chapter begins by outlining the contexts in which young people's aspirations are changing and leading to the pursuit of alternative livelihoods which are different from those of their parents. It then considers the connections between aspiration, education, and migration before moving on to discuss the implications of these patterns of intergenerational change. In particular, the chapter looks at the impact on the older generation as well as the poor outcomes of increased education when it fails to result in well-paid employment options. Finally, the chapter pulls together each of the interconnected strands (aspiration, education, and migration) to show how this leads to a loss of agroecological knowledges. The chapter ends by reflecting on why this complex set of relationships is important for shaping rural young people's future livelihoods in the majority world.

2 Livelihood Stress and Changed Aspirations of Youth

Natural resource-dependent communities today are facing new patterns of livelihood stress due to economic, ecological, and climatic factors. Climate change has been shown to be a significant driver of change, yet it cannot be viewed in isolation from other factors rooted in social and political structures (Nielsen and Reenberg 2010). Pressures on livelihoods include human-induced environmental degradation (Sugden and Punch 2014), neoliberal restructuring (Crabtree 2004; Oya 2001; Sugden 2009), changing patterns of consumption (Liechty 2003; Rankin 2004), the rising costs of grain staples (Pant 2011), and poor terms of trade for agriculture (Sugden et al. 2015). Below, three case studies from highland regions of India, Vietnam, and China demonstrate how ecological and climatic stress are changing the aspirations of young people who increasingly seek a route out of agriculture.

China: The first case study is from South China focusing on fishing communities along the Beijiang river in the highland interior of Guangdong province, in the Shaoguan region (Liu et al. 2011b; Sugden and Punch 2011, 2014). Fishers on the river were historically a relatively marginalized socioeconomic group, and many lived on their boats, with some continuing this tradition today (Fengbo and Punch 2014). Up until the 1990s, fishing had been profitable for communities, but there has been tremendous economic change over the last two decades, with the expansion of Shaoguan city, rapid urbanization of the valley, and ecological decline of the river ecosystem which has led to a dramatic drop in fish catches. Along with sand mining which was mechanized in the mid-1990s, extensive hydropower development altered the hydrological regime and structure of the river bed, blocking the movement of boats and undermining the ecological balance. With industrial development and growing prosperity in the urban centers along the river course, pollution increased significantly, and the quality and quantity of fish declined (Sugden and Punch 2014). This parallels changes across China where common property ecosystems are increasingly under threat due to deforestation and industrial and urban pollution. It is estimated that 25,000 km of rivers did not meet the water quality standards necessary for aquatic life as of 2004, while irrigating land with polluted water is estimated to cost China's economy 7 billion Renminbi (approximately £700 million) a year (World Bank and SEPA 2007).

Today, fisher households still depend in part on the river resources, but ecological decline has meant that fishing is no longer sufficient to support a household on its own. This is compounded by rising costs of living which have gone alongside urbanization, particularly as households that previously lived on their boats move into government-built housing with added costs such as rent, gas, electricity, and water bills (Fengbo and Punch 2014). Increasingly young people are losing interest in their traditional livelihood, not only due to necessity but the changing opportunities. The resettlement of fishers in urban flats is accelerating this process (Fengbo and Punch 2014). Most young people, while supporting their parents with fishing periodically, mostly work in factories in the major Chinese urban centers or in

nearby Shaoguan city, and many migrate with their families on a long-term basis within the region (Liu et al. 2011b; Sugden and Punch 2011, 2014).

Vietnam: A second case study is from the Phu Yen valley of Son La Province in northern Vietnam (Do et al. 2011; Sugden and Punch 2014). The communities of this valley were traditionally dependent upon wet rice agriculture on the lower slopes and the cultivation of maize and root vegetables on the un-terraced and partially forested upper slopes. Land was held communally and in the 1950s there was a policy of collectivization, whereby land, labor, and other resources would be shared (Sikor 2002). However by the 1980s, economic problems facing the cooperative farms, combined with a growing influence of neoliberalism, led to a government policy of liberalization and decollectivization of agriculture resulting in growing class inequalities. Following the decollectivization of agriculture in the 1980s, control over forest lands in Son La Province was eroded leading to a rapid expansion of the cultivable area, while demand from the lowlands encouraged the transformation of forest land to cornfields (Sikor 2002). In the case study communities in Phu Yen, pressure on highland fields was aggravated by the flooding of the valley floor to create the Song Da reservoir. This led to high levels of soil erosion, while overfarming was reducing the fertility of fields, and climate change was making agriculture increasingly risky. An alternative livelihood activity – fishing in the reservoir – was also under threat due to soil runoff and rising turbidity and the use of unsustainable fishing methods by itinerant lowland fishers.

The monetization of the economy over recent decades and aspirations for consumer goods has resulted in a significant increase in living costs (see also Hoang 2011), and in the fragile highland, economy households can no longer meet their cash needs. In this context, young people increasingly look for employment in the lowlands, and given the relative remoteness of the region, migration on a seasonal or temporary basis is increasingly the only option.

West Bengal: The final case study is from West Bengal in India, in the Buxa hills of Jalpaiguri district, bordering Bhutan (Mishra et al. 2011; Sugden and Punch 2014). Livelihoods were traditionally dependent upon small-scale farming, forest-based activities, and labor for the forest department and in a dolomite mine. The closure of the mine in the 1980s and increasingly strict conservation regulations in the forest have made it increasingly difficult for households to subsist in the remote valleys of Buxa. During this period, many households in the hills relocated to the plains leading to depopulation. Today most income comes through wage labor, primarily for the government through the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA), and tourism, with a portion of households' subsistence needs being met through cultivation of maize and millet, livestock rearing, and fishing. Among the ethnic Dukpa community, seminomadic cattle rearing is widespread in the more remote parts of the hills. As in the other sites, there are high levels of out-migration among young people to urban centers such as Kolkata, Siliguri, and Delhi, as well as seasonal migration to Bhutan to work on construction and road sites.

The above three case studies are part of a large multi-partner European Commission-funded project, *Highland Aquatic Resources Conservation and Sustainable Development* (see <http://www.wraptoolkit.org/>). This cross-cultural study

explores aquatic resource use and the conservation and management challenges in highland watersheds of Asia. The project used a combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques, including a survey with 90 households at each field site. The interdisciplinary project team recognized that access to livelihood resources and aquatic ecosystems is mediated by structural power relations of class, gender, and age which impact differentially on the well-being of men, women, girls, and boys. In order to understand the gendering and generationing of intra-household dynamics, at each field site, ten focus groups were conducted separately with men, women, girls, and boys, ensuring that the voices of younger and older children could be captured as well as youth. This enabled the views of different social groups to be heard while also exploring gender- and age-specific issues.

Much of the data for this chapter was drawn from these focus groups which explored household divisions of labor, the distribution of resources, ecological knowledge, environmental and economic change, and aspirations for the future. Participatory tools (drawing from PRA: participatory rural appraisal) were used, such as livelihood activity rankings, timelines, and community mapping. At each field site, ten focus groups were carried out with men, women, girls, and boys, respectively, ensuring that the voices of younger and older children could be captured as well as youth.

3 Education, Migration, and Changing Work Roles

In the context of the increased stresses on traditional agricultural- and fishery-based livelihoods, rising cash needs, and the changed aspirations of youth, a universal trend across all three case studies is greater investment in formal education as households seek viable income sources outside of agriculture. To some extent, this reflects the recent global shift toward a prioritization of education in the majority world (Chant and Jones 2005; Crivello 2011; Morrow 2013). This section explores the links between aspirations, education, and migration for rural young people which can be seen across many parts of the majority world (Boyden 2013; Punch 2015a).

In the case study of northern Vietnam, education was considered a core source of wealth in four out of six wealth ranking exercises (Punch and Sugden 2013). This even disrupted the traditional preference for large families, with a few respondents stating that the ideal scenario was a small number of well-educated children. In the India case study, parents made considerable investments to pay for private school education for their children, for which they often had to migrate temporarily to urban areas far from the community. The prioritization of education was perhaps most significant in China, where small-scale fisheries were increasingly viewed as an unviable livelihood strategy.

Education is intricately connected to the incentive to migrate (Boyden 2013; Punch 2010). It is considered a route to better paid employment in urban centers, whether this is "white collar" professional work or skilled manual work. Wealth ranking exercises in both the Vietnam and China case studies considered skilled and full-time employment as an important way of differentiating richer from poorer

households (Punch and Sugden 2013), and in China, it was considered equally important to conventional measures of class status such as ownership of land or assets, making employment status a primary axis of inequality (see Liu et al. 2011a). Employment status set the basis for differentiation within the emerging working class, as well as offering the opportunity to enter what may be considered a “middle class” through acquiring a job with managerial responsibilities. Another link between migration and education identified elsewhere in the region is the use of remittances to fund the education of younger household members, as noted by Adhikari and Hobley (2012) in a case study from the hills of eastern Nepal. The connection between migration and education echoes research from other parts of the majority world, such as Bolivia (Punch 2015b) and West Africa (Hashim and Thorsen 2011).

In India, skilled work (locally or at a distance) was also considered an increasingly important source of wealth, even if it supplemented the “traditional” livelihood (Punch and Sugden 2013). In fact, it was one of the few opportunities for household-level income accumulation given that forest regulations and topography restricted the potential for agricultural expansion. Government jobs were reportedly much sought after, as well as employment in the service sector in the burgeoning urban centers of the plains. Young people directly attributed desires for an education with the prospect of a salaried job and aspirations to spend money on commodities such as shoes and clothes (Punch and Sugden 2013). This parallels the findings of a study in the nearby plains of southern Nepal and India’s Bihar state, which noted how more educated migrants were able to send higher and more regular remittances, allowing some families to lease their agricultural land to others and focus on other activities (Sugden et al. 2015). Similar findings have also been documented across the majority world (Veale and Dona 2014).

There is, however, an important class dynamic to investments in education as having a higher college education is a prerequisite for service sector employment. In India, for example, it was found that the percentage of households classified as “poor” in the wealth ranking that had a member with a higher college education was less than 10 %, with many households not attending school at all. The lower level of education for poorer households is likely to be due to the need for young people’s labor to maximize agricultural productivity and income. However, even when young people from poorer households do attend school, they face greater barriers to learning. For example, children from poorer households do not necessarily have the same capacity to “reduce” their labor contribution, instead facing a double burden of school as well as work. In the India case study, poorer children were found to spend a much greater portion of their day engaged in tasks such as tending livestock, while children from wealthier households could devote time for “home-work” (Punch and Sugden 2013). Some richer households in India even send their children to expensive private education institutions where they stay as boarders, removing them entirely from household labor responsibilities for part of the year.

In the China case study, all children attended the same state run schools and completed a 9-year compulsory education program. However, there was also a class dynamic as the educational level of parents affected the degree to which they could

support and guide their children through their schooling, affecting overall levels of achievement. Few fisher families' children were able to pass the national examination necessary to go onto higher education, and few went on to University when compared to wealthier farming households (Sugden and Punch 2011).

Some livelihood strategies of more marginalized socioeconomic groups were also found from the case studies to not be conducive to regular school attendance. This includes, for example, seminomadic livelihood strategies of the H'mong families in the Vietnam case study and Dukpa families in the India case study, who sometimes live in temporary dwellings while tending remote forest pastures and fields (Punch and Sugden 2013). Furthermore, schools in the more remote villages were often understaffed and offered a poorer quality of education (Sugden and Punch 2011). Thus, despite drives, such as the Millennium Development Goals, which have led to a higher quantity of schools, the quality of education in many parts of the majority world continues to be lacking (Boyden 2013).

It is important to note, however, that the difficulties in securing an education for young people from poorer households *do not* necessarily equate with a desire to remain in the community, as among the majority, the drive to migrate remains high regardless of wealth. While some of the more isolated communities such as the Dukpa in India and the H'mong in Vietnam had a lower incentive to work outside as they tended to receive lower returns from migrant work, young people nonetheless continued to see limited future in agriculture, fishing, and other traditional livelihood activities. Thus, it is apparent that there are two tiers of migrants, divided according to their income, educational status, and the nature of the work they do away from home (Punch and Sugden 2013).

An important explanation for the universal appeal among youth to migrate and/or leave agriculture is that the rationale is about more than just economic insecurity on the land. The desire to invest in education, or to migrate, while having an economic basis, is also led by the cultural ideologies driven by capitalist globalization, which are changing aspirations of youth (Crivello 2011; Veale and Dona 2014). Jeffrey (2008) notes how, across the majority world, images of middle-class success portrayed through the media are increasingly encouraging households from diverse social strata to pursue the schooling of their children and are causing young people to aspire to a different kind of lifestyle. This also parallels a study from Nepal by Liechty (2003) which identified a unique middle-class culture which was encouraging young people to pursue education and opportunities off the land, despite the limited scope of available alternative employment.

In many cases, the desire for cash to invest in consumer goods is one manifestation of these cultural ideologies which are driving migration. In the Vietnam case, the desire for luxuries was partially behind both out-migration and overexploitation of natural resources. Punch (2014) notes how, among Bolivian rural youth, migration offers young men in particular a source of personal income and allows them to consume luxury goods and assert a globalized "modern" identity. A study from the highlands of Nepal also illustrates how a globalized consumer culture is driven by the spread of the media and a regular flow of migrant workers, who return from the Middle East with a wide array of consumer items. The Gulf returnees' access to more

modern goods leads to a new generation of young people aspiring to purchase luxuries beyond the means of most farming households (Sugden et al. 2014). To some extent, processes of globalization facilitate the conspicuous displays of such commodities by returnees, which in turn increases the “status” attached to migration, encouraging the younger generation to aspire to find work abroad (see also Punch 2015b; Veale and Dona 2014).

This section has shown that young people from poorer households are less likely to go on to further education and may also struggle to complete secondary education. This in turn impacts upon their ability to secure better paid migrant opportunities. Nevertheless, rural young people from both richer and poorer households are driven to seek migrant employment because of the decreased viability of traditional rural livelihoods. This rejection of traditional pathways is partly the result of changing aspirations as young people see the more attractive possibilities to be gained via migrant trajectories.

4 Implications of Education and Out-Migration

4.1 Increased Labor Burden for the Older Generation

While it is clear from the three case studies that contemporary economic and environmental pressures are putting increased stress on rural livelihoods, what is the long-term outlook for both young people and the older generation? A first implication is that the dual process among youth of aspirations for an education combined with a desire to migrate or leave agriculture is creating a new set of pressures for family members who remain in agricultural- and fishing-based livelihoods.

An important implication of rising investments in education is its impact on how young people engage with work. Children in many majority world countries, like women, traditionally play an important role in the household economy, and this has been well documented in the literature (Dyson 2008; Klocker 2007; Punch 2007; Robson et al. 2007). Their work roles include household reproductive activities, such as looking after siblings, but also productive activities including tending livestock or harvesting from common property ecosystems (Dyson 2008; Katz 2004). Focus groups from the Asian case studies revealed that traditionally, children undertake reproductive activities such as sibling care, collecting water, cooking, or cleaning (Punch and Sugden 2013). With regard to productive activities, there are variations depending on the site. In Phu Yen in northern Vietnam, children traditionally started by supporting their families with livestock rearing and small-scale fishing, while beginning to help with core productive tasks such as tending fields as they get older. In the China case, children participated in activities such as repairing or emptying fishing nets but had a minimal contribution in other productive activities.

As more time is devoted to education and less to labor, among those who remain in communities, young people are spending less time supporting the family with work responsibilities on the farm, on the boat, or in the house. Across all three case studies, parents recognized how labor could undermine their children’s educational

prospects (Punch and Sugden 2013). For example, in Vietnam, parents allowed young people to reduce their work contribution as they get older and advance with their schooling. Similarly, in the China case, young people were excused from work during term time. There were of course exceptions. This reduction in labor responsibilities did not affect poorer households whose children did not go to school. Similarly, many children (particularly girls) continued to work while also pursuing their schooling, and this was particularly widespread among girls due to entrenched gender roles. There may, however, be more complex causes. Chant and Jones' (2005) study from Ghana and the Gambia suggested that young people feel a compulsion to contribute to family income if they are to make a legitimate claim to an education. Research across many majority world countries indicates that children and young people's engagement in work can also have nonuse values, such as the ability to play (Dyson 2008; Katz 1991), assert an image of responsibility (Dyson 2008), or corner some income for themselves (Punch 2007).

However, despite these exceptions, the eventual tendency to migrate (with or without an education) means that young people across class categories are leaving their homes at an earlier stage than in the past. Families therefore lose some of the highly productive labor contribution once offered by youth. This has a number of implications and can be seen particularly in the Vietnam and China case studies, where education appeared to be most valued and out-migration was highest (Punch and Sugden 2013). One group to be affected is adult women. Given the disproportionate role played by women in household reproductive tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and fuel wood and water collection, the declining contributions of children as they pursue education, and as youth migrate, is increasing their work burden. The "feminization" of agriculture has been well acknowledged in the literature, including the added stress it places on women who stay behind (Kelkar 2009; Lastarria-Cornhiel 2006; Song et al. 2009; Sujaya 2006). For example, a woman in the India case study considered that the financial status of the household is no better today when compared to when she was small and nobody attended school. However, the difference was that she needed to work harder than before so she could afford the school fees for the children and compensate for the loss of their labor (Punch and Sugden 2013).

Since it is boys whose labor is being withdrawn the most, particularly when they are most likely to migrate, there were instances of women taking on responsibility for productive tasks once considered the male domain, increasing their overall workload. In China, for example, father and son fishing teams were being replaced by husband and wife fishing teams, increasing the labor burden for women who already have significant reproductive responsibilities (Fengbo and Punch 2014). Similar results were evident in a study from the plains of Uttar Pradesh in India by Paris et al. (2005), whereby out-migration of young males means women are responsible for formerly male tasks such as carrying seedlings and harvesting rice, and laborers need to be employed for other tasks such as plowing, adding to the costs of production.

It is important to note, however, that it is not only gender which is important but age itself, with the older generation sometimes facing the greatest stress. This is

particularly applicable in China, where it is becoming more common for both boys and girls to migrate, leaving their parents behind, with parents or grandparents bearing full responsibility for labor on the boats as well as in the household (Fengbo and Punch 2014). Often, this hardship is aggravated by the decreased capacity of the younger migrants, both with and without an education, to offer financial support. In the China case study, wages in the growing cities combined with high urban living costs meant there was often little surplus cash for migrating youth to send home, particularly when they marry and have their own children to support (Punch and Sugden 2013). Newly married couples tended to work for long hours, just to support a child, and they often resorted to sending them home to live with their grandparents, further increasing the labor burden for the older generation at home. Without education or other resources, fishing was one of the few safety nets for the older generation to meet their basic needs (Fengbo and Punch 2014).

Similarly, in the Vietnam and India cases, migrants sometimes struggle to offer adequate support to their families given that much of the work available in cities is casual and insecure. There are also practical constraints, with villages such as Buxa lacking systems for transferring money home, resulting in long gaps when no cash is available. This constraint was also captured in a study from the plains of Bihar and Nepal, whereby wives of young male migrants would go for long periods without any cash in the household, rendering them dependent upon the land and vulnerable to exploitative labor arrangements at the time of a crisis such as a drought (Sugden et al. 2015). For females who stay behind, case studies from elsewhere in the region have identified challenges faced by women in actually accessing remittances, when they are sent in the name of male in-laws (Paris et al. 2005).

4.2 Failure of Education

A significant challenge for the young people who invest in education is that the expectations of future success do not always match the reality. A large number of households in all three case studies had invested considerably in educating their children, only for them to fail to find well-paid and reliable employment (Punch and Sugden 2013). This coincides with research by Jeffrey (2008), who divides majority world youth into three categories. The first group is the urban upper class with education in expensive universities who receive secure salaried employment. A second group includes those with limited education who are dependent upon manual labor, and a third group comprised of those with secondary school education but who are unable to find salaried work. While a large number of young people in the field sites will remain within the second group, particularly in the Indian site, it also appears that the third group is growing.

In all the sites, access to formal salaried employment was highly competitive. In the China case study, there was a perception that households did not have the necessary social networks to achieve well-paid employment in urban areas (Liu et al. 2011b), and even with a secondary education, many young people end up doing menial factory work (Punch and Sugden 2013). With regard to the Indian case study,

there is increased recognition in the literature of the growing class of educated unemployed youth, without the connections or quality of education to find professional employment (Ganguly-Scrase 2004; Jeffrey 2008, 2010). In the Indian case study site, it was noted how the expansion of salaried jobs was not growing at the same rate as the rising number of households with an education, causing households to question whether investments in education were worthwhile, given that menial migrant labor could give similar returns (Punch and Sugden 2013). In this context, providing an education for young people can put a significant stress on fragile livelihoods, particularly when some households have made significant financial sacrifices to send their children to school. For some, this leads to greater levels of debt and financial strain on rural households.

While specific circumstances differ across cultural contexts, there are some global similarities regarding high educational aspirations and the persistence of structural inequalities (Crivello 2011). For example, Boyden (2013) examines data on formal education, social mobility, and migration of young people in Ethiopia, India (Andhra Pradesh), Peru, and Vietnam. She concludes that:

All things considered, despite the current buoyancy of many developing-country economies, school-related migration does not guarantee the kind of adulthood many children and families aspire to, especially given the entrenched social hierarchies and restricted labour markets that frequently prevent the poor from accessing good employment. This raises the possibility that, increasingly, child migration for schooling may merely be reproducing or even heightening socio-economic inequalities, rather than mitigating poverty and economic insecurity. (Boyden 2013, pp. 595–596)

Across both majority and minority worlds, there is an increased emphasis on education for young people which is not necessarily leading to better employment (Punch 2015a). Mounting international pressure to educate majority world populations often ends in disillusionment and frustration (Jeffrey 2008; Morrow 2013). There is growing evidence from Africa (Chant and Jones 2005; Porter et al. 2010) and Latin America (Punch 2010, 2015b) that education is not fulfilling its promises in relation to increasing young people's livelihood opportunities. Similarly, in the minority world, young people are spending longer in education in order to attempt to secure better employment prospects (Punch 2015a). For example, increasing numbers of young people attend university in the UK and more are going on to postgraduate education because of the lack of employment for those with undergraduate degrees (Bynner 2005). Thus, globally, many young people experience elevated educational aspirations accompanied by limited employment prospects.

4.3 Decline in Agroecological Knowledge

A final implication of the changed aspirations of young people is the decline in agroecological knowledge and disengagement in natural resource management. To understand this process, it is necessary to consider the reasons why children contribute to household labor. The first most obvious explanation captured from the case

studies is that young people's labor contribution is required for households to meet their minimum subsistence needs (Punch and Sugden 2013). In fact, in Vietnam, having a large family is perceived to be advantageous due to the additional labor it would provide, allowing livelihood diversification.

A second and critically important reason for young people to engage in household labor is that it is part of their broader socialization within their surroundings and the acquisition of livelihood knowledge. Studies on gendered knowledge have identified how women often have unique environmental understandings given their dependence upon ecosystems (Agarwal 1992, 1998; Jewitt 2000). A similar principle applies for children, and their participation in labor enables livelihood strategies to be reproduced through time. Katz's (1991, 2004) study from Sudan and Abebe's (2007) study from Ethiopia, for example, note how children's interactions with the environment through work can give them the locally unique environmental and agricultural knowledge which is required to continue their parents' livelihood activities on the land. In the case study sites, livelihood-specific knowledge of the older generation was reportedly acquired through daily labor in the fields, forests, or rivers while they themselves were young. Today, this continues to some degree, and young people have a rich knowledge of the ecosystem, particularly in the more remote case study site of Buxa in India. Knowledge is transferred within and between generations by young people co-working with parents and/or siblings.

However, in China, where perhaps the greatest decline in young people's engagement in farm labor has taken place, young people have begun to lose some of the knowledge that in past generations would have been acquired through daily interaction with their environments. At the same time, parents feel less inclined to teach their children indigenous livelihood skills, preferring them to receive a formal education, with the hope of better salaried work in the future. In China, the level of young people's contemporary engagement in fishing activities is vastly different from the past generation, for whom work on the river would be a central part of the lives of children and youth. The older generation noted how they had a rich knowledge of the river's hydrology, ecology, and fish behavior from this early engagement in fishing when it was a more viable livelihood option. Today, however, young people's work contributions are primarily restricted to household chores and fishing knowledge is limited. Loss of these skills is not considered problematic by young people, given the growing stresses on their traditional livelihood strategy and the rapid absorption of the younger generation into the burgeoning urban proletariat. However, in South China given this is a relatively new shift away from a focus on fishing, it is not yet known what the longer term impacts will be. It may be that if increasing numbers of young people are unable to secure salaried work in the cities despite their education, they may be at a distinct disadvantage as they do not have agricultural knowledge to fall back on.

Such phenomena are not necessarily restricted to rapidly industrializing societies such as China. A study from a remote region of the eastern Nepali hills noted how migration due to climatic and economic stress meant that young people were uninterested in learning about new agricultural techniques or improving the land through investment (Sugden et al. 2015). The decline in the process of active

learning through work has sustainability implications, as rich knowledge of water and land resources is lost with intergenerational change. At a time of ecological stress and climate change, it is more important than ever before for the younger generation to be custodians of natural resources in their communities. Not only knowledge is under threat, but the potential for young people to play an active role in managing natural resources at a local level. There are, however, positive case studies. In the Indian case study, young people still appeared to display a rich knowledge of the ecology of the forest (Punch and Sugden 2013), while the above cited Nepal case presented examples of villages where migrated youth would return and invest their income on the land through, for example, improving irrigation infrastructure (Sugden et al. 2015).

5 Conclusions

This chapter has highlighted the increasing tendency for young people to study and migrate, which raises questions about both the financial and environmental sustainability of rural communities across fragile environments of the majority world. While the discussion has largely focused on rural communities across three Asian case studies in China, Vietnam, and India, similar tensions have been noted in other parts of the majority world. Processes of globalization, ecological pressures, and the increased importance placed on education have led to a desire for migrant incomes and a change in traditional livelihoods. As this chapter has shown, the prioritization of education and the lack of viable livelihood opportunities can result in increased frustration for young people. The desire for cash incomes and modern lifestyles is frustrated by the limited ability to secure well-paid, urban employment. For some rural households, this leads to an increased labor burden for women and older people as well as greater levels of debt.

The dual processes of increased educational aspirations and migration are interconnected but are not necessarily leading to improved livelihoods for young people. Many young people face high levels of uncertainty and unpredictability, particularly in a global context where the promises of education are failing (Jeffrey 2008). As Punch notes: “The failure of education in the Majority World can be on multiple levels in terms of access, quality and completion as well as as a way of acquiring formal employment” (2015a, p. 6). Across many parts of the majority world, young people face uncertain futures and “youth transitions are about processes of navigation, negotiation, shifts and change” (Punch 2015a, p. 4).

As Boyden (2013) notes, it is unclear what solutions are available. As well as increasing the quantity of schools in the majority world, the quality of education could be improved alongside greater flexibility and curriculum relevance. Nevertheless, as she points out, the near future offers little hope for change:

... ultimately, given the powerful societal processes at play in influencing educational aspirations, the growing commoditization of schooling and the history of child relocation

in many places, school-related child migration is largely beyond the scope of educational, or any other, policy. (Boyden 2013, p. 596)

Given the failure of education to lead to well-paid alternative employment for many young people across the majority world, it is interesting to consider why the number of young people seeking an education does not reduce. It could be because of the growing global pressure, such as the Millennium Development Goals, for countries in the majority world to educate their populations (Chant and Jones 2005; Morrow 2013) or because people believe it will still be better than trying to grapple with traditional pathways in an era of ecological and economic change. Whatever the reasons, this chapter emphasizes the necessity for policy to account for the complex transformations in how young people engage with their changing environments, the education system, and the household and wider economy. As Tanner (2010) has commented, in relation to research in the Philippines and El Salvador, children and young people are important risk communicators who can help to create behavioral change in their communities. Children's ability to contextualize knowledge in relation to their social and physical environment could be harnessed in order to develop child-led risk management practices. Thus, instead of perceiving children as victims of environmental change, there could be a shift to developing their potential as agents of change, as Tanner argues:

Risk perception and communication are central concepts in defining the ability of children's groups to mobilise both other actors and resources to reduce climate change and disaster risks facing their communities. Improved understanding of the cultural construction of risk, and of key actors, channels, messages and media within communities will therefore need to play an increasingly important role in future programmes aimed at increasing child voice and agency to tackle climate change and disaster risks. (Tanner 2010, p. 348)

This perspective is similar to that of Chuta (2014) who explored children's agency in responding to shocks and adverse events in Ethiopia. Chuta (2014, p. 17) emphasizes that development programs and protection mechanisms "need to consider how children experience shocks, not just how households experience them." In order to achieve sustainable beneficial change in the longer term, children's resilience and coping strategies need to be considered alongside those of adults. As young people's day-to-day interaction with the environment through work declines, policy makers should reconsider the education curriculum in rural areas of the majority world to ensure that it can foster social change. New educational strategies are required in order to disseminate locally relevant vocational knowledge that might enable young people to build on existing rural livelihoods or find suitable employment in urban areas. In particular, new ways should be considered to enable young people to develop traditional livelihoods that are adapted to processes of environmental change.

In the past, approaches to development were criticized for being male dominated and gender blind but now in the twenty-first century, gender issues tend to be integrated into most development thinking. In contrast, issues relating to age and generation continue to be marginalized in development. This chapter has illustrated how children and young people participate in important ways in the financial and

environmental sustainability of both their household and community, yet their contributions are often overlooked. Failure to incorporate children and young people's perspectives regarding environmental development can lead to negative consequences for their lives. Furthermore, as this chapter has shown regarding work and education, it is necessary to understand patterns of intergenerational change in order to assess the potential impacts of development processes across the life course. Given that children are an important social group who actively contribute to the well-being of their households and communities, development and environmental programs should seek children's own views about issues which affect them and incorporate their perspectives into action planning processes.

As this chapter has shown, partly as a result of the Millennium Development Goals, globally, there has been a growing emphasis on the education of young people (see also Punch 2015a). However, their increased educated status is not necessarily resulting in better paid urban employment which remains competitive with low wages and long hours. Hence, changing livelihood transitions of youth add to the burden of the older generations, particularly older women, in rural areas. Rural communities in many parts of the majority world are losing the traditional labor contributions of young people while not being compensated with remittances from well-paid urban jobs. Thus, a consideration of generational issues reveals the importance of exploring age relations across the life course as well as relationally between the generations.

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Children's Place Encounters: Place-Based Participatory Research to Design a Child-Friendly and Sustainable Urban Development

25

Karen Malone

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Abstract

Studies over the years on human-environment relationships have revealed a strong assertion that humans learn through engagement with their local places. But due to the increasing degradation of urban environments, there has been a progressive dehumanization of urban space, a dehumanization that has impacted particularly on children and young people who have seen their place-based encounters significantly limited. This chapter reports on the *Dapto Dreaming* project, a place-based participatory research project in Australia, funded by Stockland urban developers. The project supported young people to take on the role of environmental change agents in order to support a sustainability project in their local area. Using participatory research methods, children and young people from the Horsley community, a small neighborhood in a suburb south of Sydney,

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documented themselves walking and knowing the land, learning the history and geography of their place, and engaging with the materiality of the environment through their bodies. They used cameras, drawings, and mental maps and shared stories of their encounters with the human and nonhuman world. Drawing loosely on theories of place, the study focused on children's environmental encounters, place accessibility, and the affordances within places. Rather than impose an adult-centered theoretical deconstruction of the data, children collated, shared, and analyzed their own data. Through this process, children recognized how place could be responsive and specific to their encounters, and when planning a friendly and sustainable neighborhood, they sought to ensure it would be afforded those same qualities. More broadly, this case study reveals that children who are provided real-life place-based projects can adopt significant roles as environmental change agents.

Keywords

Children's place encounters • Environmental change agents • Place-based participatory research • Critical research • Environmental knowing • Sustainable urban development

1 Introduction: Children in Place

Adults, when asked to imagine themselves as a child – in a place from their childhood where they felt happy, safe, and secure – will frequently describe climbing trees with friends, building cubbies, and playing in the playground, mostly without adults around. They present an idealistic, romanticized view of childhood, where they reminisce on their own childhood freedom and bemoan its loss for children growing up in the twenty-first century (Malone 2007). In these discussions of the loss of a nature-filled childhood, contemporary children are often viewed as the most vulnerable humans in a “place.” This vulnerability is expressed in terms of the lack of specific planning for children's needs in neighborhoods and villages and the consequence of this lack for children's lives (Malone 2010). City children, in particular, are often perceived as confined to indoor environments that provide little opportunity for self-discovery or natural encounters, and where they have little opportunity for socializing or networking (Malone 2010, 2015). Proponents of child-friendly cities say society has a responsibility to provide, and it is a child's right to have a safe and healthy place to live (UNICEF 2001). But rather than just a “right” or legal obligation, it is worthwhile to consider the significance outdoor places have for children and childhood and to consider what effect the loss of “knowing” a place *well* might have in shaping children as adults. And while it is true around the world, whether in industrialized or developing cities, that many children are potentially growing up in crowded or polluted environments, research indicates children still seek out even the smallest of limited outdoor places for nurturing their ecological selves (Malone 2001, 2007, 2008b, 2013). In this way,

children's encounters with "place" are not only inherently valuable for their sense of well-being and health, but are central to how they learn what it means to be human, in relation to other humans and the more-than-human world. Places shape children and children shape places: "the experience of place cannot be separated from the person who lives in it" (Raittila 2012, p. 272).

Suburban spaces in Australia have long been viewed as providing healthy environments for children (Gleeson and Snipe 2006). Sipe et al. (2006) noted that historically, the aim of urban planning was to separate children from the social and physical decay of working class environments by supporting suburban housing development. Suburbs were seen to offer more safety from strangers, less congestion and traffic, and greater areas of open space for children to play. Place-based child researchers have also often asserted that suburban spaces potentially offer greater opportunities for children's independent mobility (Hillman et al. 1990). With greater mobility, children could meet other children; visit friends; travel to school; access community facilities; encounter animals, plants, and other environmental elements; and potentially have a healthier, active lifestyle. It is also believed that suburban life can increase children's environmental knowledge and competence and provide opportunities to be active in the social dynamics of neighborhoods (Kytta 2004; Malone 2007; van Vliet 1985). But this potential for suburban places to fulfill all these positive needs for children is not only reliant on quality planning but also on the culture of childhood that prevails in particular places. Recently, parental fears around "stranger danger" and other place-based risks have pervaded parental views of suburban life, and these have become significant in influencing the regulation of children's freedom (Malone 2007; Planning Institute of Australia 2007; Vichealth 2010). Building on this literature around children, mobility, and place encounters, the project this chapter focuses on drew on Kytta's (2006) positive cycles of mobility, access, and engagement along with Chawla's (2007) positive interactive cycles of accessibility, mobility, and engagement with the environment as shown in Fig. 1.

What these models illustrate is that for children to gain environmental knowledge and competence, they need two major conditions to be available in their environment. First, children need mobility and accessibility, the freedom to explore the environment. Second, children need a selection of responsive affordances and objects they can encounter and re-encounter over time. These encounters will then shape their relations with the human and nonhuman world, therefore, building their sense of intimate attachment to place, their own role in noticing and attending to the specifics of place, and their growing desire to actively nurture their own relationship to place. Therefore, the central argument articulated by Kytta (2006) and Chawla (2007) draws on the important role of childhood experiences of place as a foundation for building children's environmental knowing of and social competence in places.

Through the study of children living at Horsley, south of Sydney, this chapter argues that – as a consequence of having a childhood rich in environmental encounters and an opportunity to share those experiences with interested adults – these children took up the role of environmental stewards and change agents. As noted by

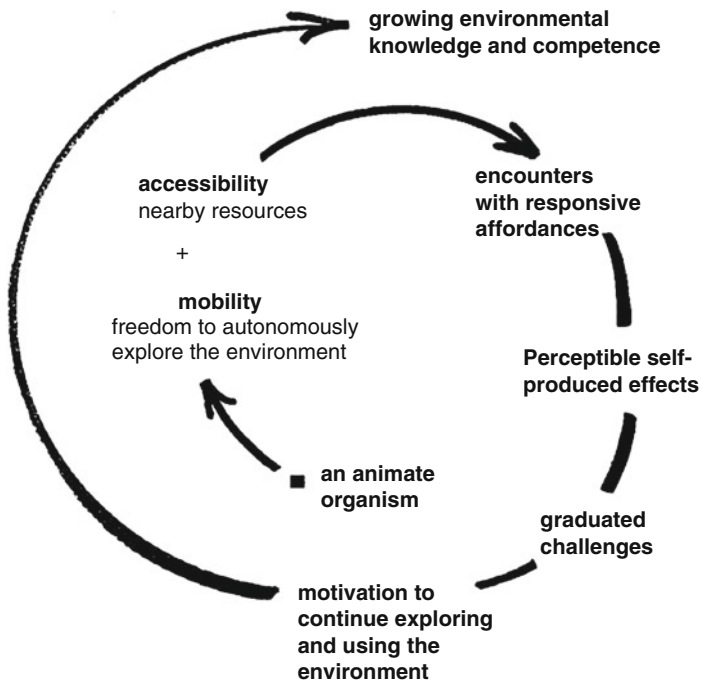


Fig. 1 Positive interactive cycle of accessibility, mobility, and engagement with environment (Source Chawla 2007, p. 155)

Sobel (1996, p. 39), “If we want children to flourish, to become truly empowered, then let us allow them to love the earth before we ask them to save it.”

This chapter presents a reflection on a study that focused on children’s ways of knowing and active participation in their local places. It begins with a brief literature review and theoretical framing of children and place, children’s knowledge in place, and children’s place-based participation, research, and agency. This literature provides the context for considering how, in one suburb in Australia, children’s encounters with place could inform their role as environmental change agents. The case study draws on a study of children growing up in Horsley, a small suburban community south of Sydney, where children came to develop a strong sense of place attachment, place identity, and environmental knowing – through their own self-initiated place-based encounters and in a school-centered place-based research project. The concluding comments lay claim to the view that by allowing children opportunities to engage in place-based encounters with humans and the more-than-human world, they develop a sense of who they are in relation to that world and can begin to comprehend and have sensitivities to such concepts as interdependence and sustainability. These ways of knowing, including Indigenous, socially critical, and new materiality perspectives, could be viewed as multiple ecologies of place and knowing, therefore incorporating an understanding of the complexities of

human-nature relationships and the different ways children in particular engage with their environments. The central argument in the chapter is that young people who develop these complex place-based environmental encounters and who are encouraged to take a central role in their communities as environmental change agents are contributing to a more sustainable future.

2 Children's Place Encounters

Studies over the years on human-environment relationships have revealed strong evidence that humans learn through engagement with their local places and encounters with diverse environments. Place is known through the interrelation between human and the environment (Massey 2005). (Kevin Lynch 1977) in his seminal work *Growing Up in Cities* argued that adults and children's knowledge of their urban environments correlated directly with their actual use and experience of place. But due to increasing degradation of urban environments, there has been a progressive dehumanization of urban space, a dehumanization that "has affected in particular children, who have seen their freedom of movement compromised" (Rissotto and Guiliani 2006, p. 76). In recent times, there has been significant debate about the impact of children and young people's loss of opportunity to engage with their local environments as part of their everyday community life (Rissotto and Guiliani 2006; Louv 2006). It has been argued that this move away from children being active and visible in their communities is the direct impact of a culture of risk, fear, and litigation (Malone 2007; Freeman and Tranter 2012). The contemporary trend of keeping children indoors or behind fences has been deemed problematic in light of current childhood research which states that *not allowing* children to engage in independent mobility and environmental learning is detrimental for them. Limiting children's outdoor learning means they are not developing the environmental literacy, risk assessment skills, and resilience they need to be safe and confident when managing the more complex environment urbanization now presents for them (Gill 2007; Malone 2007).

Beyond issues of environmental literacy, arguments have been presented that this change in children's everyday activities in their community, especially in highly developed countries, has health implications. Children in the future may die younger than their parents' generation, due in most part to poor physical and mental health seemingly attributable to their sedentary lives within school and after school hours (Stanley et al. 2005; Mackett et. al 2007; Freeman and Tranter 2012). To change this growing trend, it has been purported that learning about place, being in place, and learning how to live more sustainably in place are critical for children. David Orr supported this claim when he stated: "the study of place has a significance in re-educating people in the art of living well where they are" (Orr 1992, p. 130).

Around the world, research on children's place encounters has shown that regardless of specific cultural nuances, the type, quality, and diversity of the place within which a child lives has a direct effect on the child's life experiences (Chawla 2002; Jack 2010), their forming of an ecological identity (Stone 2005),

and their potential for environmental learning (Malone and Tranter 2003). Research has shown that local neighborhoods and villages, outside or within a city environment, are important places for children to develop their emerging ecological selves (Chawla 2002; Driskell 2002). Places found close to a child's home, for instance, can offer a set of local affordances in relation to the child's place encounters and their developing sense of self. The affordance of an environment is the measure of a place's capacity to respond to and complement the child's identity building. Heft (1988) and others (Kytta 2004) have argued that the affordances found in a local environment offer elements to support children to engage in place-making activities by themselves or with others. These ecological "objects," the "things" that children encounter that make up a "place," are often viewed spontaneously by a child from both a functional and relational point of view. As a child's ecological place identity evolves (physically, emotionally, and socially), the way these things and objects in the environment shape the child's encounters over time with, and in relation to, place also evolve. For example, a tree in a young child's life might act as place to seek refuge or to encounter through play and experiential learning a whole host of materials: roots, leaves, rocks, branches. For an older child, the same tree may be climbed, a tree house built, a first kiss encountered, a bird's nest surveyed. This same tree could then over time start to represent the child's articulation of place attachment and through agentic practices represent opportunities to express environmental stewardship, connectedness, and agency.

Behavior settings, or "place actor settings," also provide another layer for defining the way "place" is encountered in child-place relations. The distinctive characteristic of a place actor setting, in comparison to an affordance, is that it resides at a higher-level of organization than do affordances. Typically, place actor settings are not as individually specific as affordances, because the characteristics of the place shape the actions rather than the individuals themselves shaping the place. The setting could be described as the way a particular place supports or enhances the potential for organizing the actors (human and nonhuman objects) within it. For example, a remnant piece of forest may shape a series of encounters where boys' bodies are hiding, alone or with others (human or nonhuman); they may come to find sanctuary, to sit quietly, to be "held in place" as an actor in the setting. The objects (affordances as described in the previous paragraph), the setting (earth, sticks, steep land), and the bodies (child, dog) have materiality, and this material matter has agency to shape what conspires between it and other matter. By noticing the "place actor setting," it is possible to imagine how a place is the setting within which actors take up agency.

Uzzell (1999) has also argued, in relation to children and their village or neighborhood environment, that there is a benefit to considering the idea of territoriality when describing children's place encounters. The concept of territoriality is intimately related to how humans and nonhumans come to use an environment, how they organize themselves in relation to place, and how they come to give meaning through attachment to a place. Territoriality plays a critical role in developing a child's sense of connection and solace within place. According to Uzzell (1999) marking out territories allows children to have greater identification and feelings of

security within a place, which can lead to a greater sense of capacity to influence an environment, to embed oneself within it, and to form an ecological identity through being. In place-based research, a relationship between territoriality and place attachment has been identified. Scannell and Gifforde (2014, p. 26) have written: “places to which one is attached are often a safe haven where one can retreat from threats, engage in problem-solving, and gain emotional relief.” They recognize the way children alone, or with others, often retreat to “favorite places” in order to regulate or explore their own emotions. They also support the view that bonding with a place (this includes the affordances of objects within it trees, birds, dirt) can be associated with safety and place attachment and can have implications for enhancing children’s quality of life due to potential opportunities to withdraw and for sanctuary. Often this place attachment can be recognized in children’s desire to regularly revisit a particular place over time. Fried (2000) has asserted this function of place – as an ecological and social space where people can be restored through the creation of a safe haven – has a special function for marginalized or at-risk children and youth who may be coping with numerous stressors in their lives.

Building on this previous work, a more-than-human perspective on the affordances of place recognizes that a place does not function solely through a one-way exchange between the child and the “objects.” Rather, the “objects” are also shaping the exchange and are in a relationship with the child (Rautio 2013a, b). Rautio (2013a) has described this process of noticing the spaces between objects (in this case child and place elements) as intra-action. In the post-human world of new materialism and actor-network theory, many theorists posit that creativity and agency will still exist, but that they will no longer be the property of humans alone (Chandler 2013). Rather agency, and in this case children’s environmental agency, will become a product of the assemblages, associations, and relationships through which they are connected and attached to the more-than-human world. Traditional explanations of children’s environmental encounters are informed by a humanist perspective where humans “. . . understand and act in the world on the basis of our separation from it – articulated in the constraining, alienating and resentment-filled modernist divides of human/nature, subject/object, culture/environment” (Chandler 2013, p. 15). A post-humanist approach allows consideration of how humans “should develop our understandings around our attachment to the world” (Chandler 2013, p. 516).

3 Children Learning In and About Place

In conjunction with questions around the quality of children’s place-based experiences, there has been growing debate in environmental education circles around the relevance of what children are “learning” about their place. There has been a call for a balance between what children learn and do in classrooms, for example, and what they are exposed to and experience outside the classroom (Malone 2008; Waite 2011). The research study that is described in this chapter draws on a long tradition of children’s place-based urban environmental education that supports educators and

communities to consider ways to encourage children to learn outside of the classroom (Malone 2008). Research has revealed that children who spend time outdoors are more likely to be aware of their place in the ecology of the world (Waite 2011). Michael Stone's 2009 book, *Smart by Nature*, supported this sentiment of children learning outside of the classroom in their local "place":

When people acquire a deep knowledge of a particular place, they begin to care about what happens to the landscape, creatures, and people in it. . . Place based education is fundamental to schooling for sustainability. Places known deeply are deeply loved, and well-loved places have the best chance to be protected and preserved, to be cherished and cared for by future generations. (Stone 2009, p. 13)

For Smith (2002, pp. 593–594) also, when schooling seeps into the realm of the real world, outside the classroom, and students and educators become creators of a place-based curriculum:

[T]he wall between the school and the community becomes much more permeable and is crossed with frequency. . . The primary value of place based education lies in the way that it serves to strengthen children's connections to others and to the regions in which they live.

Smith (2007) and Gruenewald and Smith (2008) have over many years argued that place-based education, which is rooted in environmental education and reclaims place as a central component of education, could alter the conventional societal function of school as it provides young people with the skills needed to regenerate and sustain and be active in their own communities. According to Peacock (2006), and a host of other researchers, the value of linking school learning and the "real" environment is the way it supports less reliance on school-based tasks and encourages learner-centered environmental work in real world settings that allow children to see the relevance of school to their everyday lives (Rennie and McClafferty 1996; Malone 2006; Lloyd and Gray 2014).

In their Australian study, (Connell et al. 1999 p.103) recalled students clearly expressing the view that "we need more practical experiences in schools. What you learn in school needs to be put in perspective in the real world." There are echoes here also of the views expressed by Danish students after their experience of the Jaegerspris Project (Jensen et al. 1995). The Jaegerspris Project focused on collaboration between communities, school teachers, and students in solving locally based environmental problems. The most important dimensions of the project, according to the students involved, were "the authenticity (as close to real life as possible), the actions (genuine environmental actions in the local community), and the participation (pupils take part in the idea formation and in the decisions)" it entailed (Jensen et al. 1995, p. 92). According to Jensen et al. (1995), valuing children's lived experience outside of their singular school identity enabled children to achieve new academic skills not available in the classroom and also to develop high levels of self-confidence and place attachment. This was also clearly evident in outcomes from the participatory research project conducted by Hacking and her colleagues (2007, p. 234) with urban children in the UK: "When children were enabled by their school,

families and community to take an active part in decisions relating to improvements in their local environment, they gained a sense of pride in their local community.” According to Stone (2005, p. 170), “urban projects,” such as the one discussed in this chapter, “have the added advantage of being in close proximity to students’ neighbourhoods and schools (students can walk from their classrooms).” Lewis, a teacher working on the project described by Stone (2005, p. 170) observed: “It’s important for students to see they’re caring for their own neighbourhoods. They’ll think twice about throwing trash in the storm drain.”

In many of these learning outside of the classroom projects, a place-based model of participatory research has been used to enable children to explore and investigate their urban environments with the intent of considering ways to actively care for or improve them. The following sections explore this further in order to then move on to the description of the case study, which also employed place-based participatory research.

4 Children’s Agency and Participation in Place-Based Research

Danby and Farrell (2004) have described the agentic child as a capable and competent agent who replicates and appropriates aspects of their culture through their talk and interaction with others, thereby actively participating in the construction of their own social situations. Beyond a heuristic argument about pedagogical value and children’s rights to participate and contribute to their community, research with children has shown that many children want to participate in conversations and activities about their communities and that most of the opportunities provided for children’s participation in planning happen in schools (Chawla 2002; Malone 2012). Many transformative urban and place-based planning projects have evolved in recent times that engage directly with children in schools as participants and researchers in their local neighborhoods (Moore 1986; Hart 1997; Matthews 2001; Chawla 2002; Francis and Lorenzo 2006). Although based primarily in the paradigmatic nexus between positivist and post-positivist traditions in the disciplinary fields of environmental psychology, urban planning, geography, and landscape architecture, these projects have formed the foundations for a critical place-based inquiry model that has been adopted by educators in classrooms.

Critical place-based inquiry is located within the critical paradigm and frequently uses methodologies such as participatory research, action research, and critical ethnography with a research design based on a combination of qualitative and occasionally quantitative methods (Malone 2006; Tuck and McKenzie 2014). In participatory place-based research methodologies with children, children are engaged as coresearchers, that is, they have the opportunity to be involved in all stages of the study including research design, data collection, data analysis, reporting, and taking action (Malone 2006; Marr and Malone 2007). A participatory place-based research methodology promotes children to be active knowledge producers rather than passive knowledge consumers and supports children to be

catalysts for transformative practices and agents for environmental change. Consideration of appropriate methods for conducting participatory research projects is pivotal, and approaches can be flexible and varied according to the specific requirements of the research, the children's choices and profile, place characteristics, and the desired outcomes.

The following section documents *Dapto Dreaming*, a participatory place-based research project. The intention of the project was to use participatory research with children to explore their encounters with place using a variety of visual, mobile, and oral place-related data collection methods. The purpose of the project was to support children's direct input into the identification of key child-focused themes that could be used for designing a child-friendly and sustainable suburban housing development.

5 *Dapto Dreaming: A Participatory Place-Based Project*

I liked it because we got to get out of the classroom and go to the site, it was more interesting than sitting in a classroom. I would do it or something similar again. It's good for kids get to be part of it and make a difference – Jack age 10

Jensen and Schnack (1997, p. 164) contended that while definitions of environmental action often focus on environmental outcomes, the aim of environmental action should be about children connecting to place and the belief that as citizens they are capable of making a difference to their urban context:

The fundamental assumption is that environmental problems are structurally anchored in society and our ways of living. For this reason it is necessary to find solutions to these problems through changes at both the societal and individual level. . .to make present and future citizens capable of acting on a societal as well as a personal level.

The *Dapto Dreaming* project had the critical intent to engage with children who were predominantly marginalized and silenced in decision-making around the planning of their local place. This can be a very powerful and liberating experience for a child who may never have been in a position where adults listened to them, took what they said seriously, and acted on it. For those children who were new to the role of coresearcher in participatory research, it was important to foster competency by scaffolding their participation and supporting them to incorporate a research perspective into their everyday experiences of being curious, creative, and playful in their place. The role of the adult coresearcher (Karen) was to create an environment that stimulated independence but was not patronizing about children's capacity – this would be offensive to children. It was about allowing children to identify their own strengths. By using a multi-method approach and allowing flexibility in children's involvement, children could decide for themselves the type and level of participation that would be right for them.

5.1 Methodology and Methods: Designing the Project

The *Dapto Dreaming* project was implemented in 2011 and was an example of a place-based participatory research project that provided an opportunity for children to have authentic input into the design of their urban environment through research. This style of working with children to evaluate the quality of urban environments is central to the UNICEF Child Friendly Cities Initiative, which seeks to support children to evaluate, design, and provide their visions of child-friendly and sustainable communities to decision-makers (UNICEF 2001). Children from the Horsley neighborhood were invited to engage with a real-life problem that was significant to their place and their lives. Therefore, central to this study was a fundamental shift in thinking by adults about the role children could perform in place-based research and urban environmental change.

The methods used in the study evolved from previous place-based participatory research studies conducted by the author in Australia and overseas, where the research tools were shown to support children to be active change agents (Malone 2007, 2008a, b). The project, deeply embedded in place, sought to understand how encounters of children in place informed their views of how to design a residential housing development that was child friendly and sustainable. The project activities, based on a participatory research methodology, were organized through a series of child-led participatory research workshops with 150 children during schooltime. These activities coincided with place-based data collection by children in their local area during field trips and in their own time after school hours. All children from the Kindergarten (5–6 years) and Grade 5 (10–11 years) classrooms were engaged in the study. Children were able to select from a variety of written, visual, oral, and mobile methods (Tuck and McKenzie 2014) when conducting data collection in the school and in their neighborhood. The specific methods children could choose to use in their data collection included surveys, neighborhood and child-friendly neighborhood drawings, photographs of their neighborhood, photovoice interviews about their photographs, focus groups, guided tours, and walking interviews in local neighborhood locations (see Fig. 2 of children in the field). Indigenous elders from the area were asked to be guides and to mentor children on the history of the people who lived in this place before colonization. Educators, parents, and urban development staff were also trained in the research methods in order to support the children in the classroom and neighborhood data collection activities.

5.2 Locating the Study in Place

Horsley is a small housing development in the town of Dapto that is located on the outskirts of the City of Wollongong, a seaside city 60-min drive from the central business district of Sydney. The original inhabitants were the Dharawal (or Thurawal) Indigenous people. The name Dapto means “water plenty” in the local Aboriginal dialectic, as the area was known for its rich lands and diverse aquatic resources. For these reasons, prior to colonialization, it was a significant



Fig. 2 Children taking adults on a walking tour of their place (Photograph taken by Karen Malone)

meeting place for Aboriginal tribes moving through country. To the west of Dapto, the Illawarra escarpment rises as a significant physical landmark shaping the landscape and providing a dramatic stage for shaping children's place encounters (Fig. 3 provides a view of the escarpment rising behind the children's houses). Figure 4 is a satellite image of the Horsley neighborhood; this is where the majority of children who engaged in the project lived. Bong Bong Road (which runs through the center of Fig. 4) is the only main road connecting the town of Dapto to Horsley, therefore, creating a very self-contained village style cul-de-sac. The Horsley neighborhood boasts a number of playgrounds, parks, and natural spaces, with every child having a playground or park within walking distance of their home. Beyond the boundaries of the house blocks are old farming lands, including a number of small remnant woodland areas, rocky gullies, and extended river flats following the river which regularly floods and flows into the large Lake Illawarra system. Close to the boundary of the houses are a number of billabongs (small wetland ponds) that have water all year round and during the floods join into the river system.

A southern extension of Bong Bong Road will connect Horsley to the new urban development of "Brooks Reach." Brooks Reach is located south of the Horsley neighborhood (as shown in Fig. 3) and is bordered by two protected remnant woodlands. Dapto Public School lies in the very southeast corner of the Horsley neighborhood (Fig. 4). It is a large school with a fluctuating population of around 700 children enrolled from Kindergarten to Grade 6. The majority of children from families who purchase houses in the new Brooks Reach development will attend Dapto Public School, providing great motivation for the school to be a partner in the ongoing connection with the new neighborhood.



Fig. 3 Aerial view of Brooks Reach development site (Source: Stockland 2010)



Fig. 4 Existing Horsley neighborhood, City of Dapto (Source: <http://maps.google.com/>)

The images of the site and the proposed development of Brooks Reach were taken from the project brief (Stockland 2010). The red areas on Fig. 3 illustrate the three-phased urban development: Brooks Reach is the first urban release and is closest to the Horsley community. This is the development children were involved in through the *Dapto Dreaming* project. In their brief on the site Stockland, the developers stated: “Stockland is committed to the adoption of child-friendly and sustainable principles to create a nurturing, supportive and stimulating environment for the children of Brooks Reach and surrounding communities” and that “the current plan for Brooks Reach proposes 430 housing lots, and is intended to contain a local park of 0.5 Ha.” The children who participated in the study had a stake in this project because they would be living alongside (or perhaps eventually *in*) the new community of Brooks Reach. Many families who lived in Horsley at the time of the research had bought land in the new Brooks Reach development. The new development would also be a significant place for children of Horsley to visit with a large playground and community center planned for the center of the development. Given school-zoning rules, the children who came to be residents at Brooks Reach would attend Dapto Public School, where the research was conducted. Stockland provided the funds for Karen to lead this research project because they believed it was important, for the reasons outlined above, that the children of Horsley played a significant role in designing the urban development. The following section provides a summary of some of the key data that informed the research themes. The themes were identified by a smaller group of Dapto Public School children who came together one afternoon per week after the data collection, and collation had been completed, to analyze the data. These themes became the foundation of the children’s guide for the developers (Stockland) of how to design a child-friendly and sustainable urban development.

5.3 Children’s Place Encounters

Children’s research (conducted by the Dapto Public School students) indicated the elements that children liked most about their local place: it was quiet with friendly people; there were accessible parks and playgrounds; and nature was plentiful. Children’s favorite actions in the neighborhood, in order of preference, were engaging in physical activity, playing with other people, and interacting with animals and nature. Children, especially the older children, played structured sports on a regular basis, but their favorite nonsporting pastime was to play with friends in the local parks and wild natural places on the neighborhood boundaries. Fishing, catching frogs, going for walks, riding bikes, and just hanging around the creeks and woodlands were especially common activities for the older boys on weekends and after school. Lachlan’s photograph, taken at a point in a local park that leads into wooded forests on the edge of the neighborhood, provides a wonderful perspective of the real and potential affordances these spaces provide for children (Fig. 5).

Corey’s photograph (Fig. 6) of his weekend play place also illuminates his connection to open paddocks of the countryside that butt onto the periphery of the



Fig. 5 Natural places to play, Lachlan, age 11



Fig. 6 Play places, the old farmhouse trees, Corey, age 11

neighborhood. Corey's analysis of his photograph expressed a strong alliance to the nonhuman "objects" within this place and the relationships he has to them. He also provided insights into the affordances that these places provide for him to express his own subjective experience of place:

I come here to build cubbies because there are lots of low branches. You can climb up and hide. Sometimes I see possums hiding also, fast asleep, we try not to disturb them. I like to sit quiet and hear the wind blow. We make up stories and imagine who the farmers were, what the kids did. Sometimes I like to think this is a place for an Aboriginal meeting and I am a



Fig. 7 The frog pond, Brendan, age 6

bird watching. You know don't you that this use to be an Aboriginal meeting place? Around here, I like that. That Aboriginal elder told us about it the other day – Corey age 11

Many of the younger children also expressed their meanings of place in terms of activities in the physical environment. Tyler, aged 5, explained: “My favourite activity is fishing with my family.” He also spoke of how his parents took him to wild natural places on the edges of the neighborhood.

This photograph by Brendan (Fig. 7), of one of the billabongs in the neighborhood, shows a very rich place setting where the opportunity to encounter a diversity of plants and animals and to engage in a variety of actions is abundant. In Brendan's story about this place, he stated:

I feel the best when I go see the frogs at the river with my mum and brother. I saw a tadpole once that was almost a frog and it had three kinda stumpy legs – really I did see it . . . – Brendan age 6

The following drawing of the neighborhood by Logan (Fig. 8) provides a detailed representation of natural elements: rocks, bushes, trees, and the pathways to access these. Logan's visual and embodied encounters of place, represented in her map, are closely linked to territoriality, attachment, and mobility through the connection of significant objects.

This neighborhood experience of the physical environment was also relayed through a strong sentiment for protecting and valuing existing natural and Indigenous elements of the land. During workshops, children discussed the important stewardship role they had to play in protecting natural places, including the plants and animals that lived there, and as a consequence said stewardship should be included as an important theme in the final project report. Examples of children expressing the importance of preserving nonhuman elements of the local place



Fig. 8 My neighborhood, Logan, age 10



Fig. 9 Playground I like, Georgia, age 10

include: “If the flora dies it won’t be beautiful anymore” (Kimberley, age 11); “We can let the animals have freedom and feel safe” (Jason, age 11); and “We need to protect nature so no animals die and become extinct” (Olivia, age 10).

Being active and “playing” was also an important issue discussed by the children. The availability of parks, playgrounds, and a variety of place settings allowed for a diversity of play and leisure opportunities exist: “We need lots of places to ride bikes” (Brad, age 10); “Exercise keeps everyone fit and healthy, as well as living a long life” (Tiegan, age 11); “Let kids run free” (Jack, age 10); “It is fun” (Logan, age 10); and “I like to ride on my scooter around the block” (Zane, age 6). Photographs taken by Georgia and Jye (both aged 10) during their weekend play excursions (Figs. 9 and 10) illustrate the varied play spaces available to children in the neighborhood.



Fig. 10 My local playground, Jye, age 10

Focus groups were child directed, and the questions they asked each other prompted an open conversation about their experience of place. During one focus group, children brought up, questioned, and considered whether they felt lucky to be growing up in this place. They answered in very positive ways, focusing on both the social and physical aspects of their place: “I feel I am lucky because I have peace and quiet and having a creek next to my house is the best” (Brendan, age 6); “My friends like me. I get to play with my friends” (Charlotte, age 5); “I have great neighbours” (Bridget, age 11); “I’m with my family. Some kids don’t have that” (Harrison, age 10); “I have lots of parks, walking tracks and a tennis court in my area” (Connor, age 10); “I get to ride to the shops with no adults but with my friends” (Jade, age 11); “I have a great street and the birds who sit on the fence and speak to me in the morning” (Sara, age 11).

In another focus group discussion, children expressed a strong connection to their community and especially their neighbors with whom they share the neighborhood: “I have lots of neighbours, I know all of their names” (Kate, age 5); “My neighbourhood is safe, not many strangers and my neighbours are friends” (Jaida, age 5); “We need safe communities and communities we can trust” (Tiegan, age 11); “I like to feel close to my neighbours because we can share ideas and we can make more friends” (Olivia, age 10). Stranger danger, while identified as an issue by children during the research project, was significantly less of an issue for children than traffic dangers, fast drivers, litter, and bullying by older teens. A review of surveys on mobility found children in this area had significantly more independent mobility (Malone and Rudner 2011) than has been found in other suburban sites around Sydney, Australia. While school travel by car was still quite common in Horsley, the opportunity for children to visit local parks, engage in natural play in the surrounding wild places, and ride their bikes and scooters in the streets in their free time was evident in the children’s drawings, photographs, and stories. This indicated



Fig. 11 Rough bush, Logan, age 10

to us that parents in Horsley, although still enforcing limitations on children's movements, tended to be more lenient in practice than in their declarations to researchers. Or alternatively that the children may have exaggerated the freedom they were given or made special trips especially for this research project. Children in Horsley appeared to take advantage of their freedoms and reported wandering far into the furthest reaches of the neighborhood, even without parental consent, to explore their place. This photograph taken by Logan is a typical example of this apparent pushing of boundaries. When she showed this photograph, Logan (age 10) explained, "This is the rough bush where we aren't suppose[d] to go, but we do sometimes, don't tell my parents" (Fig. 11).

The data focusing on children's place encounters, presented here, revealed that natural environments were important to the children's everyday activities. Whether they were brief encounters with the pond on the walk home from school or play excursions to the edges of the neighborhood into the rough wild spaces on weekends, children were very positive about these opportunities. Children also identified the various child-specific areas within their neighborhood parks and playgrounds where they could socialize, engage in active play, and play games. Feeling like they belonged and feeling safe in their place allowed these children to move around freely engaging in spontaneous and planned encounters with other children and nonhumans.

5.4 Children Critically Analyzing Place Data

When the data had been collected by the children, they were asked to share their data through stories and to analyze the data in order to identify child-friendliness themes for the final project report (see Fig. 12). These themes became critical as they



Fig. 12 Children sharing stories and analyzing data (Photograph taken by Karen Malone)

symbolized the way the Dapto Public School children came to understand the importance of elements of their environment and why these are valued by them. The themes also acknowledged access and connectivity as important in a concrete sense (e.g., pathways) and in an abstract sense (as relations with community). There were also discussions among the children about connection to place and about the role of place as a refuge – “favorite, familiar places” where children alone or with others retreated in order to regulate or explore their own emotions and to build relations with human and nonhuman others. The children were also reflexive about their own contribution to protecting their place by promoting learning and environmental knowing and through the notion of valuing “children” as a group within the community who should be acknowledged as active players shaping the future of their place.

Below is the final list of child-friendliness themes (Table 1) including extracts from the children’s stories and discussions. In small groups, the children then designed a thematic collage using photos and drawings from the children’s workshop data. These collages then became the blueprint for the children’s report *Dapto Dreaming*.

The children’s report (Fig. 13) was produced *for* children by the children as a transformative act to educate the community of children and adults about what children believed were the important elements a place needed to have in order to be child friendly and sustainable. A separate adult focused report was also produced for the urban planners, city council, and the community.

Table 1 Child-designed child-friendly and sustainable neighborhood themes









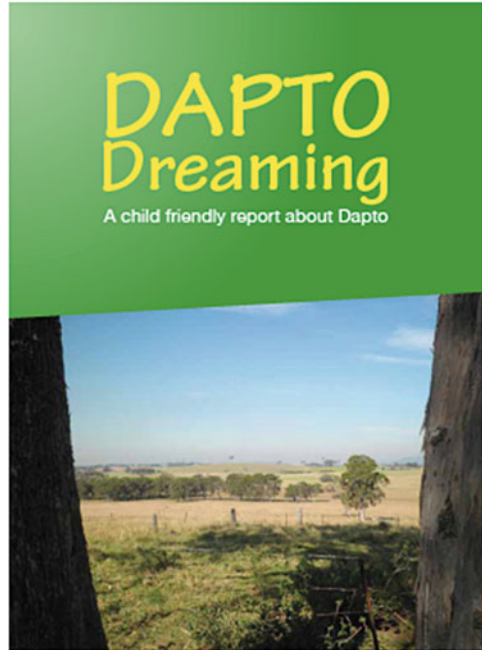
Child icon	Theme	Comments from children why these indicators are important
	A place supporting play and has playgrounds	To let children have fun – Jason; So children don't just sit on the lounge and get unfit, so they could be running around – Kimberley; So people can develop their climbing skills and have fun – Logan; To have safe playgrounds – Paul
	A place that keeps and protects nature	Saves old trees, keeps our heritage and your families' future – Aaron; Keep scar trees and Indigenous things – Jack; To keep animals and plants from extinction and let animals have freedom and feel safe – Jason
	A place where we create communities	Have street parties, where people can get together, be nice to neighbours, share ideas – Aaron; So other people meet people and make more friends – Georgia; Groups or parties to get to know your neighbourhood, create a good atmosphere, socialize and make new friends – communal gardens – LA; So we can share our ideas and make friends – Olivia
	A place that allows you to be active	It can be fun and children will be healthy and a good weight – Georgia; Let kids run free – Jack; It can be fun and you can run and play – Kimberley; So we can be healthy and fit – Olivia; Exercise keeps everyone fit and healthy and living a long life – Tiegan; It can be fun – Logan
	A place that promotes learning	People don't throw rubbish, play safe and learn to look after the environment – Jason; Important to teach children about the environment – Aaron; To teach kids to respect the environment, like at our school we have a green team – LA
	A place that is safe and clean	No pollution keeps us, animals and plants safe so there should be no litter – Connor; So no animals or people step on needles or pins and other sharp objects – Georgia; Keep us healthy and nature healthy – LA; Prevents animals, plants and ourselves from injury – Tiegan
	A place that values children	Because the future is in our hands – Paul; Valuing children is important because we can pass on our education to future generations – Tiegan
	A place that has pathways	Have pathways so you don't have to be worried about being hurt or run over by cars and motorbikes – Connor; Keep safe and so you don't step on nature – Jack; Keep safe so you're not walking on the road – Paul; So you don't tramp on plants – Logan

Fig. 13 *Dapto Dreaming*, children's report



6 Children as Environmental Change Agents

Essential to any participatory research project is the involvement of “real people in real places...methodologies that can yield real and useful knowledge about place and places” (Tuck and McKenzie 2014, p. 89). The intention of this project was to engage with real children in real places and to create recommendations that would have ongoing impacts on the way the urban developers planned to build the new Brooks Reach urban development. It was intended that the key themes identified by the children through their participatory analysis would guide the child-friendly and sustainable urban development. This was a long-term process, so in the interim – to establish trust and a reciprocal acknowledgment of the children’s contribution – the developers asked a small reference group of children from Dapto Public School to be partners in the first stage of the urban build, to design and build a children’s play and community-gathering place at the site. This happened after the report was written so the themes from the report informed the process as design principles.

To start the process of designing the play space, the children were taken on a field trip to the greenfield site to gain a sense of the place and its unique ecological features. Children met staff from Stockland, the landscape architect and Aboriginal custodians of the local area. This prompted the children to ask questions about the history of the site and for the developers to explain the complexities of the urban development process. The children discussed at length their frustration with the



Fig. 14 *Dapto Dreaming*, Emu Adventure Park Opening, November, 2012 (Photograph taken by Karen Malone)

typical “KFC” (kit, fence, carpet) playground designs and the narrow potential for exploratory play: “It always leads to one central place,” stated one child and another “there are enough of these already in the area.” One child stated: “We want something different and unique for this new playground, not something we already have.” The playground recommendations from this group of children included a combination of natural elements with some structured elements, a focus on local native plants, and the opportunity to attract wildlife into the space. The importance of community and the place being represented as a “meeting point” became a significant theme. The children wanted a place where they could have adventures, dream, and imagine by creating their own play opportunities.

Following the field trip and being mindful of the child-friendly and sustainable themes they had agreed on in the report, the children provided designs for the community place they thought best suited the new site. Central to the design was the preservation of the large Indigenous scar tree that was identified as the landmark for Indigenous mobs moving through country to meet and ask permission to enter (see the scar tree in Fig. 14). This was in keeping with their child-friendly and sustainable theme identified in the *Dapto Dreaming* report: “A place that keeps and protects nature.” As noted in Table 1, in relation to that theme, children stated: “Saves old trees, keeps our heritage and your families future” (Aaron); “Keep scar trees and Indigenous things” (Jack).

The playground and community-meeting place were completed in November 2012. The meeting place contributes to the children’s play places, acts as an extended outdoor classroom, and provides a place for developers, children, and the community to gather and discuss the ongoing place strategies for the Brooks Reach site.

In addition to the playground and community-meeting place, the project culminated at the end of 2012 in a celebration of place. The children and other community members were invited to the school for a celebration that included the launch (by the children) of the children's report, designs, and recommendations for the ongoing urban development at Brooks Reach. The celebration also provided an opportunity for children and local community members to informally discuss their visions with the developer and city council representatives. Reflecting on the project, a representative from the funding body Stockland urban developers stated:

We loved working with the children and the school. The school has been 100 % supportive and we look forward to working with them more as the development moves forward. Ongoing plans to keep in contact with the school involve getting some of the kids being part of the tree re-generation project up on the site, educating them on the construction point of view, showing them how a construction site works possibly so they can generate future employment ideas for themselves. It is about bringing them on the journey with us. We plan to put up a notice board in the playground so children can be informed of what is happening up at the site and also we will provide the school with some hard hats and transport to take children in small groups up to site so they can watch the progress for themselves.

The study was a testimony to a new way forward in a reciprocal relationship between children, schools, and urban developers and reinforced the agentic role children can play as key social and environmental agents in community planning. It was unique for an urban developer to value children's participation as coresearchers in designing the recommendations for a child-friendly and sustainable urban development. The children, when asked to give feedback on their involvement in the project, responded with:

[B]eing able to help, proud that [we] were part of the design of the playground"; "doing stuff on the interactive board, going out onto the site, working with James. Looking forward to seeing it finished"; "I got to be part of it with my friends"; "I liked that I got to help design it – now it feels like I own it somehow"; "We will make sure our friends go down to the playground and make sure Stockland build the way they said they would"; "I liked everything of the project and especially being creative. No one really questioned why I spent my Friday afternoons doing it. I talked to lots of my friends about it"; "I liked it because we got to get out of the classroom and go to the site, it was more interesting than sitting in a classroom. I would do it or something similar again"; "It's good kids get to be part of it and make a difference."

With the children taking on an ongoing role as urban development "advisers" as the Brooks Reach site moves from a paddock to houses, the project will continue to have the potential to be an ongoing *place-based outdoor learning* project. The Dapto Public School teachers and children have already designed an environmental education program that involves planting trees in the local area, identifying Indigenous plants and areas of natural significance, and developing historical information about the Aboriginal and cultural significance of their place. To continue a focus on place sustainability, a sustainable transport project was implemented in the local community. Central to the project was a walk to school campaign including a "walking school bus" that has successfully increased the number of children walking to school by 20 %.

7 Conclusion: Valuing Children's Stewardship and Environmental Agency

Valuing children is important because we can pass on our education to future generations –
Tiegan, age 11

The *Dapto Dreaming* project is an example of how young people who are supported through participatory place-based research can take on the role of environmental change agents in order to support a sustainable project in their local area. By supporting children to document themselves walking the land, learning the history and geography of a place, engaging with the materiality of the environment using cameras, drawing mental maps, and sharing stories of their encounters with the human and nonhuman world, we have valued their embodied relations with their place. Drawing loosely on theories of place and using place-based participatory research methodologies, the study documented children's local environmental knowledge and relations by focusing on children's environmental encounters, place accessibility, and the affordances of places. Rather than impose theoretical deconstructions to make meaning of these child-place encounters, this project allowed the children to collate their data, share and analyze its content, and then produce a series of themes of how and why place, real and imagined, is important.

The project positioned children as active change agents (Schusler et al. 2009), and this led to young people recognizing their sense of connectedness and stewardship for the local environment and inevitably their sense of responsibility to the planet:

The process of building a sense of agency through seeing the effects of one's action is integral to mastery of experiences, when people undertake an activity that they consider significant and succeed. (Chawla 2009, p. 16)

For the children involved in the project, their engagement in the "process" already had the potential to be a significant life event that could shape and motivate how they viewed their role as social agents and environmental activists (Chawla 2007). Through a shared desire to protect the place and its inhabitants, human and nonhuman, they shared images, walking experiences, and stories about the significant impact of meaningful relations with place on their lives. The children's responses illustrated high levels of place attachment, place knowing, and stewardship. Just as (Somerville et al. 2011) has spoken of the materiality of bodies in local places, the connection between the child's body as a means through which they embed the qualities of "places" while constantly on the move, allowed their encounters of being in place to be constantly evolving. As they engaged with the more-than-human world, the landscape became more than a backdrop for the stories children told about themselves; it became a collective knowing where boundaries between child, place, and more-than-human bodies were blurred. This collective knowing could be understood as a collective pedagogy of the place. According to Gruenwald (2003, p. 647), place is "profoundly pedagogical. . .as centers of experience, places teach us about how the world works, and how our lives fit into the spaces we

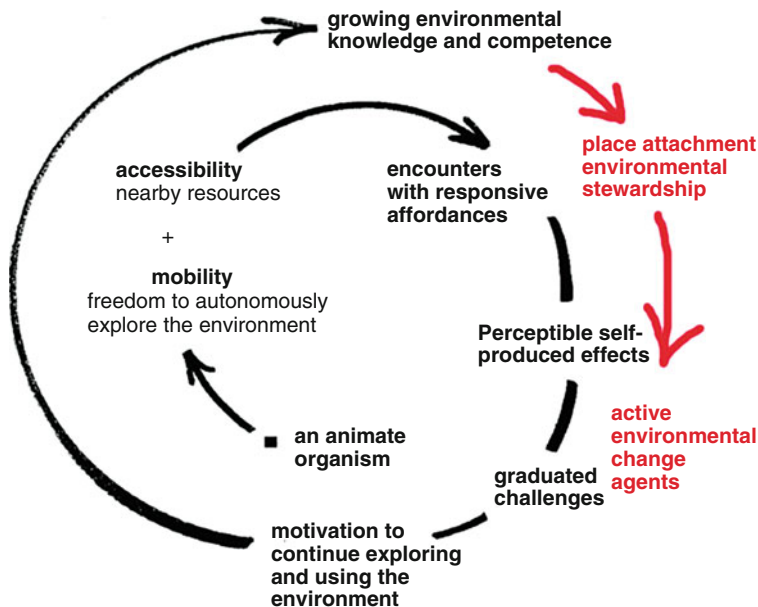


Fig. 15 Positive interactive cycle of accessibility, mobility, and engagement with environment leading to environmental change agency (Malone 2013, adapted from Chawla 2007)

occupy.” Further, “[a]s occupants of particular places with particular attributes, our identity and our possibilities are shaped” (Gruenwald 2003, p. 647).

The outcomes of the *Dapto Dreaming* project supported the view that children’s encounters of their environment are “place-bound...specific to the histories and geographies of local place” (Tuck and McKenzie 2014, p. 87). Also, a significant finding from the research was that children recognized how place was responsive and specific to their encounters. Thus, when planning a child-friendly and sustainable neighborhood, they sought to ensure it would be afforded these same qualities for other children. In response to the experience of the project team working with the children at Horsley, two stages were added to Chawla’s model (see Fig. 15).

These next two stages, namely, “place attachment that leads to environmental stewardship” and the role children would take up as “active environmental change agents” (Malone 2013), provide a significant step forward in realizing how capable children are as actors in their place making.

It was identified earlier in this chapter that through the import of post-human and new materialist approaches, the centrality of the human has been questioned. This is crucial for reconsidering the ways humans set themselves outside of, and seek to dominate, the more-than-human world. These new ways of considering human relations with the planet have important consequences for understanding current debates around what has come to be known as children’s disconnect with nature. This research study, although not originally conducted with a post-human analysis in mind, provides some interesting insights into the possibilities for reconsidering what

it means to be part of the multiple ecologies of place. It seemed clear from this participatory research project with the children of Horsley that place attachment and ecological encounters contributed to children viewing themselves as having a central and active role as stewards and change agents. They revealed, through their research, that they have very sensitive and intimate relationships with the more-than-human world. These relationships translated to the children challenging urban development that could be detrimental to the environment of their place and to their desire for the neighborhood to be a place where nature is protected, learning is promoted, and where children are listened to and valued. The study revealed that children can be supported to share their experiences of being interdependent and embedded in the "multiple ecologies of place." It also showed the important role educators and researchers can play in considering how these relations can be nurtured in order to contribute to child-friendly urban developments.

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Skateboarding as Social and Environmental Praxis: Navigating a Sustainable Future

26

Elaine Stratford

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Abstract

Young people's political agency manifests in ways that are different from adults and that agency is typified by different spatial, mobile, and place-based dynamics. Varied expressions of political agency among young people exist, among them those responding to pressing global challenges that implicate social justice, climate change, and urbanization. Transport is one of the sectors of social and spatial life both deeply affected by and strongly influencing these particular challenges. Among some young people, several responses exist in relation to the perennial questions about how to be mobile: walk, cycle, blade, skate, practice parkour, catch public transport, drive cars, or use combinations of these modes. For some, other supports such as wheelchairs are used. This paper focuses on one of these: skateboarding. The claim that is examined here is whether, how, to what extent, and with what effects skateboarding can be (and be seen to be) both social and environmental praxis. Consideration is given to how to comprehend skateboarding as a means to mitigate and adapt to climate change, to be mobile, to claim a place in public spaces, and to strike a balance between consuming and

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producing wisely. What might skateboarding as social and environmental praxis reveal about youthful politics, agency, political rights, and protection, and what new insights might emerge from these reflections?

Keywords

Children • Climate change • Environmental praxis • Right to the city • Skateboarding • Social praxis • Sustainable transport • Urban design • Young people

1 Introduction

In a review of works about “youthful political geography” which spans the decade following 2003, Tracey Skelton (2013, p. 133) lays down a challenge. She argues that, among those committed to thinking about children’s geographies or political geography’s applications in relation to young people, consideration of “younger people as political actors demands new ways [to conceptualize] . . . what constitutes youthful political agency . . . political action and subjectivities.”

This prompt by Skelton has wider salience and application and influences this chapter’s aims, scope, and approach; its concern with global issues, change, and threat; and engagement with more specific questions about how young people discover, invent, share, and act upon environmental knowledge and values. The case will be made that certain pressing and interrelated global challenges require people to change at multiple spatial and temporal scales – here and there, now and then: social justice, climate change, and urbanization are three among such challenges that pertain here in various ways. Vast numbers of those called upon to change and respond will be young people.

In such light, the chapter’s chief labors take the form of a synthesizing commentary about skateboarding as praxis, and an examination of its relationship to forms of social and environmental activism and engagement. But why skateboarding? Here is a set of practices overwhelmingly adopted by young people in dozens of countries around the world – boys and young men in particular. An indeterminate number of those who began skateboarding from the 1950s to 1960s still skate, and girls and women also figure in the mix (see Skirtboarders 2009). No matter the age cohorts involved, around skateboarding coalesce varied socio-spatial relations that center on the human body as it moves through time in horizontal and vertical space, enrolling a long deck of laminated ply, bamboo, or other material covered in sandpaper grip-tape and supported by riser pads, base plates, hangers, axles, bushes, kingpins, bearings, and wheels. While it may seem obvious that skateboarding involves humans, sometimes it also involves other creatures – for example, a skateboarding bulldog filmed in 2007 at Venice Beach in California (on which, see RNicky Mouse 2012). Gathered around these bodies, boards, and spaces, their practices and the modes of being that inform them are other dynamics implicating aesthetics, style, identity, invention, production, consumption, marketing, subcultures, competitions, insurance, property, policing, and the media. These assemblages and dynamics invite

geographical modes of analysis and understanding. They also call for further thought on how young people's political agency manifests in relation to global issues, changes, and threats, and in response to the acquisition of environmental knowledge and enactment of the values of environmentalism – an agenda that returns to Skelton's aforementioned challenge. Finally, since the author began studying skateboarding in the mid-1990s, much has been written about it, perhaps exponentially more than existed at that time. However, little has been written about the relationship of skateboarding to environmental and social activism, and this chapter is partly intended to invite work to redress this gap.

The balance of the chapter is organized structurally to address one explicit question in three sections: How is it possible to understand skateboarding as a form of praxis that practitioners use to (a) mitigate and adapt to climate change, (b) be mobile, and (c) claim place in public space, working out how to consume and produce wisely as part of that claim. Embedded in each section is another that is then addressed more explicitly in the final part of the chapter: What might skateboarding as social and environmental praxis reveal about youthful politics, agency, political rights, and protection, and what new and heterodox insights might emerge from these reflections?

2 Responding to Climate Change

Climate change has been described as a slow crisis, and many scholars seek to map and understand its emergent impacts upon different generations in diverse places. For example, Perry Sheffield and Philip Landrigan (2011, p. 291) argue that the “disproportionate impacts [of climate change] will exacerbate existing issues of environmental justice” in low- to middle-income countries (see also Tillett 2011, p. 132). Sheridan Bartlett (2008) is also concerned for young people in such places, and she notes that their rapid physical, cognitive, and emotional development means they are more likely to be adversely affected by stressors arising from climate change. Among those stressors are temperatures higher than normal, freshwater supplies lower than normal, and increases in vector-borne diseases arising from these other changes, at least in part. In ways that anticipate Skelton's concern that more thought be given to young people's political agency, Bartlett (2008) makes the point that adaptations to climate change are more likely to succeed if they account for young people's specific vulnerabilities and the range of factors that might be put in place to support their resilience. Several adaptive strategies to which Bartlett (2008) refers are also more likely to succeed than fail when they account for young people's individual and collective capacities to act; invoking victim status is counterproductive and disabling. Thomas Tanner (2010) elaborates on such capacities in an analysis of climate change adaptation among young people, especially in response to extreme events in El Salvador and the Philippines. Tanner (2010) lists a range of contributions that young people make in preparing for, responding to, and recovering from disasters. Among other things, preparedness may include participating in disaster drills, mapping risk, planning evacuations, or training in search and rescue

techniques. Responsiveness involves assisting with evacuations, protecting others by warning them of impending events, or translating and communicating levels of risk to others. Recovery invites coping and assisting others to cope with loss, disruption, and other effects of extreme events, as well as collecting and distributing aid, participating in planning for rebuilding, and participating in voluntary and paid labor.

Insofar as they point to the more general point that young people *are* able to participate in climate change mitigation and adaptation activities often deemed appropriate *only* to adults, Tanner's (2010) conclusions are also an important counterweight to certain findings reported in a review by Maria Ojala (2011, p. 625). She cites several studies suggesting young people's interests in global problems are typified by "feelings of hopelessness, pessimism, and helplessness, as well as inactivity." For example, one such Australian study by Tucci and others, published in 2007, found that about 27 % of 10–14 year olds sampled believe that climate change and other global threats threaten life on Earth during their lifetimes. Ojala (2011) indicates that environmental matters attract pronounced levels of pessimism and notes that this affect can be influenced by other factors such as age, gender, social position, familial and peer influence, habits, altruistic impulses, capacity to relate to and focus on justice, equality, and the value of environments. Helpfully, Ojala (2011, p. 626) does not settle on pessimistic outcomes alone; rather, she invites more studies that focus on the role of hope as "a factor complementing values, knowledge, and social influence in predicting engagement concerning global environmental problems." She suggests that hope comprises goals, pathway thinking oriented to reaching those goals, and agency to motivate action in relation to both path and aspiration. Indeed, hope is "a strong motivational force which gives energy to act even in the absence of certainties" (Ojala 2011, p. 627).

Uncertainty is a key element in narratives about climate change – both in general terms and in relation to young people. References to it appear in all sorts of outputs and passing observations. In one such aside written in a larger commentary on uncertainty in weather patterns, sports columnist Wendy Priesnitz (no date, np) notes that "those who can no longer find places to engage in their high intensity skiing or snowboarding habit may find themselves using the warmer climate for skateboarding." Reflections in late 2013 on uncertainties related to climate, weather patterns, snowfall, and population pressures also typify an extended discussion among skaters on Australian Boardworld Forum (2013). There, on 29 October, "Chucky" wrote that scientists "may well have "all the data", but the odds are high that the overwhelming majority . . . (whose livelihoods depend on their "analysis" supporting the objectives of their employers) have only "analysed" data which best secures their continued employment." A few minutes later, Andy Aitken wrote "I think Climate Change is caused by a great number of things. And all steps taken against it are a good thing. Stopping forests from being destroyed at ridiculous speeds, re-planting of forests, reduction of carbon emissions being released."

Brief focus on just one of these steps – carbon emissions – makes it clear that ambiguity and doubt characterise debates about their reduction or trade, or about

penalizing those who act criminally in relation to environmental matters. As Rob White (2011a, p. 15) asks in this respect, how do we moralize to young people about the need to change environmental practices or “desist from offending (for the greater good) in an ethical environment where desistance from carbon emissions is fiercely contested (on the basis of sectional interests)?” He asks this question in response to an observation that the “criminality of youth is touted as a major social problem; yet the criminalities of the powerful (e.g. transnational corporations) threaten immediate and longer-term harm to us all.” White (2011b) also notes a tendency among corporations to declare green credentials, engage in green washing, and manifest basic dishonesties that are misleading at best and potentially fraudulent. That kind of critique is also present among skateboarding “communities” and most often is championed by those in their late teens and early twenties, as well as by “veterans” and is particularly visible in blogs on the Internet, a matter elaborated later in the chapter. Yet – and not unexpectedly – members of this predominantly youthful market are also exposed to varied and embellished environmental claims made on the Internet sites of prominent skateboard companies. For example:

Quick, name a form of transportation other than walking that rivals skateboarding as the least expensive and most earth-friendly mode of transportation there is. Gravity founder and CEO Michael Bream sometimes daydreams of a better world where excessive greenhouse gases, acid rain and smog, are all things of the past. This, he realizes, could all be accomplished through skateboarding. “If everyone rode skateboards to work one day a week, we would have a much cleaner, healthier world. Of course, that’s just a dream, but we at Gravity encourage dreams, and with our new green technologies like Eco-Tech, Earth-Fibe [jute or hemp fiberglass], Enviro-Grip [deck grip made from recycled bottles] and V-Lam [birch scraps] we are doing our little part to move things toward that ideal state. Since 1994, fun and environmentalism have guided our philosophy. Now that philosophy has a name: Happy Green Feet.” (Gravity Skateboards 2011, np)

However, skateboarding on streets is illegal throughout much of the United States, where typically it is banned or curtailed in municipal ordinances. Such is the case in other nations, and notably in large settlements’ central business districts, even where skateboarding *is* permitted outside parks. These dynamics are illustrative of larger and more deeply embedded tensions that typify the ways in which young people’s access to city spaces is heavily circumscribed, a matter also considered in greater detail later in the chapter. Skateboarders thus risk fines and other punitive responses from municipal authorities if they use their boards for transport; recall that the vast majority affected are young people under the age of 25, and many have not yet reached adulthood in its legal sense.

The point to emphasize here is that any capacity to embed skateboarding as a practice to reduce carbon emissions is highly constrained. Thus although skateboarding *could* be viewed as a clean green mode of transport for young people in particular, at present it is generally *not understood or acknowledged* as such. Granted, it is important to accept that nonskaters may have concerns about the differential velocities of walking and skateboarding on sidewalks or footpaths. Nevertheless, there exist many highly creative solutions embracing uncertainty in

the design of transport corridors and public spaces that could address such concerns (see Annear 2013; Castiglione 2012). Rawlinson and Guaralda (2011), for example, call for sacrificial layers on buildings and streetscapes on which play such as skateboarding can safely occur and for which materials and structures are appropriate. They also advocate layers that clearly communicate what is *not* fit for appropriation by skaters and should be respected for use by others. Fittingly, Rawlinson and Guaralda acknowledge that skaters are readily able to read the visual clues that signify play spaces and other spaces.

In the meantime, in many countries very significant sums have been budgeted to build skateparks in urban centers that range in population from hundreds to millions of people; given the concrete required for such parks, their carbon footprints are also very significant. As Ocean Howell (2008) suggests, it is noteworthy that there has been a tenfold increase in the number of US skateparks in the period from the late 1990s to late 2000s; this from an estimated base of c.165 and growing to around 2,100. Howell (2008) reports that there has been a growth in number of skateboarders from c.4.5 million to c.12 million, and he compares that to football participation (from 8.3 to 9.9 million) and baseball (from 15.7 to 14.6 million). In addition, as an industry skateboarding may be worth as much as US\$5.5 billion and is characterized by all the trappings of burgeoning organizational complexity entangling boards, clothes, shoes, parks, insurance, real estate, competitions, music, and so on. According to Howell (2008), these shifts are symptomatic of the dynamics of neoliberalism. They also explain the containment of skateboarding to parks in ways palatable to municipal governments and nonskaters in communities, including business interests with street frontages.

Ultimately, the larger point is this: if skateboarding is banned from streets, then skateboarders are among a number of groups of (mostly) young people who are censured. It is ironic, then, that skateboarding is being banned in places where it could contribute to sustainable transport outcomes, for instance, while being encouraged in other spaces where its carbon footprint is significant and embedded in the use of concrete for skatepark construction (Klocker, 2015, “personal communication”).

3 Being Mobile

Mobilities engage critically important practices and politics. Two effects of the growing focus upon climate change, and which also relate to being mobile, are considered here: being a young person, and being a skateboarder. First, people often described as Gen Y and Millennials are exhibiting automobility patterns different from generations preceding them. Second, new approaches to climate change mitigation and adaptation are influencing how transport and settlement design are managed, and that shift could present opportunities for thinking differently about skateboarding, young people, and the impulse to act for environmental good. Each is now examined in turn.

First, in Australia, Debbie Hopkins and Janet Stephenson (2014, p. 88) have identified that the Gen Y and Millennials are “less likely to learn to drive, own cars,

or drive as much as earlier generations.” This trend, they suggest, “could present an opportunity to facilitate a transition towards a more *sustainable* mobility paradigm” (original emphasis). Hopkins and Stephenson (2014) then suggest a threefold framework to think about these trends and to address how to investigate their effects. To begin, they assert the need to examine material culture’s varied influences on mobility and young people’s “range of agency” – for example, the ways in which personal communication devices enable connection and may reduce the need to travel. Then, Hopkins and Stephenson (2014) invite people to better scrutinize their mobility practices, which may include travel avoidance as well as “later licencing, along with the use of smaller personal vehicles . . . shared [or pooled] transport . . . public transport . . . and active transport modes (walking, cycling)” (p. 89). Note the absence of skateboarding in this list. This oversight in an otherwise laudable paper is not uncommon. Yet, in Australia, the State Government of New South Wales (2014) promotes skateboarding as a valid form of recreation, expression, employment, and transport:

Skateboarding is a fun recreational activity that’s very popular with kids. It generally involves riding and performing tricks with the skateboard . . . Skateboarding can be a recreational activity, an artform, a job or a type of transport. Learning to skateboard is a lot of fun, but you should always wear a helmet and protective guards to keep safe.

Last, Hopkin and Stephenson’s (2014, p. 89) framework invites scholars to think about how to investigate the ways in which young people’s cultural norms and social expectations shift, influence and are influenced by the choices they make in relation to material culture and mobility practices, and are entangled in identity, group culture, and external variables such as “government policies, product marketing, prices, and infrastructure”. Among their conclusions is one other point – building on this last set of observations – that current and near-future planning and policy responses to tasks such as transport provision and management are not yet sensitized to these changes, and should be.

Second, new approaches to mitigation and adaptation are clearly changing transport and settlement design and management in different ways in regions around the world. Consider David Banister’s (2011) suggestion that globally there are at least four strategies to enable radical changes in transport for outcomes that address climate change and carbon emissions in particular. These strategies are to reduce the need to travel; enact land use planning measures to shorten distances between activities; take advantage of technological innovations oriented to increase efficiency in the design of vehicle engines, alternative fuels, and renewable energy sources; and design for modal shifts. Doubtless, in relation to all four of these possibilities, there is great merit in Banister’s call for expanded ideas of the street as “a space for people, green modes and public transport [in which] . . . new uses can be encouraged [among them] . . . street markets or play zones” (p. 1541). Nevertheless, this work and others on transport, climate change, environmental action, and settlements are often mute about the needs or aspirations of young people and their claims to public space. In turn, there is an almost universal silence about skateboarding in such work – for

many, it is as if this activity simply does not register as transport and is seen as a passing and youthful fad.

One example of this misapprehension, and of skateboarders' responses to it, takes the form of a petition in one city in the United States. Originally, to petition was prayerfully to request or beseech, often by enrolling others in order to signify – by dint of numbers – a strong moral force or position that required formal political support for change to occur (OED). Organized by Christopher Bailey, the owner of Parkside Skateshop in Columbia, Missouri, the petition in question was directed to the city council, which was asked to “legalize skateboarding as an environmentally friendly, healthy mode of transportation” (Bailey 2011, np). Bailey’s preamble refers to a US\$22m grant provided by the American federal government in 2006 to promote active transportation in urban centers and then suggests it is disingenuous for the municipal government to confiscate boards and fine “citizens” who skate on public streets. Bailey continues:

I’m sure officers would rather hand out a friendly wave instead of a citation when someone is out enjoying a cruise on a beautiful day. Using a skateboard as transportation provides the same health and environmental benefits as a bicycle. The way our city regulates skateboarders is inconsistent with the kind of healthy, environmentally friendly community we strive to be.

Bailey also draws on statistics from the Sporting Goods Manufacturers of America (SGMA) which established by survey in 2004 that there may be close to 12 million skateboarders in the United States. More recent evidence suggests that might be declining somewhat, with another SGMA survey finding “that core skateboarding participation has been on the decline for the past 6 years (2012) and it seems skate hard good sales are following the same trend” (Wixon 2013, np). Nevertheless, numbers remain in the millions of skateboarders. Clearly, when these numbers are cited by scholars and activists, the effect is to conjure the actual and potential electoral power of a particular constituency – young people (in the main) who can or will be able to vote.

Basing his campaign on an Internet platform entitled Care2, Bailey (2011) had secured 347 of an aspirational thousand signatures when the petition closed. Many signatories, whose names but not ages were recorded, had left comments such as the following: “There is no reason that skateboarding should be so offensive.” “My question is, why can’t it be an official mode of transportation? Authority is useless in the wrong hands.” “Freedom to travel is constitutional.” “Skateboarding helps people stay fit and can save the planet from pollution.” Many of their comments provide sufficient clues to suggest a highly varied constituency including young and older skateboarders, parents and grandparents, and supportive civic leaders and business people. The larger point here is that Bailey’s petition illustrates the persistent tendency to be blind to, or criminalize skateboarding, and thus to demonize skateboarders, who are mainly young and male.

Certain exceptions exist, but they, too, are characterized by other challenges, some of them very serious. For example, since 2002, ss.238–44 of the Australian

Road Rules (ARRs) have enabled pedestrians to use “small wheeled devices” on streets without median strips or center lines and on certain footpaths or sidewalks (National Transport Commission 2012; Stratford 2002). Nevertheless, the ARR provides significant discretionary powers to municipal authorities to erect signage banning skateboarding from particular areas. It is noteworthy that these no-go zones tend to be in commercial areas rather than, for instance, outside childcare centers or nursing homes, where vulnerable pedestrians are present. Neither do the ARRs make helmets mandatory, although provisions exist for different state jurisdictions to make subsidiary rules, and at least one – South Australia – has done so. In Tasmania, from whence this chapter is being written, in 2002, the state minister decided not to legislate for mandatory use of helmets when the ARR was adopted. The gravity of such decisions is not to be dismissed (Stratford 2016). National Coronial Information Service statistics record 24 deaths among skateboarders in Australia over the period 2001–2011 (Daley and Saar 2014). Of those 13 were 24 years of age or younger, most being 15–24. Twenty-three were males. Although for 11 no information is available about whether they were wearing helmets, for the remaining 13 deceased, only 1 was wearing a helmet and protective suit. In the United States, an estimated 42 skateboarder fatalities were recorded in 2011, 30 in 2012, and 21 in 2013. The vast majority were males aged 14–17 and most were hit by vehicles while street-skating (Waters 2012, 2013, 2014).

Banister’s (2011) work on radical options for transport futures that prompted the discussion about petitions claims for space on streets, and the need to consider how to mitigate the *manageable* risks that attend those claims also invites another set of reflections on young people’s agency, well-being, and citizenship. Consider, for example, the rise of approaches to mitigating and adapting to climate change oriented to questions of environmental justice. *Critical Mass* is one such approach.

As much an event as a formal movement, *Critical Mass* involves a monthly gathering of bicyclists in settlements around the world during which they ride en masse – often in highly visible central business districts during peak hours – to “celebrate bicycling, demonstrate their collective strength and send . . . clear message[s] to the public” (Furness 2007, p. 299). Some such messages emphasize the overwhelming power of the culture of automobility and its deleterious effects on health, well-being, and carbon emission reductions and also seek to supplant those with the idea that alternatives exist. Among some members of the driving public, these alternatives may be seen as highly radical and impractical. In this vein, work by Stefan Gössling and Scott Cohen (2014) suggests that certain taboos constrain even modest transport reforms. Acts of regular and ephemeral resistance to automobility irrupt into durable cosmologies and disrupt long-standing assumptions that city streets are for (people in) vehicles. Gössling and Cohen also posit that such ruptures “constitute a risk to political decision makers, in the sense that their consideration would require transcending neoliberal forms of governance to initiate fundamental sociocultural change – in other words, a process creating disorder” (p. 198).

Cycling has much higher levels of social acceptability than skateboarding and, on this basis, it is possible to conjecture that the latter embodies more pronounced levels of risk for political decision makers. Certainly, the combination of transport and

environmental activism can be confronting to those in formal positions of power. Additional risks of political fallout may emerge for them on occasions when young people are highly visible activists, and it is not uncommon that their engagement is dismissed or trivialized as irresponsible or based in ignorance of larger, structural complexities known only to adults.

Hence the advent of formal organizations such as *Critical Mass* attaches a degree of legitimacy (as does Skaters for Public Skateparks, based in Portland, Oregon, and which is responsible for the aforementioned statistics on skateboarder fatalities). In some locations, such as Chicago, skateboarders are explicitly welcome at *Critical Mass* events. In one entry on the city's *Critical Mass* website, the host of ChicagoSkater.org Andrew Bedno (no date) has posted thanks to Chicago cyclists for this sense of welcome and solidarity. There, Bedno also provides guidance to skateboarders on what to expect at monthly events, and the list illustrates how transport infrastructure and the dynamics of urban mobility remain oriented to adult automobility practices. The inference is that these other practices exacerbate carbon emissions, contribute to climate change, and marginalize active and environmentally responsible forms of transport such as cycling and skateboarding. Courteously writing advice for skateboarders wishing to participate in regular *Critical Mass* events, Bedno warns of unpaved bridges, the presence of unskatable grates on several downtown crossings, and road-level rail crossings, potholes, and gravel – which do not so significantly disrupt cyclists and hardly bother motorists at all.

4 Claiming Place in Public Space: Or Shut Up and Shop?

Participants in *Critical Mass* claim the right move through public space in central business districts at peak hour when visibility is maximized; their labors are intergenerational in scope, and significant numbers of them are young people.

There has been much work on public space and young people. In geography, Gill Valentine (1996, p. 205) was among the first to document concern about young people in (adult) public spaces, centering on their vulnerability and their apparent violence and unruliness. Her general observation maps onto the ways in which skateboarders are perceived and themselves perceive the urban settings in which they tend to congregate or through which they tend to move. This point is made by Adam Jenson et al. (2012). Drawing on Henri Lefebvre's (1991, 1996) ideas about desire and claims to the city, they note the ways in which skateboarders read space differently from others. Assuredly, skateboarders use space in ways that others do not anticipate, and such use is often viewed either as novel and exciting or as inappropriate – and sometimes as both at the same time. Such uses of public space often irrupt and disrupt in ways noted earlier and, according to Jeremy Németh (2006, p. 315), result in young people who skate being referred to as a “polluting presence.” Substantiating this point, Németh refers to a decision by Philadelphia's city government made in 2003 to remove from LOVE Park, the city's iconic skateboarder destination, all such allegedly contaminating traces of the activity and its practitioners in preparation for a major summer festival. According to

Németh, in response, young people became explicitly politically active and used “legal briefs, nighttime skateboarding sessions, and massive public protests [in order to change] . . . the terms of the debate, receiving overwhelming support for their struggle for the right to the space they had once called their own” (p. 316).

Chihsin Chiu (2009) cites other examples of tensions in New York between varied groups using both streets and public plazas at Brooklyn Banks and Union Square Park and facilities at Riverside and Hudson River skateparks. Demonstrably, skateboarders continue to gravitate to public spaces not purpose-built for this practice. This research establishes that young skateboarders actually prefer being in public spaces that “offer accessibility, sociability, compatibility, and opportunities for tricks” (p. 26) and that such spaces “evolve with time and adapt to the changing needs of all citizens [note the term] rather than excluding a few without any attempt at accommodating them” (p. 27).

Chiu (2009) also views skateboarding as a collection of acts and attitudes challenging varied social norms, and unsettling capitalist and consumerist logics centered on the ambiguous public/private spaces such as shopping malls and plazas. Leonie Sandercock (1997) once colorfully referred to such spaces as zones in which citizens were expected to “shut up and shop.” Malls have been among the most popular of skatespots – at least until the advent and widespread use of “skate-haters” such as cleats on ledges and nodules on handrails. Yet recall Rawlinson and Guaralda’s ideas about the efficacy of providing sacrificial zones around buildings – comprising plantings and “playful” of engagement – to enable encounters in public spaces. Assuredly, such ludic geographies are important to young people’s health and well-being, as well as to those in other cohorts (Woodyer 2012).

In fact, skateboarders’ actions also strip public spaces of their use values in favor of other logics of play and mobility; traceurs who practice parkour are another such group about which much is now being written (see Stratford 2015b, Chap. 4). In turn, skateboarders engage in new social productions of public spaces that privilege mundane features such as curbs and ledges; they experience public spaces in nomadic terms; and they still value skateparks as sites in which to advance and master their skills. However, they do not wish to be constrained to these sites as part of the disciplinary strategies of neoliberal urban governance (Howell 2008), one effect of which is the curtailment of skateboarding’s radical potential as a form of sustainable transport, for example.

At some point, too, skateboarders graduate from being novices confined mostly to skateparks and move out into streetscapes and other public spaces – which often coincides with a shift from childhood to adolescence and a desire to be differentiated from children. At this point, skateboarders come up against various modes of policing and surveillance (Vivoni 2009, 2012); such is the case in New York, Philadelphia, Melbourne, London, and so on. According to Chiu (2009, p. 36), among some skateboarders, there is a clear understanding that generally they are unwelcome on sidewalks, not least because these spaces are entangled in the “capitalist logic of urban governance.” Thus, skateboarding is seen to embody antiestablishment values in conflict with middle-class norms, including those informing approaches to traditional sports (Moore 2009), and skateboarders *know*

experientially – that is, they feel – that most public spaces are not intended for them, unless they are engaged in consumer practices rather than skating per se.

Obviously, skateboarders are not immune to the pressures and desires of consuming, and these confound other impulses they may have in relation to climate change mitigation and adaptation or to active transport modes and novel mobilities, or claims to public space made in ways that seek to distance them from neoliberal market imperatives. The way this conundrum manifests touches upon the aforementioned issue of skatepark provision and upon choices made, mostly at the level of municipal government, about how to directly and indirectly engage young people in debates about recreational services. At the same time, these consultations are deeply embedded in the dynamics of property markets, returns on investment, competing values, and use values. In the author's experience as a consultant on skateboarding in Australia, this (unwitting) enlistment of young people in municipal and land use politics beyond the intended focus on skateparks is true both of large capital city centers and towns with less than 2,000 residents.

In general terms, according to Matthew Foley et al. (2003), skateparks are increasingly being located in urban centers and often are constituted as parts of other multi-use parks catering for boarding, inline skating, and BMX bikes – to which one could add children's playgrounds, barbeque areas, crossfit stations, and so on. In such cases, parks can become highly visible and shared spaces for intergenerational engagement and often serve as catchments for local businesses that might specialize in selling goods and services of interest to those using the space. In more specific terms, consider how young people were enrolled in such debates in relation to City Skate Park in Adelaide, South Australia, which is leased by the Adelaide City Council from the State Government. Constructed in two stages in 2000 and 2003, the land on which the park is situated is earmarked for a new building to be managed by the University of South Australia as part of the City's health and biomedical precinct. In calling for extensive feedback on this matter, including via social media, email, written submissions, and public consultations timed for the austral summer school holiday period of 2013–2014, the Adelaide City Council (2014, np) advised that there would be a period of time when residents would have no inner city park. It also noted that there were no provisions in the budget for a new park, although plans exist for one as part of a larger rejuvenation of the whole Adelaide parklands. On estimates of best practice options overseas and in other parts of Australia, it was suggested in the Adelaide City Council report that it would “cost approximately [AU]\$3 million to provide a new facility that reflects a capital city quality” – six times the original cost of the park to be decommissioned. In the period between the anticipated closure of the present park in early 2015 and the provision of a new park, some years hence, it is not out of the question that skateboarders will do what they have done in countless other places over decades: informally colonize public spaces in the central business district, and in doing so they may fall foul of municipal authorities and business interests.

Foley et al. (2003, np) prompt consideration of other points that help explain this dynamic and that relate to the tensions inherent in the complex assemblages that are of central concern in this chapter. Thus, skateboarders will often use multiple modes

of public and active transport to get to a park or a favored skate spot (via work, school, or other pursuits) and wittingly or otherwise may address carbon emissions in the process. They will appropriate those spaces – immediately achievable in the case of parks, less clearly so in the case of streetscapes, and more clearly political in the latter. Yet, skateparks formalize and contain space, and involve the construction of boundaries:

around an activity normally associated with breaking down social boundaries and resisting incorporation. It can be argued that these commercial skateparks . . . seek to replicate skate culture both through the design of their facilities and their attention to symbols and imagery. For example, they involve skaters in the design of the facility itself, its “decoration” (stickers, graffiti), music and “rules”. However . . . the capitalist machine understands and exploits [their symbols] in the name of new market niches, then assimilation as opposed to resistance has occurred . . . The introduction of differential market segments to a social space like the skatepark may then simply alienate the alienated . . . Nevertheless, in some ways, this is exactly the purpose of the new facilities – [their backers] realise that the rebelliousness, the nihilism of the ‘authentic skater’ produces a dangerously unpredictable consumer. Instead . . . providers want the loyal, predictable consumer . . . that embraces rather than de-faces global corporate life. (Foley et al. 2003, np)

Even so, there is evidence to suggest that skateboarders remain optimistically open to ideas about ethical forms of consumption on the basis that they understand the correlations between producing, consuming, intra- and intergenerational equity (for example, in terms of sweatshop labor), and environmental pollution or harm.

Evidence for this openness extends beyond parks to skateboarding’s other *accoutrements*. Consider an extended online debate about what skate shoes may or may not come from sweatshops; what sweatshops are; whether they are about human well-being, environmental well-being, both, or neither; whether challenging sweated labor would help workers; and who might care in any case (Various authors 2008). Perhaps the most fascinating element of the debate is the shift in tone midway from several contributors’ feigning ennui or cynicism to engaging in clear thought about what companies might, in fact, produce shoes that work for skateboarders without exploiting others. Consider, too, survey comments from an 18-year-old Finnish skateboarder:

Today my biggest purchases are hobbies: photos, snowboarding and skateboarding. The money doesn’t really go on clothes . . . It is contradictory for me to pay even 700 marks (118 euros) for skateboard shoes. Naturally, the money also goes on phone bills, movie tickets and things bought in cafes and bars . . . When I say what to buy, price, quality, environmental friendliness and other ethical considerations are decisive factors [what I mean is] . . . I’m ready to pay some more marks, if it comes from a place with a good reputation (as reported in Autio and Heinonen 2004, p. 140).

Minna Autio and Visa Heinonen (2004) have found that most of the 203 young respondents in one of their studies said they would be prepared to reduce levels of consumption if such actions were of benefit to the environment. Yet, only around 25 % of them, all aged 16–19, appeared to be explicitly interested in the environmental effects of their consumption decisions. For Autio and Heinonen (2004),

a fundamental question that needs addressing in this regard is how to reconcile needs, wants, values about prosperity and the good life, and the objectives of sustainability. Assuredly, it is possible to skate in cheap sneakers; yet skate shoes are a multi-million dollar international industry promoted as enhancing safety, skateboarder experience, and durability of shoe and board; and there are manifold image scripts attached to different brands that appear to be especially appealing to young people.

In numerous ways, these considerations about a simple shoe will matter to young people who skate. Using Maffesoli's ideas about neo-tribalism, Foley et al. (2003, np) point out that what they term "urban adventure recreation activities . . . create intense episodic social attachments in the midst of the generalized neutrality and transparency of postmodern society . . . and become the site for the momentary coherence of diffuse bodies in "emotional communities"." For young people, then, skate shoes are one possible signifier of this kind of episodic attachment. They form part of what Iain Borden (2001, p. 138) has interpreted as a desire among skateboarders to create a "reasonable distance" from others in order to mark and celebrate their difference, even though their acts of consumption (like others in other sub-cultures across all age cohorts) are often integrated into mainstream markets. It seems important to acknowledge, too, that at least some of those embedded in skateboarding cultures are creating their own opportunities that involve the creative transformation of recycled materials and the development of new products for skateboarding. For example, TreeHugger online magazine (2004: np) reports that, as well as making women's platform shoes from recycled decks,

New York-based designer Beck Hickey creates bags, belt buckles, money clips and other useful stuff . . . for her Beck(y) line. All handmade, the accessories juxtapose "battered discarded objects with pristine new materials". For every used skateboard deck she receives, she donates \$3 to non-profit organizations that help build and maintain public skateparks across the country.

TreeHugger (2011, np) also reports on the construction of skateboards by "Brian Lopez, a Richmond, Virginia based artist and craftsman, who owns Glide Skateboards". His company is using recycled basketball floors sourced, for example, from "the court at Virginia State University."

5 Skateboarding as Social and Environmental Praxis?

Thus far, attention has focused on considering skateboarders' claims to place in public spaces and to the tensions that exist between their being constituted as antiestablishment figures *and* consumer citizens – the latter granted provisionally on the basis that they demount their boards and walk around central business districts. These considerations run the risk of skateboarders being seen as unruly dupes, and that is certainly *not* the intention here. Rather, the purpose has been to frame the contingent borders of an argument that proposes skateboarders have

reasoned claims and significant possible influence. Skateboarders also have the capacity to conduct themselves in ways that are appropriate for shared domains, and they appear to “deviate” from civic behavior no more or less frequently than pedestrians who walk headlong from buildings without checking, cyclists who push off from intersections while traffic lights are red, business owners who position street signs and A-frames in ways that inconvenience the flow of foot traffic, or motorists who fail to observe speed limits. It is useful to make clear that Gen Y and the Millennials – and quite possibly those who follow them – are changing their mobility patterns and values, at least in part in response to environmental concerns, climate change not least among them. And it is useful to emphasize the point that many also seek to make choices about their consumption patterns that are consonant with their desires to be publicly engaged, benignly mobile, and environmentally active.

In some measure, the aforementioned struggles are about young people exercising diverse forms of ethical choice within contexts often typified by general ignorance of, or disregard for, their capacities – in this instance as skateboarders with particular (but certainly not uniform) physical, cognitive, and affective modes of being, thinking, and acting. In turn, these struggles are about those young people’s responsibilities and rights to engage in debates about how to live – as full citizens capable of political actions and subjectivities. They invite geographers, among others, to consider how to conceptualize and value skateboarding as social and environmental praxis. To do so would be to reveal much about the liberating potential of the heterodoxies of youthful politics, agency and rights, and the need to protect and foster them.

According to John Knox, the United Nation’s Independent Expert on Human Rights and the Environment, “protecting human rights helps to protect the environment. When people are able to learn about, and participate in, the decisions that affect them, they can help to ensure that those decisions respect their need for a sustainable environment” (United Nations. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights 2014, np). Knox’s comments are conclusive and yet, simultaneously, they invite open consideration about how environmental knowledge and values are acquired and acted upon by young people in general and, in this context, skateboarders in particular.

Drawing on work delineating the differences between learning and maturation across the life space, Otto and Kaiser’s (2014) work in environmental psychology has led them to settle upon the idea that there is a direct correlation between the provision of environmental and social information and growth in both knowledge and action on climate change mitigation and adaptation. Not surprisingly, their work seems broadly supportive of the value of environmental education. One implication of such findings is that it should be possible to provide more in the way of information about skateboarding’s advantages as active transport with limited carbon emission levels.

In turn, Maria Ojala (2011) presents evidence to suggest that environmental education is enabling, especially when curricula are specifically designed to engender resilience and a sense of potential to act. Stratford and Low (2013) explain the worth of such curricula, illustrating such claims by reference to a collaborative

project funded by the Tasmanian Government and Regional Arts Australia and endorsed by the UNESCO Australia Commission. *Fresh! A Map of a Dream of the Future*, or AMDF for short, began in 2008 with a public forum on climate change, education, and the arts in which young people, artists, climate scientists, and teachers helped shape the rest of the offering. In 2010, the project concluded with a major exhibition conceived by Low, which was held at the Australian regional arts conference. Between times, in 2009 the project team developed and distributed a 50-page education kit to regional art galleries and over 300 Tasmanian schools – the island’s full complement. The kit enabled teachers to engage students in thinking about the future using a narrative set in the year 2090 about a group of school students – Ruby, Kené, and “you” – and their lives in a climate changed world (Low et al. 2010). Particular attention was paid to considering migration from islands affected by sea level rise, food and water, housing, and transportation. Students were invited to write letters “home” to the prime minister of Australia (Stratford 2015a), tell stories and craft play scripts, draw pictures, and make models. In thinking about how people might be mobile in the future, many students settled on, and both drew and wrote about “the hoverboard,” a completely environmentally benign form of aerial and ground transport. Their descriptions drew on fundamental characteristics of the skateboard and elaborated on its enhancement with solar power panels or seawater turbo chargers, or construction from recycled and sustainably sourced materials.

There is no intention here to dismiss the inherent creativity that these young people have, and doubtless there are gaps in our understanding about how they develop, maintain, refine, or reject environmental attitudes and behaviors. Nevertheless, research on the efficacy of environmental education suggests that initiatives such as AMDF are important for raising awareness about the complex challenges we face and often motivate and move young people to act. According to Boeve-de Pauw et al. (2011), some such changes appear to be sensitive to stages of the life course, with those aged from around 13 demonstrating an appreciation of the *intrinsic* value of nature. They report upon several studies demonstrating that “pro-environmental action is significantly predicted by [a young person’s] internal locus of control, in other words, the assumption that one is the cause of his or her own success or failure” (p. 111). In turn, Busse and Menzel (2014) suggest that it is important to understand how young people perceive environmental problems. Knowing more about those perceptions would, they argue, enable educators to deduce how best to foster sustainable behaviors among them, and they consider education a key driver in this regard. They do concede, or at least imply, that those engaged in its design and delivery should grasp the importance of helping students account for spatial and temporal contexts (such as local and global dynamics and questions of individual and institutional power differentials).

Busse and Menzel (2014, p. 413) also ask whether a person’s “willingness to engage in pro-environmental behavior differs depending on the degree of perceived socio-spatial distance of a problem.” This question prompts others. When and under what conditions would a young skateboarder in a large city in prosperous conditions be able or willing to grasp the possible implications of sea level rise for a young

person in Tuvalu in the Pacific? Would the skateboarder be able to engage in various calculations about his or her carbon footprint, including the production of carbon emissions from the manufacture of a skateboard or accessories? Would such emissions be more or less than those produced by “more sustainable” means or by other forms of transport the young person might use? Would any of these calculations of prudential citizenship actually matter given the relative emission rates of transnational corporations compared to individuals? Would the young person in Tuvalu want the young person in the metropole to change his or her conduct in the hope that sufficient numbers of similar acts across diverse social domains might make enough of a difference to climate change predictions to prevent the forced departure from the islands of entire peoples?

And what of the evidence to suggest that once people are aware that their conduct may be harmful, they activate norms to evaluate the consequences of their actions and more benign alternatives to them: Is the nub of the issue that young people have both the right and the responsibility to conduct themselves in the most caring way possible, even if the effects appear to be a “mere” drop in the bucket?

6 Conclusions

Doubtless, there is considerable utility in the challenge laid down by Skelton (2013) – that more needs to be done in relation to understanding the intersections between children’s geographies and political geographies as they pertain to agency, action, and subjectivity. Doubtless, too, thinking about youthful political geographies in relation to environmental knowledge and environmentalism is illuminating, not least in relation to climate change, mobilities, public space, and engagement in consumption and production. For millions of young people, skateboarding is a quotidian act, and one that attracts a remarkable amount of interest and angst.

Yet, little is written about it in relation to environmental impulses, and this gap warrants redress. Seeking to contribute to such an agenda, this chapter has focused on only three of many possible dimensions of skateboarding as social and environmental praxis. Mindful of Skelton’s challenge, the chapter’s purpose has been to add novel perspectives and questions to important and established puzzles. Among those conundrums are inquiries about how to mitigate and adapt to climate change, how to be playfully mobile and reread and rewrite urban public space, and how to innovate in production and consumption processes that implicate skateboarding’s infrastructure and many material expressions – boards, clothes, and shoes not least among them.

Many questions remain. It will be useful to establish how skateboarding itself is changing as practitioners age (and become, for example, lawyers, architects, magazine editors, store owners, and so on). It will be important to ask whether, how, to what extent, and with what effects it will be possible to maintain skateboarding’s edge. It will be useful to consider whether it is important to “surrender” certain forms of resistance to gain other grounds, in the knowledge that other and different forms of resistance will also emerge in response to inequitable or questionable regimes.

In terms of the specifics of climate change, mobilities, and public space and consumption and production, other questions are also important to draw out. Climate change is a slow crisis, and thus intergenerational, and therefore it will continue to have impact on the young. This insight requires that due attention be given to questions about how to empower young people and be receptive to the ways in which they choose to empower themselves. There will be a need to embrace uncertainty and hope, and to foster creativity in relation to climate change adaptation and mitigation, not least in relation to being mobile. Allied to this challenge, it will be important to ponder how to generate sufficient energy to support a diffuse campaign to reconceptualize skateboarding as active transport that enables practitioners to reduce carbon emissions and which invites novel ways to think about how to design the space of the street and sidewalk. How to know the difference between greenwashing and innovation? How will it be possible to rouse openness to challenging taboos and promote a collaborative mien among municipal and other political leaders and bureaucrats for such ends? How, crucially, will citizens ensure that legislation to enable skateboarding as transport also protects skateboarders from head injury and death? What mechanisms are, or should be, in place to learn from and share the differential approaches used in various comparable jurisdictions – the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia? Finally, it will be liberating to constitute the right to public space as one that also engenders care and respect for complex, playful, generous socio-spatial relations based on forms of exchange other than those oriented to commercial imperatives. These questions enroll skateboarding, but not just this practice; they also enroll all young people and invite both them and adults to work to ensure they have political agency, the capacity to act, and the ability to see themselves as empowered. As Philo and Smith (2013, p. 144) note in this respect, let us see young people as avowedly part of body politic and still protect them, while ascertaining their needs, desires, hopes, wants, fears, and so on, “striving to create conditions and resources able to realise not just their survival but also their flourishing.”

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Young People in the Global North: Environmental Heroes or Pleasure-Seeking Consumers

27

Elyse Stanes and Natascha Klocker

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Abstract

Young people in the Global North have disparate identities in relation to environmental sustainability; they are purportedly more knowledgeable and concerned about the environment and climate change than older generations, but are also typecast as leaders of a hedonistic consumer culture. This chapter undertakes a critical review of the key research trajectories across geography, youth studies, and the social sciences that pertain to young people, consumption, and environmentalism. It draws on recent research that has sought to complicate the positioning of contemporary young people as either “hedonistic consumers” or “environmental heroes.” The reality, for many

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young people, lies in between these two visions. This chapter foregrounds recent research that eschews a one-size-fits-all approach to young people, consumption, and environmentalism, by highlighting their unique everyday sustainabilities.

Keywords

Youth • Young People • Young consumers • Consumption • Environmental sustainability • Global north • Environmental attitudes • Environmental behavior • Everyday sustainabilities

1 Introduction

Recent research on young people, the environment, and sustainability in the Global North has often been framed around two paradoxical assertions. The first assertion is that contemporary young people are thoughtless and wasteful consumers. Media discourses and popular culture have depicted contemporary young people – specifically Generation Y – as self-serving, conceited, lazy, wasteful, and hedonistic (Hoey 2008; Hume 2010). They live in an era characterized by an ever-expanding range of consumer products, such as clothing and electronics. Said to be caught up in rapid trend cycles and fast fashion, these young people have been accused of extravagance and throw-away consumerism (Han 2015; Hoey 2008; Griffin et al. 2005), with attendant environmental implications.

The second, and seemingly paradoxical, assertion is that young people in the Global North are important “agents of change” (Bentley et al. 2004, p. 1), “Trojan horses” for more environmentally sustainable lifestyles (Collins and Hitchings 2012, p. 195). Over the past decade, the same generation that has been accused of unbridled consumerism has been lauded for its environmental consciousness and capacity to instigate environmental change at a range of geographical scales (Autio and Heinonen 2004; Autio et al. 2009; Bentley et al. 2004; Fielding and Head 2012; Percy-Smith and Burns 2013). Young people have been shown to play an important role as bearers of environmental knowledge in diverse spaces: the home, the school, and within and across communities (Autio et al. 2009; Ballantyne et al. 2001; Breunig et al. 2013; Collins 2014, 2015; Hadfill-Hill 2013; Horton et al. 2013; Larsson et al. 2010; Percy-Smith and Burns 2013).

Existing research in the Global North has typically been framed around one of the above narratives, portraying contemporary young people as agents of environmental benefit (Bentley et al. 2004) or harm (Hume 2010). In this process, young people have been positioned as a uniform mass, and their complex, multiple, and shifting identities and priorities have been stifled, misinterpreted, or distorted (Collins and Hitchings 2012; Hopkins 2013). While much of the critique around young people’s consumption practices has focused specifically on Generation Y (also known as the Millennials, born between 1980 and 1994), the literature that is drawn upon in this chapter foregrounds the attitudes, behaviors, and practices of a broader group of young people, aged from 12 to 34 years at the time of writing. This age bracket reflects the age boundaries adopted in the literature on “young people” upon which this chapter has drawn.

Rather than defining “youth” as an indiscriminate boundary that sits *between* life stages, Hopkins and Pain (2007) have urged geographers to look toward a relational geography of age focused on fluidity and transition. In other words, recognizing the meaning and experience of age and aging intersects with cultural, social, environmental, political, and historical processes (Hopkins and Pain 2007). Throughout this chapter the terms “youth” and “young people” are used interchangeably to refer to a period of adolescence or reaching of physical maturity that coincides with the accumulation of responsibilities, behaviors, and life skills and also encompasses the stage of young adulthood (Collins and Hitchings 2012; Gram-Hanssen 2007; Hopkins 2013; Valentine 2000, 2003). Research on young children is not a focus of this review, though it is recognized that the boundaries between “youth” and “children” are not fixed and the two are inextricably entangled (Evans and Honeyford 2012). This chapter also draws on research that situates young people within particular generational cohorts such as Generation Y and the subsequent Generation Z (born between 1995 and the present) (Han 2015). Generational cohorts have been deemed an important social category across geography and more broadly in the social sciences. Individuals born within the same time period tend to share a range of experiences “in their maturation and socialization” (Büttner and Grübler 1995, p. 116). Each generational label comes with its accompanying clichés and stereotypes, and generational cohorts are often the target of critique and praise, particularly surrounding ideas of hedonistic consumption or pro-environmental sustainability (Büttner and Grübler 1995; Hersch and Viscusi 2006; Hume 2010; Stanes et al. 2015). “Generation” is also applied throughout this chapter to describe relationships within families, home, and communities, for instance, between parent and child. While generational differences in environmentalism are a primary concern of this chapter – whether within families or in reference to broader generational cohorts – it was not possible to consistently adopt the term generation in this chapter. Instead, the terms “youth,” “young people,” and references to Generation Y are used interchangeably, in order to be faithful to the terminology used in the original studies that have been drawn upon.

This chapter undertakes a critical review of the key research trajectories in young people’s geographies, youth studies, and the social sciences more broadly, pertaining to youth, consumption, sustainability, and environmentalism in the Global North. The geographical scope of the literature reviewed is confined to the Global North, including the UK, Finland, Sweden, Australia, the USA, and Canada. The focus of the chapter is timely because of urgent concerns about the climate change impacts of high-consumption lifestyles in the Global North (Gibson et al. 2013). While geographers and social scientists have begun to tease apart everyday sustainabilities in this context, particularly at the scale of the household, young people are rarely the focus of such reviews (for exceptions see Ballantyne et al. 2001; Collins 2014, 2015; Gram-Hanssen 2007; Klocker et al. 2012; Larsson et al. 2010; Stanes et al. 2015). This chapter highlights recent geographical research that has sought to fill this gap and aims to open up conversations for progressing this research agenda. The chapter begins by explicating the importance of “youth” in examinations of environmental

sustainability. It then goes on to outline the ways that young people have been positioned and envisioned as “agents of change,” capable of resolving environmental and sustainability dilemmas in the present and into the future. The second half of the chapter focuses more specifically on youth consumption research and the “hedonistic consumer” tag. The closing sections of the chapter complicate binary constructions of contemporary young people, by foregrounding their unique and already existing everyday sustainabilities.

2 Environmental Sustainability: The Importance of a Youth Focus

Two strands of thinking highlight the importance of young people to conversations about environmental sustainability. First, a significant body of evidence from geography (Hopkins 2013; Horton et al. 2013; Valentine 2000, 2003), environmental education (Ballantyne et al. 2001), and sociology (Larsson et al. 2010) has demonstrated that youth is a key period of transition and socialization during which norms, practices, habits, and values (including those pertaining to environmental, political, and social issues) are established. Geographers have made an important contribution to these debates by highlighting the spatial nature of environmental concern and the importance of home, school, and community to enacting environmental practices (Collins 2014; Collins and Hitchings 2012; Hadfill-Hill 2013; Horton et al. 2013; Percy-Smith 2010; Percy-Smith and Burns 2013). Recent geographical literature has also begun to underline what is distinctively different about contemporary youth, particularly when compared to older generations (Stanes et al. 2015). As young people transition from their teens into adulthood, they become independent of their parents and choose a particular way of life. The habits that young people develop in their youth will have a decisive impact on future consumption patterns and lifestyles (Heiss and Marras 2009). The behaviors formed within this stage of “transition” can become settled into particular “material, social and spatial organizational settings” which can prove difficult (and costly) to change later in life (Büttner and Grübler 1995, p. 119). Lifestyles associated with particular environmental outcomes (whether harmful or beneficial) can become habituated during this important life stage.

Second, when young people have featured in policy discourses around environmental sustainability, their role has often been framed in the future tense. Policies and government programs are often geared toward equipping children and young people for the roles they can/should play in the future *as adults*, rather than the important impact that they have as “authentic participants” in leadership in the present day (Malone 2001, p. 8; see also Evans and Honeyford 2012; Hayward 2012; Fielding and Head 2012; Horton et al. 2013; Percy-Smith and Burns 2013). As Evans and Honeyford (2012, p. 68) highlighted throughout their critical review of the UK Labour Government’s *Brighter futures, greener lives: sustainable development action plan 2008–2010*, the framing of young people within preemptive policy

has been one of “dual positioning” where the concern for the child in the present is often secondary to concerns about future adulthood (see also Malone 2001). Present generations of young people have also been branded as the future victims of previous generations’ lack of environmental action, as passive actors *to be feared for* (Horton et al. 2013, p. 250 original emphasis). The positioning of young people as “future adults” who will one day bear responsibility for tackling environmental issues acts to diminish their important contributions as political and environmental actors and as co-constructors of community here and now (Evans and Honeyford 2012; Hayward 2012; Horton et al. 2013). Researchers in the field of children’s and young people’s geographies have been at the forefront of efforts to dismantle this futuristic focus, foregrounding children and young people’s environmental roles in the present day (Collins 2014; Evans and Honeyford 2012; Jenkins and Pell 2006). These criticisms match broader concerns which have been voiced within children’s geographies and allied disciplines over several decades. Children and young people have too often been positioned as adults in waiting, rather than competent and important actors in the present (James and James 2004). Since it is evident that “the quality of the environment children grow up in determines the quality of their lives”(Malone 2001, p. 7), improving children and young people’s well-being in the present should be at the root of policy on environmental or sustainable development rather than placing emphasis solely on the future (Evans and Honeyford 2012).

The importance of young people’s involvement in environmental sustainability agendas has been acknowledged in a range of international instruments including Agenda 21 (United Nations Environmental Programme, UNEP), Chapter 25 of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), and YouthXchange (UNEP/UNESCO) and also through a range of NGOs and environmental networks such as YOUNGO, Young Friends of the Earth, Global Action Plan International, the World Wildlife Fund, and the Otesha Project. The establishment of Agenda 21 was an outcome of the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro. The primary aims of Agenda 21 were to implement a wide-ranging action plan for global sustainability and to better communicate the need for global economic development without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Malone 2001; UNEP n.d.). The inclusion of children and young people in Chapter 25 of Agenda 21 was a turning point in global policy and environmental initiatives. Chapter 25 of Agenda 21 emphasized that:

It is imperative that youth from all parts of the world participate actively in all relevant levels of decision-making processes because it [environmental protection and economic and social development] affects their lives today and has implications for their futures. In addition to their intellectual contribution and their ability to mobilize support, they bring unique perspectives that need to be taken into account. (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development 1992, 25.2)

Initiatives like Agenda 21 have provided a framework for youth-focused environmental policy development across geographical scales, from the global to the

local. The significance of young people's engagement in environmental sustainability agendas was more recently articulated by the United Nations Education Program and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNEP/UNESCO). In 2000 UNEP/UNESCO developed and endorsed the YouthXchange program to bring youth to the forefront of environmental discussions in the present day:

They [young people] possess aspirations particular to this time in their lives. . . The involvement of young people should not be relegated to some ambiguous future; rather their participation is needed now. The notion that young people will one day 'inherit' the earth should be dispelled; in fact, their involvement today is cogent for shaping this world. Young people have a legitimate demand to be heard, to express themselves; moreover, it is imperative that their valuable contribution to society be recognized. (UNEP/UNESCO 2006 in Heiss and Marras 2009, p. 183)

But translating these laudable objectives into action has been a challenge. Percy-Smith and Burns (2013, p. 324) have lamented that broad policy initiatives often lead to "naïve, simplistic and tokenistic" approaches that allow young people to "have a say" in relation to environmental issues, without supporting their active participation (see also Percy-Smith 2010). Notwithstanding these challenges, a growing body of geographical research has highlighted the important roles that young people are playing as agents of environmental change – oftentimes in everyday contexts of home, school, and in the wider community (Ballantyne et al. 2001; Breunig et al. 2013; Collins 2014, 2015; Hadfill-Hill 2013; Horton et al. 2013; Percy-Smith and Burns 2013; Vivoni 2013). Young people's mundane everyday practices have important environmental, ecological, and political consequences (Horton et al. 2013). The following sections detail two distinct bodies of literature that have taken the *present day* environmental implications of contemporary young people's everyday lives seriously – for better (as environmental change agents) or for worse (as hedonistic and wasteful consumers).

3 Young People in the Global North: Agents of (Everyday) Environmental Change?

The label "citizen-consumer" (Collins and Hitchings 2012) has been attached to contemporary young people, who have been lauded for their environmental consciousness and positioned as important environmental change agents (Autio and Heinonen 2004; Autio et al. 2009; Bentley et al. 2004; Fielding and Head 2012; Percy-Smith and Burns 2013). Government and grassroots organizations have urged young people to carry out everyday sustainabilities in the home, the school, and across their local and global communities. But research has also found that young people struggle to translate environmental concern into action (Fielding and Head 2012). This section provides a review of key debates across geography and the social sciences that highlight the high levels of environmental concern and knowledge in this generation of young people. This is followed with a review of recent research

that highlights some of the difficulties that contemporary young people face when attempting to transform environmental concern into environmental action.

3.1 Young People: Environmentally Aware, Concerned, and Knowledgeable

Over the past decade, numerous studies have applauded contemporary young people in the Global North for their environmental awareness. Such studies have typically been framed around quantitative, survey-based analyses of young people's environmental concern (Bentley et al. 2004; Jenkins and Pell 2006), climate change awareness (Carbon Trust 2012; Forum for the Future 2008; Ojala 2012), and "green" behaviors and practices (Autio and Heinonen 2004; Autio et al. 2009). Research has consistently shown that young people are environmentally aware and concerned citizens (Bentley et al. 2004; Carbon Trust 2012; Forum For the Future 2008; Jenkins and Pell 2006; Ojala 2007), particularly when compared to older generations (Hersch and Viscusi 2006; Stanes et al. 2015). For instance, in a survey of 224 young people aged between 12 and 28 from rural, regional, and metropolitan Australia, nine out of ten reported being concerned or very concerned about the environment (Bentley et al. 2004). Also in Australia, Fielding and Head's (2012) online survey of 4540 youths aged between the ages of 12 and 24 revealed that young people held high levels of environmental concern and knowledge and a greater belief in individual and community responsibility for environmental protection. Jenkins and Pell (2006) conducted a survey with 1277 youth aged 13–17 years from 34 secondary schools across England. In that sample, 76 % of young people disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that threats to the environment were not their business. Most of the young people surveyed (58.5 %) also disagreed with the statement that environmental problems have been exaggerated.

Research has also found that contemporary young people are concerned about the effects of climate change. The Future Leaders survey was conducted with 23,596 students studying at universities across the UK in 2008 (Forum for the Future 2008). It was found that 85 % of university students were concerned that climate change would affect their lives in 2032 (Forum for the Future 2008). The Carbon Trust survey (2012) was carried out across six countries (USA, UK, China, South Korea, Brazil, and South Africa) and involved 2800 young people aged between 18 and 25 years. Results for the UK and USA (each with a sample size of 501) revealed that the majority of young people were apprehensive about the impacts of climate change (Carbon Trust Survey 2012). Furthermore, 63 % of young people from the USA and 64 % of those from the UK thought that their generation was more concerned about climate change than their grandparents' generation (Carbon Trust Survey 2012). This observation has been confirmed in generational studies which consistently reveal higher levels of environmental concern and awareness among younger generations. For instance, in an Australian case study involving 1328 households from different generational cohorts, geographers Stanes et al. (2015) found that young people expressed pro-environmental attitudes at a higher frequency than older

generations. More specifically, Generation Y (aged between 18 and 34) were more likely than older generations, like the “Baby Boomers” (aged between 45 and 64) or the “Silent Generation” (aged 65 years or older), to express general environmental concern. Generation Y respondents were more inclined to take a pro-environmental lean toward statements like “if things were to continue on their current course, we will soon experience a major environmental disaster” (77.8 % agreed with this statement vs. 62.9 % of Silent Generation), or “it would embarrass me if my friends thought my lifestyle was purposefully environmentally friendly” (95.6 % disagreed with this statement compared with 82.1 % of Silent Generation). The survey indicated that young respondents also expressed higher rates of climate change belief and concern than older generations and were significantly more concerned about environmental futures than older generations (Stanes et al. 2015). Generation-specific environmental differences were also apparent in Hersch and Viscusi’s (2006) analysis of the 1999 Eurobarometer 51.1 survey. The analysis of over 14,000 responses across 15 European countries (including France, Great Britain, Ireland, the Netherlands, and Spain) revealed that a higher proportion of younger age groups (between 15–24 and 25–34) believed that they were more informed about major environmental problems (including climate change) than older generational groups (respondents between 55 and 64 and 65+) (Hersch and Viscusi 2006). Survey results also found that younger generations were more worried about global warming than older generations (Hersch and Viscusi 2006).

3.2 Young People: Practicing Everyday Sustainabilities?

Evidence of contemporary young people’s environmental concern and knowledge has generated a sense of optimism that they can play a role as “active agents of change” in response to pressing environmental and social problems (Bentley et al. 2004; Hadfill-Hill 2013; Ojala 2012). Accordingly, they have been identified as a “critical target group” for environmental sustainability programs that seek to harness their environmental concerns and to turn these into action. This section focuses on tangible examples of young people’s everyday sustainabilities in their communities, schools, and homes.

In the UK, the YouthXchange program has brought attention to the importance of young people’s present day roles within households, regions, and communities. Structured as a “toolkit,” YouthXchange aims to encourage young people to reflect on tangible, everyday aspects of sustainable living, from making choices about the types of clothing they buy to thinking about the environmental implications of their transport and tourism decisions (Heiss and Marras 2009). The use of case studies in creating positive narratives of sustainable consumption has been hailed as a helpful instrument to motivate young people to reflect on their consumption patterns (Heiss and Marras 2009). The YouthXchange program has been implemented across approximately 20 partner organizations, from NGOs to local governments across the Global North and South. The Norwegian government, for instance, has implemented YouthXchange toolkits in all secondary schools and teaching libraries.

Across a range of countries, federal and state government programs, local council initiatives, and school curricula have implemented other educational efforts to encourage sustainable behaviors among young people in their everyday lives. Breunig et al. (2013) study of 33 secondary students from two schools in Ontario, Canada, suggested that Environmental Studies Programs (ESPs) have long-lasting effects on a student's belief that they can influence environmental change. Students reported increased environmental knowledge that led to meaningful behavior change including reduced water usage and participation in recycling and energy-saving measures (Breunig et al. 2013). An increased sense of self-efficacy also armed students with the confidence to share environmental information with others – at home and with their peers. Often, the aim of these initiatives is to encourage young people to “tread lightly” on the planet, by targeting everyday consumption behaviors (Collins 2014, p. 18; Percy-Smith and Burns 2013). Whether run by NGOs, local government, or schools, these initiatives have an important role to play in grounding sustainability dilemmas in students' “real-world” experiences and daily lives (Breunig et al. 2013).

Such programs have also recognized the important role that young people can play as environmental change agents in the home. Young people are already active members of households, extended families, friendship networks, and communities (Collins 2015; Hadfill-Hill 2013; Larsson et al. 2010). They have the capacity to “transmit” environmental knowledge and sustainable behavior change across and between such networks (Ballantyne et al. 2001; Bentley et al. 2004; Collins 2014, 2015; Griffin et al. 2005; Larsson et al. 2010). Particular attention has been paid to their roles in promoting sustainability within families/households and also within peer groups. In the household, geographical research has focused on the flow of information from child to parent (or another close member of family) through what is commonly known as “pester power” (Hadfill-Hill 2013; Larsson et al. 2010). In Australia, Ballantyne et al. (2001) found that young people brought environmental learning from school into the home by prompting other household members to turn off the lights or to turn off the tap when brushing teeth and washing the dishes. In that study, almost one-third of young people aged between 9 and 18 years acknowledged that measures learned at school could be implemented at home and within the wider community (Ballantyne et al. 2001). Young students have great potential to act as a source of “intergenerational influence” and as “catalyst[s] of environmental change” in the domestic sphere (Ballantyne et al. 2001, p. 9). When given the appropriate tools and knowledge, young people “are in the ideal position to extend the environmental agenda beyond the confines of the classroom, to homes and the wider community” (Hadfill-Hill 2013, p. 356). However, a number of geographers have emphasized that this is not a unidirectional process. Sustainable behavior change in the home is complex and involves negotiations across generations (Collins 2015; Hadfill-Hill 2013; Klocker et al. 2012). Environmental knowledge and sustainable practices flow bidirectionally between household members: parents, children, siblings, and (when present) grandparents (Ballantyne et al. 2001; Hadfill-Hill 2013; Percy-Smith and Burns 2013). Green practices within the home depend upon intra-family effort and flows of encouragement. For instance, Klocker et al.'s (2012) study

of Australian extended family households found that younger household members considered themselves more committed to environmental causes than their coresident parents and/or grandparents (see also Breunig et al. 2013). Older generations – while more reluctant to espouse openly “green” values and, in some instances, expressing climate change skepticism – held innately sustainable values like thrift and frugality and attempted to pass these on to their children (Klocker et al. 2012).

The aforementioned studies serve as a reminder that everyday spaces of consumption and sustainability – such as the home – are multifaceted and are “characterized by reflectivity and change” (Collins and Hitchings 2012, p. 195; Stanes et al. 2015). Individuals, families, and communities respond to environmental information and enact more or less sustainable practices differently. Crucially, contemporary young people are not (nor should they be) “enablers in isolation” (Hadfill-Hill 2013, p. 356). While it is important to acknowledge the unique environmental capacities of young people, different generations bring diverse environmental skills to the table. The caricature of young people as environmental “heroes” is limited and limiting; it neglects the nuances of everyday life and relationships with family members, peers, and the wider community.

3.3 The Challenges of Translating Environmental Concern into Environmental Action

Environmental programs and educational initiatives targeted at contemporary young people aim to capitalize upon evidence of their environmental concern and awareness by translating pro-environmental attitudes into green behaviors with meaningful and lasting impacts (Ballantyne et al. 2001; Bentley et al. 2004; Collins 2014; Percy-Smith and Burns 2013). In so doing, they often aim to equip young people “with a ‘can do’ attitude” (Collins 2014, p. 19) and to foster a sense of empowerment and self-efficacy by providing young people with the necessary knowledge and skills to respond to pressing socio-ecological problems (Collins 2014; Hadfill-Hill 2013; Jenkins and Pell 2006; Percy-Smith and Burns 2013). Youth involvement in sustainability initiatives and educational programs has been associated with feelings of satisfaction and self-worth (Ojala 2012). These feelings have, in turn, been identified as positive predictors of future sustainable behaviors (Ojala 2007, 2012). Such positive outcomes suggest that there are worthwhile benefits in engaging young people in sustainability initiatives (Collins 2014; Ojala 2012; Percy-Smith and Burns 2013).

Despite optimistic signals about young people’s levels of environmental concern, environmental consciousness only indicates a general disposition to environmentally friendly action. Further, a number of studies have raised concerns that contemporary young people may be struggling to cope with the prospect of dramatic environmental change in the future. The images that young people have of futures under increased environmental pressure can be negative, fragmented, and bleak (Ojala 2007). Research has found a strong association between future scenarios and negative

emotions such as worry, sadness, anger, and pessimism among young people (Ojala 2007). Adverse emotions are thought to hinder the translation of environmental intentions into more sustainable action (Fielding and Head 2012; Ojala 2012). The risk is that young people may become disengaged from issues that pertain to the environment and climate change over both the short and longer term. Young people may be deeply concerned about environmental problems, but experience feelings of anger, frustration, or pessimism because outcomes of sustainable action are not immediately visible or apparent (Bentley et al. 2004; Fielding and Head 2012; Jenkins and Pell 2006; Ojala 2012). Despite the efforts and programs outlined above, some young people have also become disengaged from environmental issues through what has been called the “bystander effect” (Fielding and Head 2012, p. 172; Ojala 2007). That is, young people may feel a reduced sense of motivation amid uncertainty about how they are able to meaningfully contribute to the resolution of complex environmental problems. For instance, in Jenkin and Pell’s (2006) study of 1277 English secondary school youths aged 13–17 years, 70 % agreed that “each of us can make a substantial contribution to environmental protection.” However, the young people surveyed were less optimistic about what they could do themselves – only 44 % agreed that they could personally influence what happens to the environment (Jenkins and Pell 2006). In a survey conducted with 501 young adults from the USA aged between 18 and 25, 30 % indicated that they were trying to reduce their carbon footprint, but still thought they could do more (Carbon Trust Survey 2012). Another 23 % of young people wanted to reduce their carbon footprint but were confused about how to do so (Carbon Trust Survey 2012).

As Fielding and Head (2012) found, high levels of environmental consciousness do not necessarily lead to pro-environmental behaviors. Barriers that inhibit the transmission of pro-environmental values to environmentally sustainable behaviors have been widely referred to over the past decade as the “value-action gap” (Blake 1999; Kollmuss and Agyeman 2002). In their Australian sample with 4540 young people aged between 12 and 24, Fielding and Head (2012) found that there were a range of reasons why young people did things that they knew would harm the environment. The financial cost of adopting sustainable behaviors was a highly cited reason for 47.8 % of 18–24-year-olds. Another 37.6 % of young people aged between 12 and 17, and 42.2 % of those aged between 18 and 24, said they were too lazy to engage in environmentally positive behaviors (Fielding and Head 2012). Furthermore, 37 % of 12–17-year-olds, and 51.5 % of 18–24-year-old youths, indicated that they sometimes did things that are bad for the environment because they felt that they had no other choice (Fielding and Head 2012). In light of this, Percy-Smith and Burns (2013) have argued that more innovative forms of learning are required to offer young people a more active and central role as changemakers. In their study with 26 secondary school students in the UK, Percy-Smith and Burns (2013) found that young people became more enthusiastic and motivated about their role as “agents of change” when they formed and initiated environmental projects themselves, without adult-imposed restrictions. An example of this was a group of students who developed a Sustainable Food Guide for their local community. Raising awareness of local products had a direct effect on the local food economy

and retail through a change in shopper demand and thus improved the young people's sense of efficacy (Percy-Smith and Burns 2013).

Clearly, the path from "green" attitudes to "green" behaviors is far from straightforward. This is particularly evident in the disjuncture between representations of contemporary young people as environmentally concerned and engaged citizens and alternative framings of wasteful and thoughtless consumption. At the same time, some have argued that the value-action gap may appear to be particularly pronounced for this generation of young people, as measurements of pro-environmental attitudes and behaviors remained focused on "traditional" ideas of what it means to be "green" (Stanes et al. 2015). Research that attends to the unique qualities and activities of contemporary youth is required to provide a fuller picture of how, why, and if young people find it hard to transform environmental concern into action. The next section of this chapter reviews literature pertaining to contemporary young people's purportedly unsustainable and resource-intensive consumption behaviors, including recent efforts by geographers to complicate the caricature of the hedonistic young consumer.

4 Young People and Material and Resource Consumption

People living and working in the Global North consume an inequitable proportion of the world's resources. Young people are no exception. While scholarly interest in contemporary young people's consumption patterns has been pronounced in recent years (Autio 2005; Collins 2014; Collins and Hitchings 2012; Gram-Hanssen 2007; Gibson and Stanes 2011; Griffin et al. 2005; Valentine, 2000), it is not new. In 1959, Mark Abrams wrote *The Teenage Consumer*. This widely cited benchmark study investigated the role of consumption in the lives of young people as a "newly franchised" group experiencing greater independence from their parents or guardians and who are afforded the right to exercise greater powers of individuality and freedom. Abrams (1959) noted that young people were not only financially independent from their elders, but that their disposable income afforded them with opportunities to consume according to the latest fashions and trends – and most importantly, to be *seen* to be doing so by their peers (Collins 2014). Young people's consumption of fashionable products has been well documented and critiqued over the ensuing decades – including human geographers (see Collins 2014, 2015; Collins and Hitchings 2012; Gibson and Stanes 2011; Hopkins 2013). The spending power and consumption patterns of contemporary young people in the Global North have been singled out as particularly problematic. Generation Y, in particular, has been lambasted for being at the forefront of a "consumer behemoth, riding atop a new youth economy of astounding scale and extravagance" (Howe and Strauss 2000, p. 265; see also Hume 2010).

As with previous generations, the consumption patterns of the current cohort of young people are influenced by family norms, peer group expectations, and a desire for self-expression. Youth identities are fluid and multiple and young people often juggle various identities to ascertain who they are and want to be

(Hopkins 2013). Youth as a period of transition is often a time of great uncertainty, where consumption of material goods can serve as source of (or scaffold for) self-identity and as an outlet for self-expression (Collins 2014; Griffin et al. 2005; Heiss and Marras 2009; Hopkins 2013). Through their consumption patterns, young people strive to gain independence from their elders, to express themselves, and to experiment with diverse identities (Griffin et al. 2005). Products that are consumed socially, such as clothes, electronics, or music, are vital here, as the visibility of these products signals status to others or indicates participation in particular trends or subcultural groups (Autio and Heinonen 2004; Bentley et al. 2004). Conspicuous consumption – that is, consumption which is intended to achieve status through the obvious display of fashionable items (Veblen 2007 [1899]) – is an important facet of young people’s engagements with their peer group (Collins 2014). Acts of conspicuous consumption are central to the development of many young people’s relationships and the constant tussle of “standing out” enough to be perceived as an individual, while still “fitting in” with peers (Autio et al. 2009; Bentley et al. 2004; Collins and Hitchings 2012; Griffin et al. 2005; Wilska 2003).

While previous generations of young people also practiced conspicuous consumption, the overarching sway of contemporary consumer culture in the Global North has arguably paved the way for a further materialization of youth culture (Collins 2014). The desire to keep pace with the latest trends and fads (Griffin et al. 2005) is difficult to resist in the present era of relatively cheap and constantly updated consumer products, such as clothing and electronics (mobile phones, mp3 players, tablets, and laptops), also known as “fast fashion.” Countless and constantly updated products aimed squarely at young people have fostered and enabled a cultural landscape of youth consumption (Wilska 2003). In this context, young people’s relationships with “things” are often fleeting and the satisfaction gained through acquisition short lived (Griffin et al. 2005). Short-term happiness and fulfillment experienced through the act of consumption regularly entail spending on items that give immediate pleasure, such as clothes or makeup, rather than investment in meaningful and long-lasting belongings (Autio and Heinonen 2004). Youth subcultures create pressure to purchase new items – thus as participation in subcultures and groups increases, so too does the total volume of possessions acquired during the teenage years (Collins 2014). Previously valued items are readily abandoned to make way for new consumer items “once a subgroup or trend has been deemed the wrong choice” (Collins 2014, p. 39). Also present within cultures of youth consumption are growing social anxieties and the peer pressure to buy “stuff” in order to fit in or keep up with ever-changing trends (Bentley et al. 2004; Griffin et al. 2005). Numerous studies have shown that the cost of being different, of not belonging, or of not being in step with consumer “trends” is a substantial source of anxiety for young people (Griffin et al. 2005; Heiss and Marras 2009). What might be labeled wasteful or hedonistic consumption is, in the everyday lives of young consumers, actually a complex negotiation of identity, individuality, belonging, and self-esteem. Either way, the levels of resource consumption enabled by affordable fast fashion and electronics, and demanded by rapidly changing trends,

have significant environmental implications (Berners-Lee 2010; Collins 2014; Gibson and Stanes 2011; Hitchings et al. 2015). Concerns over the wide-reaching implications of excessive consumption contribute to young people's positioning as environmental offenders rather than heroes.

The environmental impacts of seemingly benign consumer items – such as a piece of clothing or electronics – need to be understood across a range of domains: production and manufacturing, distribution, use, waste/divestment, and the social ethics of consumption (Gibson et al. 2013; Stanes 2008). In addition to concerns about resource use and waste generation, calculation frameworks such as the carbon footprint have been vital in raising awareness of the climate change impacts of products (Berners-Lee 2010). An example of this is Berners-Lee's (2010) discussion of direct and indirect carbon emissions for everyday items – from clothes to televisions. Direct carbon emissions are generated when an item is *in use* (for instance, the tailpipe emissions from a car or the carbon emissions generated by the electricity needed to power a computer). Indirect emissions refer to the carbon emissions *embedded* within objects throughout their life cycle. By the time a mobile phone makes its way to a consumer, for example, it already has a vast environmental legacy associated with resource extraction, manufacture, and distribution (Gibson et al. 2013). Combined, the embedded indirect and direct carbon emissions of a mobile phone are estimated to be 47 kg CO₂e per year (Berners-Lee 2010). This figure includes manufacturing, transport before sale, the average power consumed by the mobile phone, energy required to transmit calls across a network, and base station emissions (Berners-Lee 2010). Once in use, patterns of everyday object care and maintenance – such as washing and drying clothing – also generate environmental impacts (Berners-Lee 2010; Stanes 2008). Berners-Lee (2010) estimated that a pair of cotton jeans, for instance, generate a minimum of 100 g CO₂e per day (when laundry is considered) for the typical British wearer.

As goods become unwanted, less useful, or unfashionable, they make their way through stages of recycling or reuse to landfill; chemicals used in production are leached, contaminating the environment. The inclusion of metals such as gold, palladium, silver, copper, and platinum makes mobile phones the most valuable form of e-waste (Gibson et al. 2013). But low rates of recycling and inadequate and unsafe practices of dismantling mobile phones mean that hazardous less-valuable materials (like persistent bioaccumulative toxins PBTs) linger in the environment causing health and environmental damage (Gibson et al. 2013). Importantly, the environmental impacts of any consumer item – whether a piece of clothing, a mobile phone, a television, or a tablet – are invariably escalated the quicker the item is discarded. Concerns around the generation of waste have caused the term “throw-away society” to be associated with consumer cultures in the Global North. But the presumption of thoughtless and wasteful disposal has been challenged by geographers, including Gregson et al. (2007) and Collins (2014), who have argued that it is important to remember that the pathway to divestment is more than getting rid of an item. Divestment is equally about the movement of an item, the development of self-identity, and a reflection of the relationship between people and things (Collins 2014). The environmental implications of everyday consumer items – and of the

seemingly profligate consumption patterns of contemporary young people in the Global North – are far from inconsequential.

Young people's resource consumption is not limited to material possessions. A small number of studies have explored young people's direct use of resources such as energy and water (Gram-Hanssen 2007; Hitchings and Lee 2008; Percy-Smith and Burns 2013; Stanes et al. 2015). A common conclusion from these studies has been that young people in the Global North also consume these resources wastefully and excessively. In their Australian household sustainability survey, geographers Stanes et al. (2015) found that young people were far less willing than older generations to compromise on matters of cleanliness and hygiene. Generation Y householders reported laundering their clothing more frequently and spending more time in the shower than older generations – both which have implications for water and energy use. These results mirror Gram-Hanssen's (2007) study of showering and laundry practices among nine Danish teenagers, aged 13–15. The interviews with teens alongside their parents or guardians revealed that young people's expectations of cleanliness (and attendant water and energy consumption) were most often shaped by family norms but also by peer group influence. The teens in Gram-Hanssen's (2007) study were all heavily committed to a regular (and at times excessive) cleanliness routine that was inseparably connected to the avoidance of sweat and sweat odor – and which exceeded the norms practiced by older generations. Showering and changing clothes at least once per day were unquestionable. The sustainability impacts of water and energy consumption associated with these cleanliness practices were ignored. The social and cultural influences that shape patterns of cleanliness will lead to greater energy and water consumption as these teens transition from childhood to adulthood (Gram-Hanssen 2007). Elsewhere, Hitchings and Lee (2008) considered the intersection of air-conditioning use with social practice and sensual expectations among a group of eight twenty-something Singaporeans. Interviews revealed a uniform reliance of living with air conditioning in tropical Singapore (Hitchings and Lee 2008). While the placement of air conditioning in both public and private spheres was thought of as a necessity to prevent the distaste of sweat and odor, cooler ambient environments also allowed this group of young people to present their identities through dress in a greater number of ways (Hitchings and Lee 2008).

While the environmental implications of resource consumption patterns in the Global North are indeed profound and unsustainable, a range of recent studies have demonstrated that many young people do not identify with the hedonistic consumer tag (Autio 2005; Hitchings et al. 2015; Wilska 2003). "Real" young people are, of course, far more diverse than this stereotype allows.

4.1 Complicating the Hedonistic Consumer Label

Materialistic, object-driven identities are not always looked upon as a favorable expression of self – even among young people themselves (Autio et al. 2009; Wilska 2003). In their Australian survey, Bentley et al. (2004) found that many young

people were critical of the consumer culture that they are presumed to be located within. Almost 90 % of young people surveyed believed that “young people buy too much stuff” (Bentley et al. 2004). Focusing on their own individual consumption habits, 92 % of young people believed that “by changing my behavior I could bring about positive change” to the environment, but also the well-being of others (Bentley et al. 2004). Further, 95 % of young people surveyed agreed or strongly agreed that they were “personally responsible for making my consumption more sustainable.” Focusing on mobile phone consumption patterns via a survey of 637 Finnish young people, Wilska (2003) found that many teenagers were keen to present themselves as being “less materialistic” than their peers. While young people connected mobile phone consumption to “trends,” the need to obtain “cool” styles was infrequently acted upon. The majority of the young respondents were actually “thrifty” mobile phone consumers, a trait which was associated with environmental consciousness and careful consumption patterns more generally. Even some of the most “hedonistic” participants in Autio’s (2005) Finnish study of youth consumer culture expressed emotions of shame after reflecting on their own self-confessed “wastrel” identities. Contra the “thoughtless” consumer tag, teenage participants (aged between 16 and 19) expressed concern about wasteful and unnecessary consumption and spending. In a “play between hedonism and self-control,” these young study participants did not always deem consumption to be necessary or desirable (Autio 2005, p. 340).

Geographers, Collins and Hitchings (2012; see also Collins 2014, 2015 and Hitchings et al. 2015) have also sought to complicate the hedonistic and wasteful consumer caricature. Their important work has argued that scholars of contemporary youth consumption have paid insufficient attention to the ways that young people value, use, and eventually dispose of items. There is evidence of environmental awareness – and “green” behaviors – embedded *within* young people’s unique consumption patterns (Hitchings et al. 2015). As noted throughout this chapter, contemporary young people in the Global North have been criticized for their apparently short-lived satisfaction with products and for the instability of their wants and desires (Griffin et al. 2005; Hume 2010). Their consumption patterns have often been deemed problematic by comparison with the practices of preceding generations – particularly their “frugal” grandparents who grew up in times of hardship such as war or recession (Stanes et al. 2015). Yet many of the young participants in Collins’ (2014) study displayed an ethic of care toward material objects – such as clothes, electronics, or toys – even as they disposed of them. Using detailed research methods including interviews and photo-elicitation involving 26 teens (aged 16–19) in secondary schools across East Anglia (UK), Collins (2014) observed strategies for avoiding waste. The young study participants put considerable effort into retaining items, even if they no longer used or wanted them – just in case they needed a “backup.” Holding onto items was legitimized with recourse to potential future utility of an item, a spare mobile phone, for example, held in a drawer in case the one in use broke down (Collins 2014). While rates of competence and ability to mend or repair items were relatively low, the majority of the 26 young participants indicated that they would first attempt to repair a

possession (usually clothing or gadgets) either themselves or with assistance from family members or professionals before disposing of an item. Within Collins' (2014) study, a small group of five participants identified as active menders or re-users capable of extending the life of particular objects or returning them to active use. Collins (2014) highlighted the sense of competence and efficacy that this group of young menders and repairers experienced as a way of encouraging a more thoughtful relationship to "things" (see also Percy-Smith and Burns 2013). While behaviors of care or repair for unwanted objects did not appear to be motivated by environmental concern, Collins (2014) argued that there is potential for such attitudes toward used objects to be built in to discussions around more sustainable consumption (see also Hitchings et al. 2015).

Geographers have also researched the ways in which young people have sought out alternatives to limit their consumption. Stanes (2008) found evidence of careful purchase-minimization strategies in the clothing practices of young people in Wollongong, Australia. The established relationships of contemporary youth peer networks enabled cultures of clothes sharing, swapping, and lending, particularly among groups of young women (Stanes 2008). These acts reduced the amount of clothing that was being bought and consumed, while at the same time expanding the young women's wardrobes. Elsewhere, Dowling and Simpson (2013) highlighted several signals that point toward a changing car identity among this generation of young people in Australia. Computers and mobile phones have assumed a prime position as status symbols in recent years, and as evidenced by declining car sales and a reduction in the number of young people getting their driver's licenses, many young Australians are finding alternative ways of getting around. In particular, an increase in the number of young people using car-sharing initiatives has also signaled a shift toward a "post-private-car society" (Dowling and Simpson 2013, p. 431).

Such studies point toward the existence of unique – and at times inadvertent – cultures of sustainability among contemporary young people. Today's young consumers, it seems, are not devoid of environmental and moral concerns about their consumption patterns. However, their everyday sustainabilities may remain hidden if traditional expectations of what environmentalism "looks like" continue to be prioritized. There is growing evidence that young people consciously and unconsciously practice environmentalism in unique ways – distinct from those of older generations (Hersch and Viscusi 2006; Hitchings et al. 2015; Stanes et al. 2015). For the most part, the aforementioned studies have found that these more sustainable consumption patterns (which were often inadvertent) were not perceived by young people as "a limitation to" enjoying the processes and experiences of consumption (Autio et al. 2009, p. 45). Rather than mourning the disappearance of "old-fashioned" values such as thrift and frugality – and thereby pitting young people against older generations in unhelpful ways – research attention should be devoted toward better understanding how contemporary young people are enacting similar values in "modern" and innovative ways (Percy-Smith and Burns 2013). For instance, Vivoni (2013) identified how skateboarding cultures among young people in Chicago fostered an ethic of care for local environments. Skateboarding projects targeted at

young people promoted alternative sustainabilities within urban spaces – including, for instance, recycled art installations, reuse of materials for ramps and street obstacles, and environmental justice initiatives. In this example, urban spaces were transformed into “hands-on learning centers” that promoted environmental awareness (Vivoni 2013, p. 346). These studies suggest that entanglements of youth and environmental sustainability do not always involve obvious actions (like planting trees or recycling plastic bottles) and can instead emerge (at times inadvertently) out of relationships with others and the physicality of taken-for-granted environments and spaces. Contemporary young people often practice an “alternative ethic of care” (Vivoni 2013, p. 340) that are poorly accounted for by existing measures. Geographers ought to look beyond sites of acquisition (such as the shopping mall) to develop a deeper sense of young people’s ways of valuing material objects – contra the prevailing rhetoric of thoughtless waste (Collins and Hitchings 2012, p. 197).

However, even those young people who express high levels of commitment to environmental issues still experience moments where the responsibilities of environmental citizenship are undermined by the temptations of modern consumption and comforts (Collins and Hitchings 2012). The desire to consume can often outweigh environmental commitment (Autio and Heinonen 2004; Breunig et al. 2013). For instance, in Breunig et al. (2013) Canadian study of secondary school students 75 % reported feeling inconvenienced by the prospect of acting upon pro-environmental intentions. Fundamental changes in everyday behaviors, such as carpooling to and from school, lost out to ideas of inconvenience and ensuing lack of freedom (Breunig et al. 2013). Instead, students were more likely to be engaged in everyday sustainabilities through what the authors called “domestic environmental behaviors” (Breunig et al. 2013, p. 380), or small scale actions like recycling or turning the lights off in rooms that were not being used.

5 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the apparent disjuncture between the popular perceptions of contemporary young people as wasteful and hedonistic consumers and their alternative positioning as environmental heroes. This binary has effectively split debates around youth, the environment, and sustainability into “the good” and “the bad.” But these descriptions are too simplistic and partial. This chapter has argued that contemporary young people in the Global North do not fit neatly into either of these categories. One-dimensional conceptualizations of young people do not match lived, everyday complexities of their lifestyles. The life stage of youth is often unpredictable. Young people’s identities are multiple, intersecting, and fluid (Hopkins 2013) – with implications for their environmental values and practices.

Recent geographical scholarship has made strong efforts to develop a more nuanced picture of contemporary young people (Collins 2014, 2015; Collins and Hitchings 2012; Gibson and Stanes 2011; Hadfill-Hill 2013; Hitchings et al. 2015; Hopkins 2013; Horton et al. 2013; Percy-Smith and Burns 2013; Stanes et al. 2015; Vivoni 2013). But there is still some way to go. Many young people are concerned

about environmental issues in general and climate change in particular (Autio et al. 2009; Bentley et al. 2004; Carbon Trust 2012; Fielding and Head 2012; Forum for the Future 2008; Jenkins and Pell 2006; Stanes et al. 2015). They have the capacity to influence change in response to pressing environmental problems across a range of geographical scales and have been targeted by NGOs and schools in recent years to nurture the role they can play as changemakers in response to pressing environmental and social problems across multiple scales. But young people should not be seen as a uniform mass. Their capacities need to be viewed in the present tense, rather than being framed around future potentialities (Evans and Honeyford 2012; Hayward 2012). Further, contemporary young people's environmental capacities need to be understood on their own terms – they are unique and distinct from the sustainabilities of previous generations. Many young people have already been practicing an “alternative ethic of care” (Vivoni 2013, p. 340) for the environment that has been poorly accounted for by existing measures. Future research attention ought to be devoted toward identifying, heralding, and promoting practices that are prevalent among contemporary young people, which may have (inadvertently) positive impacts on environmental objectives (Hitchings et al. 2015). At the same time, it is important to avoid romanticizing this potential. No one generational cohort is going to solve environmental issues facing modern society. Communities across all geographical scales will also need to work together in order to face uncertain environmental futures. The environmental hero label is also unhelpful because it suggests that contemporary young people can single-handedly right the wrongs of previous generations. Instead, the evidence presented throughout this chapter points toward the benefits of mutual, intergenerational learning (Ballantyne et al. 2001; Collins 2015; Klocker et al. 2012; Stanes et al. 2015). The sustainabilities of all generations will need to be harnessed in order to respond to a range of complex and pressing environmental challenges.

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