

This is the final pre-publication version of an article submitted to [\*Children, Youth and Environments\*](#).

Published details:

Boyden, Jo (2009) "[Risk and Capability in the Context of Adversity: Children's Contributions to Household Livelihoods in Ethiopia](#)", *Children, Youth and Environments* 19(2): 117-137

Reproduced with permission of the publisher: The Board of Regents of the University of Colorado.

# **Risk and Capability in the Context of Adversity: Children's Contributions to Household Livelihoods in Ethiopia**

**Jo Boyden**

*Department of International Development  
University of Oxford*

---

## **Abstract**

This article analyzes how children in Ethiopia respond to household adversity in the context of poverty. It highlights the association between poverty and other forms of hardship and the complex interplay of risk and protective factors in young people's lives. It argues that identifying adversity is not straightforward because beliefs affect the outcomes of such experiences, and different cultures and actors hold different views on the matter, so that assumed risks can in some cases be protective and foster specific competencies in the young. To support this argument, children's work—often viewed as a risk—and their role in preventing and mitigating household hardship are underlined as a potential source of protection, resilience and skills development. In this way, the limitations of research that focuses solely on detrimental child outcomes of risk exposure are revealed and the need for a more nuanced, multi-actor view of these processes is emphasized.

**Keywords:** childhood poverty, risk, adversity, children's contributions, child work

## **Introduction**

This article analyzes how children in Ethiopia respond to household adversity in the context of poverty. It draws on selected data from survey and qualitative research conducted as part of an ongoing investigation into the causes and consequences of childhood poverty undertaken within Young Lives.<sup>1</sup> The project is tracking the perspectives, conditions and circumstances of 3,000 children in Ethiopia, 980 of whom were born between 1994 and 1995 (the Older Cohort) and the rest between 2001 and 2002 (the Younger Cohort). This article focuses on the Older Cohort, which was around 12 to 13 years of age when the qualitative data were gathered.

The article conceptualizes adversity in terms of circumstances and processes that undermine household functioning and represent a risk to children's well-being and development. It examines Young Lives' findings in light of the literature on risk and resilience in children and argues that hardship is not an exceptional circumstance but, to varying degrees, a part of everyday life for almost all of the children in the sample. However, in exploring the association between household adversities and children's responses, it does not assume that hardship necessarily results in detrimental effects, and highlights the complex interplay of risk and protective factors in young people's lives. It emphasizes how girls and boys in their early teens can play an important part in preventing and mitigating the impacts of household adversity, sharing responsibility for household maintenance with adults. It also argues that adversity has different meanings in different cultures and for different actors, such that in some situations and under some circumstances assumed risks can be protective and may foster specific competencies in the young. In making this case, the limitations of research that focuses solely on detrimental outcomes for children are revealed and the need for a nuanced, multi-actor view of these processes is underlined.

## **Studying Adversities in Children's Lives**

### **Why Study Adversity?**

Recent decades have seen a significant growth in research on the impact of catastrophic events and other forms of misfortune on human beings and their societies. Interest in this topic is premised on two ideas: that adversity and risk of adversity have the potential to wreak havoc at both a personal and collective level in terms of human and societal well-being; and that through the identification of risk and assessment of its impact, preventative and ameliorative measures can be developed. Poverty is generally recognized as a grave misfortune in its own right, a direct cause of mortality, morbidity and suffering among countless children and adults globally. But a close association between poverty and other forms of adversity has also been established, due very often to factors of political economy (Hart 2008), as well as to environmental hazards impacting whole populations and to personal tragedies which affect only some households.

There is a compelling rationale for examining the links between household poverty and other hardships. Not only are poor households more prone to adversities

---

<sup>1</sup> [www.younglives.org.uk](http://www.younglives.org.uk)

derived from structural inequities but, because they do not have access to buffers, are less likely than wealthier groups to be able to protect themselves from detrimental impacts. For example, Stefan Dercon (2004) has analyzed the enduring effects of rainfall shocks and large-scale famine in the 1980s on consumption growth in rural Ethiopia. He found that adverse impacts on welfare due to the lack of insurance and protection measures were well beyond those associated with short-term fluctuations in consumption. Elsewhere he argues that risk is not simply another expression of poverty, but “an important cause of persistent poverty and poverty traps” in its own right (Dercon 2005, 1). Recurring misfortune may impact household structure, undermine economic growth, and/or result in significant loss of income, assets, or consumption (Lokshin and Ravallion 2000). Under these conditions households may become risk averse, closing down economic opportunities associated with more innovative livelihoods strategies (Dercon 2005). The development and well-being of poor children may be doubly compromised by the effect of multiple hardships.

That said, research shows that beyond the effects of nutritional deficit and other biological or neurological risks, it is extremely difficult to predict the condition of children from the circumstances of their households. Understanding the child-specific impacts of risk requires detailed research with children. The problem is that while there exists a large body of literature on childhood adversity and considerable advances have been made in this field, there remains much that is unknown and debate surrounds existing research. To date, the topic has received the greatest attention by far within the field of psychology. In this discipline, adversity is normally conceptualized in terms of risk to individual well-being, development and functioning, and refers to variables that increase the likelihood of psychopathology or developmental impairment of one kind or another. Poverty is often highlighted as one of the major risks for children and is recognized as often co-occurring with other risk factors, such as parental unemployment, poor health, or substance abuse. Some risks have been identified as specific to particular individuals and are a product of the unique combination of characteristics that make up that individual. Thus, certain genotypes either directly compromise development or enhance the adverse impact of other risk factors (Wachs 2009). Other risks are external to the individual and result from environmental factors that are detrimental to human development. It is these external risks that form the focus of the current article.

In psychology, psychiatry and neuroscience, the dominant tradition of research draws attention to the loss of “developmental potential” associated with exposure to trauma and other hardships (Grantham-McGregor et al. 2007; Engle 2009). Universal processes of neurological and biological development are highlighted and strong cause-and-effect relations underlined. A core assumption of this paradigm is that children are more susceptible to harm than adults, due largely to their immaturity and social dependence (Gunnar and Quevedo 2007; Heim and Nemeroff 1999). Particularly important for understanding the consequences of risk exposure, children are seen to have developmental pathways—competencies that advance in a systematic fashion—and these pathways appear to involve significant time sensitivity to external forces. In other words, it is argued that there are “sensitive periods” for some developmental processes and potentials during which the

stimulation that a child receives has a lasting effect on specific domains of development (Dawes and Donald 2005; Grantham-McGregor et al. 2007; Victoria et al. 2008). In this way, it is suggested that *when* adversity occurs during childhood is extremely significant for child outcomes, as well as for longer-term life trajectories, and even for the transmission of specific deprivations across generations.

Much of the research in this tradition centers on early childhood because this life phase is characterized by accelerated processes of developmental change that are in turn associated with heightened receptiveness to environmental stimuli. Also, developmental patterns that are laid down at this point tend often to form the basis for later trends (Compas, Gerhardt and Hinden 1995; Hertzman 2000; Kelley, Loeber and DeLamatre 1997; Meng and Qian 2006). At the same time, it has been found that impairment in one domain of children's development generally impacts other domains. This is because the various domains of development exist in a synergistic relationship—changes in any one domain are supported by, and support, changes in other domains. Thus, links have been observed between maternal malnutrition during pregnancy (for example, iron deficiency anemia and protein-energy under-nutrition) and low birth weight in infants, lowered resistance to infection, inhibited growth and cognitive development, and chronic diseases in later life (Alderman, Hoddinott and Kinsey 2001; 2006; Lawlor, Ebrahim and Smith 2005; Victoria et al. 2008). Within economics, this kind of evidence has stimulated an interest in the wider human capital consequences of neuro-biological deprivations early in life, as these are seen to compromise lifetime socioeconomic potential (Yaqub 2002).

Undoubtedly there is powerful evidence concerning the long-term detrimental effects of risk exposure in children. And yet, there is a large body of research within psychology, anthropology and sociology which has found that very often the outcomes cannot be predicted, there being enormous differences in individual responses to all kinds of hazards (Rutter 2001). While acknowledging that some children may be highly susceptible to risk and some risks may have life-long effects, scholars in this tradition point to the fact that even under seemingly overwhelming odds, a significant proportion of boys and girls who experience misfortune do not develop problems later on. Indeed, Michael Rutter (*ibid.*), a leading exponent of this paradigm within psychology, points to what he terms the "steeling effects," or the evidence that successful coping with stress can lead to *improved* functioning and *increased* resistance to adversity.

These kinds of observations are premised on the idea that children's development is extremely dynamic, is mediated by both environmental and individual forces, and involves considerable adaptation to adversity. They reflect a major field of enquiry into sources of competence in young people and forces that ameliorate adversity and reduce risk. Psychologists involved in this kind of work stress notions of resilience and coping in the young, as well as the protective processes that operate at the individual, family and community levels. Anthropologists and sociologists use rather different ideas and theories to support this view. They think of children as social agents who are distinguished from adults more by power and knowledge than

by developmental competence. They maintain that children's understandings, capacities and behaviors are largely shaped by their own will and by socio-cultural values and practices that prevail in specific historical periods and contexts, these two forces accounting for the wide variation in young people's perceptions of and responses to adversity globally.

Young Lives' research reflects both the "deficit" and "competence" paradigms. We find strong associations between deprivations in specific domains of development at certain points in children's lives and a range of detrimental outcomes later on in life (see, for example, Dercon and Krishnan 2009, this issue). But we have also identified variations in individual and cultural responses to adversity that paint a highly nuanced and complex picture, suggesting that the outcomes are not all detrimental. The current article highlights some of these complexities and points to some of the paradoxes arising from our evidence on children's engagement with hardship.

### **The Context**

According to all known estimations (e.g., UNDP 2007/8; World Bank 2007/8), Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries in the world. At the same time, with around 85 percent of the population living in rural areas and dependent on rain-fed agriculture, risk is a major feature of life, exacerbated by frequent droughts, high rates of human morbidity and mortality, pests and animal diseases (Dercon 2004). Under these challenging conditions, agriculture is becoming an increasingly unsustainable livelihood option for many poor subsistence farmers (Woldehanna 2000). The implications for children's well-being are grave. For example, crop damage in Ethiopia has been found to significantly affect early child growth (measured in height), with children aged between six months and 24 months experiencing about a 0.9cm growth loss over a six-month period (Yamano, Alderman and Christiaensen 2005).

There have also been political constraints to stability and growth. Until the early 1990s, Ethiopia was embroiled in civil war. During the socialist *Derg* (Committee) regime, off-farm investment, market-based trading, internal mobility and urbanization were all discouraged. There was very little scope for local authorities to make decisions that might have supported locally-based development processes. The *Derg* was also engaged in fighting separatist movements on several fronts, diverting funds away from development. After the downfall of the *Derg*, the government of Ethiopia started introducing economic reform based on market principles. Despite a serious drought in 2002, the economy has experienced sustained growth over the past five years, aided by relatively good harvests between 2003 and 2005 and by expansion of basic services and infrastructure.

Young Lives research is based in 20 communities in the states of Amhara; Oromiya; the Southern Nationalities, Nations and Peoples Region (SNNPR); Tigray; and in the capital, Addis Ababa (Woldehanna, Mekonnen and Alemu 2008). Together, these five areas offer examples of different geographical regions, levels of development, urban/rural balance, and population characteristics (including ethnicity) across Ethiopia. Even though there is evidence that Young Lives sites benefited from

national economic growth in the years between the first two data gathering rounds, sample households have proved highly susceptible to economic shocks and other forms of misfortune. Rural households in the sample remain below the national average for consumption, and absolute poverty and risk exposure remain high, especially in rural areas (ibid.). Our research reveals clear differences in children's life chances associated with differences in the sex and age of the child, household wealth, parental education, region, urban-rural location, ethnic group, and religion. Overall, the poorest of the poor are being left behind, underlining real problems of inequality and inequity.

This article draws on survey data from the full sample of the Older Cohort of children and their caregivers and on qualitative data based mainly on two of the five sites where qualitative research was conducted, Debre and Aksum.<sup>2</sup> Debre is in Addis Ababa, the capital, and most people in the area are from the Amhara ethnic group. This is not among the poorest sites in the study since it has fairly good access to basic services such as healthcare and education, and respondents reported no community-level adversities. At the same time, the frequency of household-level hardships was lower than in the other qualitative sites. Nevertheless, a significant proportion of caregivers and children indicated being affected by illness or injury, and interviews with adults suggest that the incidence of HIV/AIDS may be high. Aksum is in a rural district and is also predominantly Amhara. Most families in Aksum make their living by farming. The site was chosen because of its high levels of poverty and risk exposure, as well as the prevalence of work and low school participation among children. A slightly higher percent of households in this site reported deaths than in other qualitative sites and the community data indicated that the area had been seriously affected by drought and mud slides, with a smaller proportion of the population experiencing crop failure due to pests and diseases.

### **Methodological Issues in Risk Assessment**

Young Lives survey instruments administered with communities and caregivers contain questions on area-wide adversities affecting whole populations, as well as on household-specific misfortunes. The purpose of enquiring into household adversity is threefold: to understand the interplay between poverty and other forms of household risk; to gauge the level of exposure in children; and to assess the child outcomes. The child outcomes of risk exposure are analyzed through caregivers' reporting on whether children in our sample have been affected, as well as through data on a range of child variables such as nutrition, health, school achievement and psycho-social well-being. Both sets of data are obtained through questionnaires administered with the full sample of children and caregivers, with survey rounds to date having been conducted in 2002 and 2006. A second source of evidence is qualitative information gathered through individual interviews and group activities with a sub-sample of children, caregivers and other adults. So far, qualitative research has been undertaken in 2007 and 2008.

---

<sup>2</sup> In this article, pseudonyms are used when referring to both sites and individual children as a means of protecting the children's anonymity.

The evidence on adversity used in this article is based on caregivers' perceptions of household risks as reported in round two of the survey and on qualitative data gathered in 2007 from children and adults.<sup>3</sup> Household poverty is gauged through assessment of household economic status at the time of round one of the survey—in other words, prior to exposure to the adversities discussed in the article. At that stage, the economic status of households was proxied through a wealth index. The article uses the wealth index, which is comprised of a composite measure of selected household assets, materials used in house construction, types of water access and sanitation facilities. Generated with a statistical procedure, the index places individual households on a continuous scale of relative wealth.

Young Lives research includes all of the adversities most commonly reported by poor families around the globe (Dercon 2005). Eight broad categories of household risk were covered in the survey instruments. They are: crime (for example, theft or intentional destruction of property); economic shocks (such as job loss or livestock death); government regulations (forced resettlement, land redistribution and the like); environmental hazards (flooding, drought, pests, etc.); housing disasters (such as fire or collapse); illness or death of mother, father or another household member; and other family adversities (such as separation, divorce, imprisonment and abandonment). Recognizing that it is impossible for researchers to anticipate all aspects of household experience, the questionnaires also included a code box enabling respondents to indicate adversities not mentioned in the questionnaires. Importantly, many (although certainly not all) of these adversities are regarded within psychology and other disciplines as a serious threat to children's well-being and development.<sup>4</sup>

While we were able to establish the number of households that had experienced a given event in the period in question and also obtain information on the different types of misfortune to which households were exposed, we do not know how many times they experienced these conditions or how long they lasted. This means that even though the project can say something about the effects of different kinds of risk, there are at present limits to what it can contribute to discussions of the cumulative impact of risk exposure over time. In order to understand the relative severity of different risks, caregivers were asked to rank adversities in terms of their significance to the household by choosing "the three most important events." Due to constraints on the length of the survey instruments, it was not possible to seek an explanation from caregivers of what they understood "important" to mean. But they were asked whether they thought these events had affected the Young Lives child in their care, without being asked to specify the kind of impact. Greater specificity regarding these questions would have allowed a better understanding of which events and processes caregivers deem to be most detrimental and why.

---

<sup>3</sup> A second study (Boyden and Streuli, forthcoming) will explore the links between household adversity and child outcomes, specifically children's aspirations, sense of inclusion, self-efficacy and self-esteem, as reported in the survey.

<sup>4</sup> Some events, for example the birth of a child, may represent an economic shock for a household but are unlikely in most cases to be regarded by household members as an "adversity."



### Caregivers' Perceptions of Household Adversity

This article analyzes the proportion of households that reported being affected by shocks and explores differences by location and poverty levels. Disparities in risk exposure connected to household poverty status and place of residence, especially rural or urban residence, have turned out to be very important. Around 87 percent of households of Older Cohort children experienced at least one event between 2002 and 2006 that could be defined as a potential risk to children. From Figure 1 it can be seen that when the number of household adversities are analyzed by economic status, households in the lowest wealth quintiles tended to report higher levels of risk exposure than wealthier households. At the same time, the poorest households were exposed to a wider range of types of misfortune than were wealthier households. This evidence confirms the close association between poverty and other forms of adversity, although precise causal relations cannot be traced through the descriptive statistics provided in the current article. While the two poorest quintiles in the wealth index experienced a greater number and more types of adversity than other groups, it is interesting to note the lower levels of exposure of the poorest quintile as compared to the second poorest quintile.

**Figure 1. Caregivers' experiences of household risks, by wealth quintiles**

	Full sample	Wealth Index Quintiles (2002)				
		1 <sup>st</sup> (poorest)	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup> (less poor)
<b>Average # of types of household risk (mean, Std. Dev)*</b>	3.14 (2.7)	4.20 (3.2)	3.80 (3.0)	3.03 (2.6)	2.57 (2.2)	2.14 (2.0)
<b>Households affected by at least 1 event</b>	87%	90%	92%	82%	83%	78%

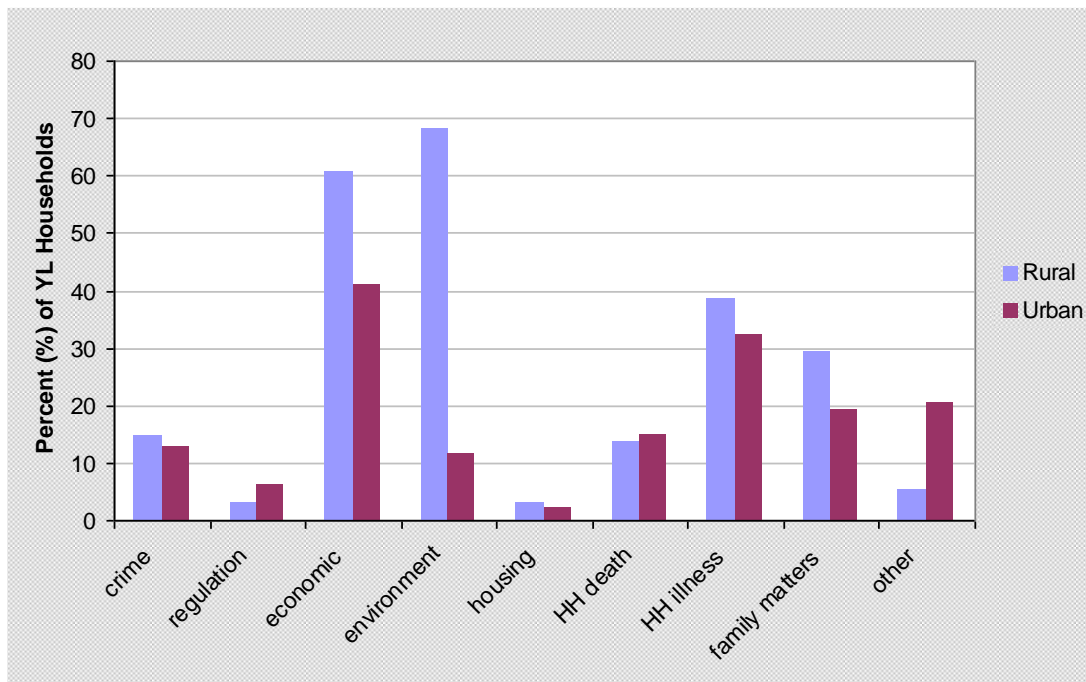
\* Refers to types of risks, as indicated in Figure 2

There are more rural than urban households in the Young Lives sample in Ethiopia, with a higher concentration of rural households in the lower wealth quintiles. Figure 2 provides a breakdown of households by location and type of shock reported. As might be expected, the type and magnitude of events differed between rural and urban households. Thus, 68 percent of rural households in the sample were affected by environmental and 61 percent by economic-related events, while urban households reported 12 percent and 41 percent respectively. With a higher proportion of rural households reporting events on average than urban, this finding reflects the national trend in Ethiopia, whereby the rural poor tend to experience higher levels of environmental and economic risk than urban populations. The susceptibility of rural households to environmental forces can be linked to low levels

of technology in agriculture, as much as to shortfalls in precipitation and other natural hazards.

One exception to this trend was reporting of “other” unspecified events (especially increases in the cost of living) which affected around one-fifth of the urban sample and only 5 percent of the rural. This difference is likely to be due to the greater susceptibility to price rises, greater diversity of livelihood strategies and greater complexity of lifestyles more generally found in urban areas. Also, a slightly higher percent of urban households seem to have been affected by death than rural—15 percent against 14 percent.

**Figure 2. Types of household risk by location**



One interesting finding relates to perceptions of health in rural areas. Even though it was acknowledged that health problems are frequent, poor health was not generally regarded as significant for household well-being. Hence, 30 percent of rural caregivers reported that the mother had been ill in the last four years, although less than half of this number considered this to be one of the three most important events affecting the household. Similarly, a quarter of rural households reported illness of the father, but only 11 percent regarded this as a significant event.

## How Does Adversity Affect Children?

### Challenges in Defining Risks to Children

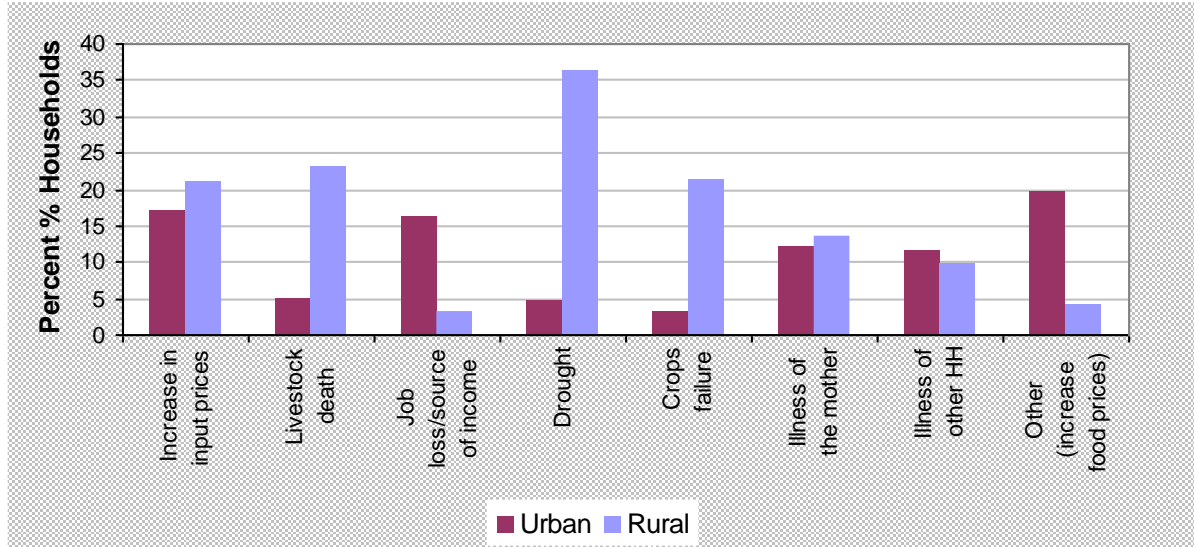
Researchers tend to assume that risks to children associated with the experience of adversity are relatively straightforward to define, insofar as it would seem self-evident that circumstances like death, hunger and poverty pose a significant threat

to child well-being. Nevertheless, defining adversity and establishing the degree of risk it presents to the young is in practice extremely challenging.

Quite a few researchers base their assessments of child outcomes of risk on levels of exposure to pre-defined events, normally combined with checklists of “symptoms” in children, treated as proxies for their responses. The Young Lives survey used a similar procedure, insofar as predefining risks is concerned. But our research into caregivers’ perceptions indicates one of the difficulties with trying to predict outcomes in children on the basis of their experience of events that have been predetermined by researchers and reported by adult caregivers. In our study there is a clear disparity between level of household exposure to hazards of different types and the degree to which children are perceived by their caregivers as having been affected. So, whereas it is evident from their responses that household adversity is an integral part of life in Ethiopia, caregivers do not view children as being affected in all cases. Of the 87 percent of households who reported they had experienced adversity of one kind or another in the four years between data gathering rounds, caregivers maintained that 83 percent of the rural sample of children and 77 percent of the urban sample had been affected (see Figure 3).

At the same time, there are some apparent anomalies in caregivers’ perceptions. Even though poorer households experience higher levels of risk overall, in terms of magnitude and types of adversity undergone, the proportion of caregivers who reported that these events had affected children is similar across all wealth groups. Also emerging from the data is a clear tendency for caregivers to regard economic hardship as more serious for children than other kinds of experiences. Figure 3 shows that both urban and rural children were thought to have been impacted by economic events such as increases in input prices. A significant proportion of rural boys and girls were reported as having been influenced by the death of livestock, drought and crop failure, while urban children experienced the impacts of loss of employment or source of income and increases in food prices. On the other hand, even though illness is pervasive throughout the sample, it was not seen by caregivers as having been particularly significant for children. Illness of the child’s mother, for example, was said to have affected only 12 percent of urban and 13 percent of rural children.

**Figure 3. Caregivers’ perceptions of risks that have affected children’s well-being**



There is evidence that the outcome of risk exposure in children is heavily influenced by the nature, intensity and duration of adversity. Thus, it has been found that children are far more likely to be detrimentally affected psychologically and in other ways when they are exposed to multiple adversities (Engle 2009; Garmezy and Masten 1994; Walker et al. 2007; Woodhead 2004, citing Friedman and Chase-Lansdale 2002). Some scholars suggest that risk factors may combine in a multiplicative, not just additive, way: the more adversities children confront, the greater the likelihood of detrimental outcomes (Rutter 2001; Woodhead 2004). Based on this logic, one might expect to find considerable evidence of developmental impairment among the children in our Ethiopian sample given the substantial burden of adversities they bear. At the same time, whether or not risks are transient or persistent might also make a difference, although the research findings in this area are somewhat contradictory. Michael Ungar (2004, 350), for example, notes that "A risk factor that appears as a single occurrence will not have the same impact (and may have a more acute impact) on development as one that is chronic." It has yet to establish whether it is the multiplicity of risks, the interaction of different risks, or the duration or intensity of risk that increases children's sensitivity, or possibly a combination of all of these.<sup>5</sup>

Another challenge in this field of research is the strong Euro-American bias in scholarly ideas about risk in childhood. There has been very little consideration of cultural understandings of adversity or of cultural values and practices in relation to child care and protection, all of which can significantly affect both the nature of experience and responses to that experience. By way of example, Ungar (2004) argues that current notions of family and family functioning prevalent within the risk and resilience literature are not able to account for experiences in other cultures. Similarly, anthropologists have asserted that some cultures and

<sup>5</sup> As I have indicated, there are methodological constraints on the ability of the study to contribute to this particular area of research since we have not been able to record the duration of any of the specific hazards reported as occurring between data rounds, nor how many times a household experienced this hazard during that period.

communities are far better prepared to deal with adversity than others, seeing the ability to combat misfortune not as a matter merely of individual predisposition or traits, but as “collective and ingrained within relationships in communities” (Hernandez 2002, 336).

It is likely that cultural understandings play a significant part in explaining Young Lives’ findings on childhood risk. Even though according to criteria generally accepted within psychology the survey results point to high levels of risk exposure among Ethiopian children, the evidence on child outcomes is complicated and difficult to interpret. Cultural values and meanings may well contribute to this complexity. Take for example the issue of parental death, which is generally understood to be one of the most serious risk factors for children’s well-being and development. Given that one in five of Young Lives children in Ethiopia have experienced the death of one or both parents (Himaz 2009), the level of risk in the sample associated with parental death would seem to be very high. Certainly the survey data contain strong evidence linking orphanhood with specific detrimental outcomes in children. Thus, Rozana Himaz (ibid.) has found discernable effects upon schooling caused by parental death among children in the older Young Lives cohort in Ethiopia, pointing to a very clear loss of developmental potential. In particular, the death of a mother during middle childhood (between ages 8 and 12) reduces school enrolment by around 21 percent; increases the chance that by age 12 to 13 a child cannot write at all (even with difficulty) by around 20 percent; and increases the chance that they cannot read at all or can read only letters (rather than words or sentences) by around 27 percent, compared with those whose mothers have not died. Maternal orphans frequently experience a change in caregiver. Therefore, poorer learning outcomes and delays in school enrolment among these children could be linked to changes in living and care arrangements at a crucial time in their lives when they would normally be expected to start school.

In spite of the tremendous losses experienced by orphans and adverse learning outcomes correlated with the death of mothers, children’s functioning and development appears less affected by this kind of severe family adversity than might be expected. For example, Himaz (2009) established that none of the detrimental educational outcomes are evident for paternal orphans when compared to those whose fathers are alive, although the father dying does seem to negatively impact a child’s sense of optimism. She also examined the effect that losing a parent early in childhood (between ages 0 to 6) has on children’s outcomes at age 12, compared with the outcomes of those that did not lose a parent, and found that parental death before age 4 does not have an obvious effect on children’s health, education, sense of optimism or self-esteem. In other words, parental death seems to have greater impact during middle childhood than in early childhood. This evidence brings into question conventional assumptions about the inherent vulnerability of very young children to serious ruptures in their emotional attachments to caregivers.

Anthropological work on delegated parenting and child care by older siblings in Africa may be relevant in explaining the fortitude of orphans in our sample. It is suggested that where delegated or shared child care is common, children develop

diffuse emotional attachments to parents and when cared for by older siblings may develop greater attachments to siblings than parents (Mann 2003, citing Harkness and Super 1992; Leiderman and Leiderman 1977; LeVine et al. 1994; Weisner and Gallimore 1977; Whiting and Edwards 1988). In this sense, parental death may not have the same meaning in societies where delegated or shared care is common as it does where sole care by parents (or mothers) is the norm. However, who cares for the child after the parents' death, in terms of how close the caregiver is to the child, having a smooth transition into a new household, and being treated well by their new caregivers may be more significant for Young Lives children (Himaz 2009). Other protective factors include having supportive friends and peers, and caregivers who feel positively about the child's education.

Overall, research from all five sites in the qualitative sub-sample has revealed little evidence of "pathology" and considerable subtlety and complexity in children's responses to family adversities in Ethiopia. Quite a few of the children involved in the qualitative research are full or partial orphans and are being cared for by relatives. For example, Afework Benas, who lives in Debre, lost both of his parents following illness. His father died when he was only two years old and his mother when he was six. Afework explained that his mother's death was the worst thing to have happened to the family. He claimed that an orphan is disadvantaged when compared to other children because he has "no mother and father, can't go to school and can't keep himself clean." He said he would like to be like other children who "are controlled" by their parents. In line with Himaz's findings, his caregiver highlighted the impact of the mother's death on Afework's schooling:

*...until our mother passed away, he [Afework] was fine [in his education]. But after she died there was nobody to take care of him. We were busy getting our livelihood. But now we have given him more attention. There was a problem one or two years after the death of our mother. We were here and there with different relatives. So he is late in his education now. He could have been in grade six or five now at his age, but he is in grade four. But he doesn't see it as a problem. He has seen the problem when he was a child. Now he tries to comfort us that things are good and will be better.*

Some maintain that the diffusion of early attachment associated with delegated or shared care may increase children's sense that others in the community will care for them, and this could be an important protective factor (Weisner and Gallimore 1977). In Afework's case, one of his cousins has assumed the role of caregiver and the family has also benefited from outside assistance. His cousin acknowledged that for some months following the mother's death, he felt confused and did not know how to cope. For a time the family was helped by some of the mother's friends, and it was a serious blow when this came to an end: "There were friends...who used to help us but suddenly they stopped the support. That was a big misfortune for us." The family also received some support from the local authorities, as the cousin explained:

*The Kebele knows he is an orphan and he goes to school for free. The school administration understands the problem and gives him free education.... He is*

*a model for the others in the area. People take him as an example for their children. They say that even though Afework doesn't have anything he is doing well at school.*

It seems likely that the degree of public acknowledgement of children's loss and of collective support provided by the community can make a significant difference to resilience and coping.

### **Intergenerational Differences in Perspectives of Risk**

Differences in perceptions of adversity have an important intergenerational dimension. In exploring children's views through a range of qualitative methods, it is striking how often these differed from the accounts given in the survey by caregivers. This was especially evident in the rural sites, where the tendency was for caregivers to highlight the impact of household economic problems like crop failure or death of livestock, while children were far more concerned about situations affecting individual family members, family relationships, and household structure and functioning. To some degree this diversity of views is to be expected because, for one thing, adults may seek to protect children from knowledge of threats to the household. In other words, while children's awareness of risk tells us a lot, it is clearly not the only indicator that there is risk. On the other hand, it may be that caregivers simply assume that children are not mature enough to notice problems relating to family. At the same time, it is also very important to recognize the possibility that children may have insights into hazards of which adults are unaware.

One of the most conspicuous intergenerational differences in perspectives in the Ethiopian case is the extent to which boys and girls were preoccupied by health problems, whether their own or those of a close relative, whereas adults reported illness as frequent but seemed not to perceive it as having a major impact on either household functioning or child well-being. One of the methods that brought children's concerns about health to the fore was the "ladder of life," in which children indicated their current and future positions on a continuum that begins with the "best possible life" and ends with the worst. "Education" and "work harder" were cited by children as the main reasons for moving up the ladder, whereas poor health status was given as one of the main reasons for moving down, especially by children from the poorer households (Camfield and Tafere 2009, 11). Children involved in Young Lives qualitative research often referred to the emotional, economic and social consequences of poor health among household members. Zeina Fegessa, for example, explained that her mother's sickness had had a devastating and lasting impact on the family:

*I go to bed and cry. I wish this would not have happened to us. She's not cured even if she's going to the hospital... If she was well she would have a better job and we would live... on [our] own.*

Seife Senbetta's family also contends with a lot of illness. Seife is from Aksum and according to the round one wealth index, his household is in the third quintile, indicating that it is not among the poorest in the sample. From Seife's perspective,

ill health is by far the most serious threat to his family's and his own well-being. Seife suffers from epilepsy and his father has also been ill for a long time. He explained that, "because of my sickness much work time has been wasted," and "my father is not feeling well. If he was able to work we would have been living much better." On the other hand, Seife's mother cited "death of livestock," "theft of crops" and "drought" as the events that had most affected the household between 2002 and 2006; she did not mention ill health.

Keleb Weyra also lives in Aksum and her caregiver reported that the household had experienced four different adversities in the years between 2002 and 2006, with livestock death, theft of crops and increase in the prices of agricultural inputs being the most important and all having a major impact on Keleb. In contrast, Keleb was clear that the most significant event in her life was when her mother took a job as a domestic worker in Addis Ababa: "my mum left when I was a very little girl... she is the one who sends me money and I buy clothes to wear." Since her mother went away, Keleb has been living with her grandparents. At some point, her grandfather became blind and Keleb identified this as another very significant event in her life because it meant that her grandfather was no longer able to look after their cattle:

*Formerly we had many cattle; two cows, two oxen, two castrated bulls and two heifers. People refused to look after all of them since they shoved other cattle. We sold them and we get starvation... We also sold our hens and heifers and now we only have two cows left... they are mine since my [grand]parents are weak.*

Keleb's household falls in the second wealth quintile, which means that even though the family is not among the poorest in our sample they are still very poor, so the loss of the grandfather's labor has had very serious consequences for the family. Given the high morbidity, widespread poverty and uninsured risk, injury and illness can entail a serious burden in terms of care and medical costs as well as reducing productive and reproductive household labor. In Keleb's case, first her mother's migration and then her grandfather's blindness escalated the household's poverty and transformed her role within the family; with her grandfather no longer able to tend the cattle she has now taken charge of household maintenance. It is easy to understand why in this context boys and girls might be so concerned about poor health in parents and grandparents, since this can disrupt household functioning and hasten their passage into adulthood before they are ready to assume adult responsibilities.

### **Methodological Issues in the Identification of Risk**

In addition to reflecting cultural and intergenerational distinctions in outlook, there is likely to be an important methodological dimension to the diversity of perspectives on risk emerging from the data, in that different data sources tend to yield different kinds of knowledge. For example, some of the events and circumstances described by the children as having had a direct and significant impact on the household were not asked about in the survey. Thus, several children talked about their own ill health, which they regarded as limiting their ability to work and assist their families, but this was not addressed in the survey.



Also, issues highlighted in interviews with individual boys and girls were sometimes very different from those raised by children in group exercises. For example, during group community mapping activities in all five of the qualitative research sites, the children discussed general dangers in their communities, although the extent to which they were reflecting on personal experience was not clear. Thus, rural children raised a concern about children and cattle drowning in rivers and about damage to crops and homes from flooding and snow. One girl expressed a fear of forests “because men rape girls when they go to collect fuel wood...some men who are HIV-positive knowingly transmit the virus to other girls.” The five other girls in the group agreed with her. Theft was a cause for anxiety for some, including theft of land. In contrast, risks cited by boys and girls during individual interviews were a great deal more personal in nature than those discussed in groups and were far more focused on family life and relationships. One group method that did yield similar findings to the individual interviews was the “well-being” activity, during which children ranked family as the key indicator of well-being for their age group, followed by education, good food and shelter, material security, absence of poverty or sickness, and good behavior (Camfield and Tafere 2009).

### **Engaging Actively with Adversity**

One of the objectives in studying childhood risk in Ethiopia is to understand how some children remain competent in the face of repeated hardship. We have seen that there is recognition of children’s agency, coping and resilience in some of the research in this field. However, there is a greater tendency to define risk and adversity in terms of overwhelming loss—loss of material possessions, loss of health, loss of a family member, and so on. At the same time, there is greater concern with states of being (well-being and ill-being) associated with risk than with children’s actions, roles and responsibilities. Based on our findings so far, I would argue that there needs to be more attention to the things that some, or many, children gain, and to the things many of them do to prevent or mitigate risk. The boys and girls in our sample do not appear simply as helpless victims of circumstances beyond their control. Many are extremely concerned about the hardships endured by their families and express a desire to assist them. And the majority—boys and girls—play an active role in mitigating family adversity. Seemingly, the main contribution children make is through their work. This is important given that work is generally conceptualized in the “adversity literature” as a serious risk to the young.

Active engagement with adversity through work undoubtedly entails some risks, especially when it involves too much responsibility at an early age or when the conditions are hazardous or exploitative. But work also has potential benefits, as Martin Woodhead has argued:

*When children feel their work is a normal thing to do, that they are doing something valued by their families, and they are treated fairly, these feelings can serve as a coping mechanism that helps their resilience. When they feel stigmatized or ashamed, or unjustly treated, this can add to their vulnerability and distress (Woodhead 2004, 49).*

Woodhead highlights the advantages of children's work in relation to combating poverty: "For children living in poverty, working may itself be considered an asset, providing them with economic and personal rewards that protect against wider adversities" (ibid., 47). In many contexts, the assumption of ever-increasing responsibilities at work facilitates learning of life skills as well as being an important rite of passage enabling the transition to adulthood. Related to this, several researchers have established that child rearing that stresses self-assurance and gives children some experience of responsibility at an early age, such as sibling caretaking and income-producing activities, promotes well-being, self-efficacy and social skills (Fromm and Maccoby 1970; Whiting and Whiting 1975). The fact that the Older Cohort children were aged 12 to 13 at the time of the qualitative research may be particularly significant since this is a crucial age of transition in many societies, often associated with increased workload and responsibility and sometimes (although not in rural Ethiopia) connected with the move into secondary education (Boyden, Myers and Ling 1998).

### **Ways in Which Children's Work Affects Their Well-Being**

Among the boys and girls in our sample work appears to be associated with a sense of well-being and important pro-social skills, as well as with disapproval of inactivity or "idleness" in others—this latter finding being particularly notable in boys. Hence, work can be regarded as a protective factor in some instances and may enhance resilience in some children, especially when it can be combined effectively with schooling.

It seems as though Teferi Birru, who lives with his grandmother in Debre, has managed to achieve equilibrium in his working and school life. He has a very strong work ethic and disapproves of children who drop out of school to live off their families. His parents are dead, possibly due to HIV/AIDS. His grandmother reported in the survey that his family had experienced three adverse events between 2002 and 2006, including the death of a member of the household and increases in food prices, both of which she felt had affected him. His family is in the second wealth quintile and therefore the income he obtains from washing cars and the household chores he does for his grandmother are important.

When asked why he likes his work, Teferi said:

*First I earn money in it. Second, it makes me happy for having a job rather than staying at home the whole day in the neighborhood... I use it [the job] to buy the necessary educational materials. I buy my shoes, bag and clothes.*

Reinforcing these claims, Teferi's grandmother pointed out that he is very responsible and takes his job very seriously:

*He's always thinking about ways through which he can rescue himself from such a miserable life and through which he can stand above his brothers in terms of educational status and living status... He does not spend the money*

*he gains on candies or chewing gum like other children often do. He immediately spends it for the cause of this family, as much as possible.*

Not only is Teferi extremely diligent at work and in school, but he is also highly critical of children who are “inactive”:

*What prevents it [the neighborhood] from being all [it could be] is that young people do not complete their education.... They stop at around Grade 8. They do not work. They spend their time just sitting. They go here and there with their friends and when they come back home, they are a burden to their family. They say that they haven't birr [money] for that day and thus they ask their family... They do not work but they ...spend the day at nonsense places.*

Children tend to express pride in the contributions they make through their work, but only when it is not overwhelming, and when the burden is shared with other members of the household (Boyden and Streuli, forthcoming). And yet, most of the children in our sample also appreciate the importance of education and wish to be educated. There has been considerable expansion in education access in Ethiopia in recent years and school attendance has become the most salient feature of modernity and well-being for many of the children in our sample (Camfield and Tafere 2009). The majority manage to combine education and work, with school participation in rural areas being facilitated by a half-day shift system and the timing of holidays to coincide with harvests.

But some boys and girls are under considerable pressure to attend school and the juxtaposition of school and work can create tensions in their lives. Seife, for example, gathers stones, feeds the cattle and does household chores. He claimed, “I don't even eat till my cattle eat their food,” and is resentful of pressure by officials to make him go to school:

*Seife*            *They [community officials] told me to go to school because I'm old enough.*  
*Fieldworker*   *Is it because you wanted to go, or did they force you?*  
*Seife*            *They insisted I go to school, so I did.*  
*Fieldworker*   *But you didn't want to go?*  
*Seife*            *No, I didn't want to go.*  
*Fieldworker*   *Why not?*  
*Seife*            *Both my father and mother are getting old, and nobody helps them with their work except me.*

When asked why he had not sent Seife to school, his father said:

*Father*           *Because of my poverty I did not send him to school very early. His elder brother is a third grade student now. They [the officials] forced me to enroll this one too.... What can I do? At a village meeting they told me to do so. But who can keep the*

*cattle for me? Who can bring water and split wood for his mother?*

High levels of child work and the acknowledgement of children's capacity to work in Ethiopia bring to the fore another way in which universalized assumptions about both adversity and family life can be misplaced. It is widely accepted in the psychological literature that a positive familial environment and effective integration within the family are crucial protective factors against risk for children, and among other things this is believed to find expression in their ability to depend on parents emotionally, economically and in other ways. But Seife's case shows that a very different pattern applies in Ethiopian households, which are characterized more by the interdependence of generations than by children depending on adults. In this context, coping with adversity is a collective rather than an individual responsibility and involves recognition of mutual obligations between generations of children, parents and grandparents. These obligations can be lifelong, as can be seen from comments made by Semira Assefa. Semira's father is dead and her mother is ill, and supporting her family is a major determinant in her employment aspirations:

*Fieldworker* *What do you want to do when you become bigger in the future?*

*Semira* *Going abroad and helping my mother.*

*Fieldworker* *Why do you go abroad to help your mother?*

*Semira* *I just want to help her to come out of poverty.*

In this sense, childhood work can be regarded as an expression of children's pro-social skills and integration within the family rather than merely a source of risk. By the same token, children (particularly boys) who do not work are disparaged by other children (again, particularly boys), as the comments by Teferi and others indicate. It is apparent that in this cultural context the effective fulfillment of social responsibilities towards the family or household is regarded as a crucial aspect of childhood experience and development.

### **Contradictions and Ambivalence**

I have argued that in the context of poverty and uninsured risk, child work can be protective insofar as it ensures the transition to adulthood, enhances young people's pro-social skills and their sense of self-efficacy and also enables them to help combat household adversity. However, to highlight the positive aspects of children's work is not to suggest that work is always beneficial or that children's views about their work are necessarily positive in all cases. Children's perspectives on the roles and responsibilities they assume in their daily lives are at times contradictory, and there are aspects of work that they dislike. Moreover, there are important differences in these perceptions associated with gender and place of residence. Thus, when analyzing differences in survey findings for the full sample, we found urban children to be more concerned with their achievements in school than rural children (Boyden and Streuli, forthcoming; Camfield and Tafere 2009). Urban children also seem to be more proud of their work than rural children, with girls generally expressing more pride about work than boys, especially in rural areas.

Given the degree of satisfaction she expressed in relation to her achievements, Keleb's responses to our enquiries about her experiences of school and work were consistent with this broad trend. She is determined to be educated, has never missed school because of work and has ambitions to become a doctor when she grows up. She seems eminently capable of making her own decisions in matters that are important to her. For example, even though she was turned down when she first applied on the grounds that she was too young, and even though it was against her family's wishes, she insisted on enrolling in school:

*Fieldworker* Why do you go to school?

*Keleb* To get knowledge.

*Fieldworker* Who sent you to school?

*Keleb* I was the one that told my family to send me to school.

*Fieldworker* Did they refuse?

*Keleb* No, but they said: 'She has to grow up well.' But I was seven years old and they refused to send me to school because they thought that I would not attend the lessons appropriately. I did not accept this and I joined the school by myself.

Nevertheless, despite Keleb's determination to get an education, her replies to questions concerning levels of personal agency in the survey were ambiguous. She rated herself as having a high degree of agency in relation to items such as: "if I try hard, I can improve my situation in life"; "I like to make plans for my future studies and work"; and "If I study hard, I will be rewarded by a better job." But she expressed a low sense of agency in responding to the statements: "other people in my family make all decisions about how I spend my time" and "I have no choice about the work I do—I have to work." From these responses it would seem that Keleb feels she will be able to meet her aspirations in the future by working hard in the present, but that currently she has little control over her life. At the same time, the qualitative research shows that she does not like her work very much. As an only child, she feels she has no choice but to work and does not enjoy looking after cattle: "Yes, and I am so bored of seeing them [the animals] all the time. Though the others [children] do not feel tired because they get support from their sisters and brothers to look after the cattle".

Seife is far less positive than Keleb is about school, but shares her ambivalence about work. Like Keleb, he does not believe he has a choice as to whether or not he works, or what kind of work he does. Indeed, some of the chores he undertakes, such as cleaning the house and preparing the *wot* (stew) make him feel ashamed because they are normally done by girls:

*Fieldworker* So you don't like to work around the stove? Why?

*Seife* Because it's a woman's work. I hate it.

*Fieldworker* But do you have to do it because there are no women at your house?

*Seife* Yes.

Seife's mother recognizes that he dislikes domestic work but feels obliged to make him do it because she does not have a daughter. Nevertheless, despite his shame at doing girls' work, Seife is proud to be working and believes that working hard will enable him to improve his life and make his own decisions. By contrast, his response to the survey statement, "if I study hard, I will be rewarded by a better job," indicates that he has little confidence that education will bring him much return later in life. Indeed, he feels bad about having to go to school because this prevents him from helping his parents as he used to.

These subtleties around children's perceptions of their work and schooling are also evident in statements made by Teferi, who also scored low on personal agency in the survey. He said that his family makes all his decisions for him and he does not feel he has any choice but to work. Like Seife, he thinks that he will be rewarded with a better life by working hard. However, unlike Seife, he does believe that the returns of education will be high and is proud of both his work and his school achievements. Moreover, while Seife expressed high levels of shame in relation to his personal image (shoes and clothes), Teferi does not feel ashamed either of his clothes or his school materials, possibly because he is able to pay for them himself. Moreover, he is clear that people in the community treat him with respect and that he is recognized by his peers and adults. Overall Teferi appears more confident and has higher self-esteem than Seife. However, it is interesting to note that the fieldworker who interviewed Seife was impressed by how happy he seemed, despite being very concerned about his father's poor health and coming from the poorest family in the area, and by the confidence and maturity he showed when answering questions.

In the context of poverty and other forms of household hardship, children's work can be an important feature of the domestic economy. By age 12 or 13, Ethiopian children are expected to perform gendered work roles that complement the tasks of adults (Tafere and Camfield 2009). The cases of Seife, Teferi and Keleb bring into sharp relief the challenges faced by these children. They highlight children's strong sense of duty and the importance of their contributions to household maintenance while at the same time revealing the diverse, and occasionally contradictory, feelings boys and girls have about their responsibilities. They show that managing the demands associated with work and school can be extremely taxing for children in this age group and that even though gender may play a part in shaping specific experiences and perceptions, both boys and girls make a substantial contribution to the domestic economy. From this evidence it is important to highlight the interplay of obligation and responsibility, and volition and loyalty, in the context of high levels of interdependence among generations living with adversity in Ethiopia. Similarly, it is crucial to note the multitude of ways—positive and negative—in which proto-adulthood influences children's well-being.

## **Conclusion**

In this article I have shown that adversity of one form or another is a pervasive feature of childhood experience in Ethiopia, even though it is not always perceived by adults as affecting children's well-being. I have argued that two traditions have emerged in research on the impacts of childhood adversity. Whereas some scholars

have identified specific, often long-term, effects of deprivations or trauma and underline the associated loss of developmental potential, others stress children's resilience and agency and draw attention to possible "steeling effects." Research within Young Lives embodies both paradigms, in the sense that detrimental impacts of specific risks on specific aspects of children's development are clearly discernable and these findings are statistically significant across the sample. Yet, at the same time, the complexity of causal relations in children's development is evident and by no means can all outcomes of risk exposure be described as negative. Following this line of reasoning, I have suggested that, depending on the viewpoint of different cultures and actors and on individual circumstances, some risks can actually be protective for children.

The juxtaposition of these apparently contradictory sets of evidence within a single cohort of children suggests the need for further theorization on the interplay of risk and capability in children's development. It also emphasizes the importance of examining these processes from numerous perspectives, taking children's own views into account. It raises the possibility that different research methodologies may yield very different findings on the outcomes of risk exposure in children, implying the need for integration of multiple methods.

The work undertaken by young people in Ethiopia is one example of the complexity of processes of human adaptation to adversity. I have shown that in the context of high adult morbidity and mortality, frequent environmental catastrophes in rural areas, poverty and other household hardships, the work of children can be fundamental to their well-being and to household maintenance. In other words, it can foster both individual and family resilience. Hence, insofar as it supports the fulfillment of boys' and girls' responsibilities towards their family, work reinforces intergenerational collaboration and enhances young people's pro-social skills. Thus, work may also be seen as an important affirmation of children's capabilities, facilitating their integration within the family and transition to adulthood. But children can also be weighed down by the burden of responsibility they bear, especially when adults are too dependent on them, when they are involved in tasks that they dislike, or when work commitments harm their schooling. Where there is no choice, children's work can also be a source of shame, such as when it conflicts with traditional gender roles.

In situations of severe hardship such as apply in many parts of Ethiopia, it becomes extremely difficult to distinguish between risk and protection, resilience and endurance, agency and obligation, in the lives of children. To complicate matters further, this study has focused on 12- to 13-year-olds, but it is very likely that future research with the same children will reveal many changes in their circumstances and views, such that what appears to be a risk at one point in their lives may be found to have enhanced their fortitude in the longer term, and vice versa. This kind of nuanced and complex evidence that is emerging from Young Lives data highlights the limitations of deterministic models and the importance of exercising great care in the interpretation of findings of diverse types and from diverse sources.

## Acknowledgements

Young Lives is core-funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) for the benefit of developing countries, with sub-studies funded by International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Ethiopia, UNICEF in India, Irish Aid in Vietnam and the Bernard van Leer Foundation. I am grateful to the children, families and communities in our sample for their crucial contribution to our research. Responsibility for data gathering in Ethiopia lies with Tassew Woldehanna, Yisak Tafere and other members of the Ethiopian research team and I wish to acknowledge their effort and commitment to producing high-quality data. Lita Cameron and Natalia Streuli provided extensive and invaluable research assistance in the production of this article. I would also like to thank Sheridan Bartlett, Virginia Morrow and Martin Woodhead for their pertinent and constructive comments on an earlier draft. Any errors of interpretation or fact are my own.

## Bio Note

**Jo Boyden** is Director of Young Lives and a Reader in Development Studies at the University of Oxford. Her research has mainly focused on children and childhood in contexts of armed conflict, forced migration and poverty – particularly in bringing together academics, practitioners and policymakers to develop models and methods which respond to the needs of children, their families and their communities. Before joining Young Lives, Jo was Senior Research Officer at the Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford. She has also worked as consultant on children's issues to many NGOs and international organizations, and has written extensively on childhood poverty, children in conflict situations, and children's resilience.

## References

**Alderman, H., J. Hoddinott and B. Kinsey** (2001). *Long Term Consequences of Early Childhood Malnutrition*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

----- (2006). "Long Term Consequences of Early Childhood Malnutrition." *Oxford Economic Papers* 58:450–474.

**Boyden, J., W. Myers and B. Ling** (1998). *What Works for Working Children*. Stockholm: Rädda Barnen.

**Boyden, J. and N. Streuli** (forthcoming). *How Do Ethiopian Children Respond to Household Misfortune?* Young Lives Working Paper. Young Lives: Oxford.

**Camfield, L. and Y. Tafere** (2009). *Children with a Good Life Have to Have School Bags: Diverse Understandings of Well-Being among Older Children in Three Ethiopian Communities*. Young Lives Working Paper 37.



**Compas, B., C. Gerhardt and B. Hinden** (1995). "Adolescent Development: Pathways and Processes of Risk and Resilience." *Annual Review of Psychology* 46: 265-293.

**Dawes, A. and D. Donald** (2005). *Improving Children's Chances: Developmental Theory and Effective Interventions in Community Contexts*. Virginia: Christian Children's Fund.

**Dercon, S.** (2004). "Growth and Shocks: Evidence from Rural Ethiopia." *Journal of Development Economics* 74: 309-329.

----- (2005). *Vulnerability: A Micro Perspective*. QEH Working Paper 149.

**Dercon, S. and P. Krishnan** (2009). "Poverty and the Psycho-Social Competencies of Children: Evidence from the Young Lives Sample in Four Developing Countries." *Children, Youth and Environments* 19(2):138-163

**Engle, P.** (2009). "Poverty and Child Development." Paper presented at Young Lives Conference, Focus on Children, Oxford, UK, March 2009.

**Friedman, R. and P. Chase-Lansdale** (2002). "Chronic Adversities." In Rutter, M. and E. Taylor, eds. *Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, Fourth Edition*. London: Blackwell Publishing, 261-276.

**Fromm, E. and M. Maccoby** (1970). *Social Character in a Mexican Village*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

**Garnezy, N. and A. Masten** (1994). "Chronic Adversities." In Rutter, M., L. Herzov, and E. Taylor, eds. *Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 3rd ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 191-208.

**Grantham-McGregor, S., Y.B. Cheung, S. Cueto, P. Glewwe, L. Richter, B. Strupp and the International Child Development Steering Group** (2007). "Child Development in Developing Countries 1: Developmental Potential in the First 5 Years for Children in Developing Countries." *Lancet* 369: 60-70.

**Gunnar, M. and K. Quevedo** (2007). "The Neurobiology of Stress and Development." *Annual Review of Psychology* 58: 145-173.

**Harkness, S. and C. Super** (1992). "Shared Child Care in East Africa: Sociocultural Origins and Developmental Consequences." In Lamb, M., K. Sternberg, C. Hwang and A. Broberg, eds. *Child Care in Context: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 441-459.

**Hart, J.** (2008 ). "Business as Usual? The Global Political Economy of Childhood Poverty." Young Lives Technical Note 13. Oxford: Young Lives.

**Heim, C. and C. Nemeroff** (1999). "The Impact of Early Adverse Experiences on Brain Systems Involved in the Pathophysiology of Anxiety and Affective Disorders." *Journal of the Society of Biological Psychiatry* 46(11): 1509-1522.

**Hernandez, P.** (2002). "Resilience in Families and Communities: Latin American Contributions from the Psychology of Liberation." *The Family Journal* 10(3): 334-343.

**Hertzman, C.** (2000). "The Case for an Early Childhood Development Strategy." *ISUMA* 1(2): 11-18.

**Himaz, R.** (2009). *The Impact of Parental Death on Schooling and Subjective Well-Being: Evidence from Ethiopia Using Longitudinal Data*. Young Lives Working Paper 44.

**Kelley, B., R. Loeber and M. DeLamatre** (1997). *Developmental Pathways in Disruptive and Delinquent Behavior*. Bulletin. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

**Lawlor, D.A., S. Ebrahim and G. Davey Smith** (2005). "Association of Birth Weight with Adult Lung Function: Findings from the British Women's Heart and Health Study and a Meta-Analysis." *Thorax* 60: 851-858.

**Leiderman, P.H. and G.F. Leiderman** (1977). "Economic Change and Infant Care in an East African Agricultural Community." In P.H. Leiderman, S.R. Tulkin and A. Rosenfeld, eds. *Culture and Infancy: Variations in Human Experience*. New York: Academic Press, 405-38.

**LeVine, R., S. Dixon, S. Levine, A. Richman, P.H. Leiderman, C. Keefer and T. Brazelton** (1994). *Child Care and Culture: Lessons from Africa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

**Lokshin, M. and M. Ravallion** (2000). *Short-Lived Shocks with Long-Lived Impacts? Household Income Dynamics in a Transition Economy*. Policy Research Working Paper Series 2459. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

**Mann, G.** (2003). "The Cultural Structuring of Child Development: The Case of Sibling Caregiving and Theory of Mind." Masters dissertation, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, September 8.

**Meng, X. and N. Qian** (2006). *The Long Run Health and Economic Consequences of Famine on Survivors: Evidence from China's Great Famine*. Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA) Discussion Paper No. 2471, Bonn, November.

**Rutter, M.** (2001). "Psychosocial Adversity: Risk, Resilience and Recovery." In Richman, J. and M. Fraser, eds. *The Context of Youth Violence: Resilience, Risk and Protection*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 13-42.

**Tafere, Y. and L. Camfield** (2009). *Community Understandings of Children's Transitions in Ethiopia: Possible Implications for Life Course Poverty*. Young Lives Working Paper 41.

**UNDP** (2007/8). *Human Development Report*. New York: Oxford University Press.

**Ungar, M.** (2004). "A Constructionist Discourse on Resilience." *Youth and Society* 35(3): 341-365.

**Victoria, C., L. Adair, C. Fall, P. Halla, R. Martorell, L. Richter, H.S. Saxhdev and the Maternal and Child Undernutrition Study Group** (2008). "Maternal and Child Undernutrition: Consequences for Adult Health and Human Capital." *Lancet* 371(9609): 340-357.

**Wachs, T.** (2009). "Environmental Factors, Individual Characteristics and Children's Risk and Resilience." Paper presented at Young Lives Global Challenges Symposium, Oxford, UK, December.

**Walker, S., T. Wachs, J. Gardner, B. Lozoff, G. Wasserman, E. Pollitt, J. Carter and the International Child Development Steering Group** (2007). "Child Development: Risk Factors for Adverse Outcomes in Developing Countries." *Lancet* 369, Issue 9556: 145-157.

**Weisner, T.S. and R. Gallimore** (1977). "My Brother's Keeper: Child and Sibling Caretaking." *Current Anthropology* 18: 169-190.

**Whiting, B. and C. Edwards** (1988). *Children of Different Worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

**Whiting, B. and J. Whiting** (1975). *Children of Six Cultures: A Psycho-Cultural Analysis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

**Woldehanna, T.** (2000). "Economic Analysis and Policy Implications of Farm and Off-Farm Employment: A Case Study in the Tigray Region of Northern Ethiopia." Wageningen University Doctoral Dissertation.

**Woldehanna, T., A. Mekonnen and T. Alemu** (2008). *Young Lives: Ethiopia Round 2 Survey*. Country Report, September. Available from:

**Woodhead, M.** (2004). "Psychosocial Impacts of Child Work: A Framework for Research, Monitoring and Intervention." *The International Journal of Children's Rights* 12(4): 321-377.

**World Bank** (2007/8). *World Development Report*. New York: Oxford University Press.

**Yamano, T., H. Alderman and L. Christiaensen** (2005). "Child Growth, Shocks, and Food Aid in Rural Ethiopia." *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 87(2): 91-119.

**Yaqub, S.** (2002). "Poor Children Grow into Poor Adults: Harmful Mechanisms or Over-Deterministic Theory?" *Journal of International Development* 14(8): 1081-1093.