

Youth Aspirations and Gender Dynamics:  
Malawian perspectives through participatory praxis

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## ***Introduction***

### ***Background***

Many people in Malawi practice subsistence agriculture, and rely on farming to directly provide for their families. Rural households commonly subsist off of a combination of farming maize for consumption and producing tobacco for sale, combined with other small income-generating activities (Bezner Kerr & Patel, 2014). The predominance of maize in Malawian agriculture and diets is initially attributable to colonial demands. The British promoted maize and agricultural production as inputs for colonial institutions and larger markets. Many indigenous agricultural practices were actively discouraged by the British, and smallholders were pushed towards monocropping and chemical inputs (Bezner Kerr et al., 2019). The British orchestrated a shift in subsistence farming, increasing a need to farm primarily for income rather than immediate consumption to meet colonial 'hut tax' demands (Bezner Kerr & Patel, 2014). Colonial relations spurred conflicts over the control of the environment in Malawi.

Though formal British colonization in Malawi ended in 1964, its legacy persisted in the form of conservation policies, development projects, and globalization. President Kamuzu Banda's post-colonial dictatorship sustained maize promotion for smallholders by providing fertilizer subsidies, seed supplies, and expanding markets. These measures meant to promote food security were coupled with an agenda to expand estates for commercial production. In return, smallholders were paid low prices for their crops, and the surplus profits from their sale in markets was channeled into an estate-based commercial agriculture system (Bezner Kerr & Patel, 2014). Banda irreversibly transformed the economy and land systems leaving burdens for small farmers. Rural farmers' outputs were used to concentrate wealth within a large-land holding class, and inequality between rural and urban areas was exacerbated (Bezner Kerr & Patel, 2014). Structural adjustment policies welcomed heavy extraction, a debt crisis, devalued cash crops, and removed subsidies. Rural poverty rose dramatically as households that relied on

subsidies faced erratic supplies and rising prices. Health and education declined, and chronic food insecurity and malnutrition became commonplace (Bezner Kerr et al., 2019). Colonial, post-colonial, and neoliberal policies in Malawi interfered with production methods and effectively engineered new social structures. These historical actors have compounded to colonize indigenous agricultural systems and knowledge, and have transformed the interaction between rural smallholders and their environment (Mulwafu, 2011).

### *Food Security*

Historical factors are responsible for shaping the unequal contemporary agrarian system, where smallholders are faced with high prices for inputs, land access issues, and environmental degradation. As the majority of Malawians purchase at least some of their food, income continues to play a major role in sustaining household food security (Bezner Kerr & Patel, 2014). Rural smallholder farmers need to participate in supplemental activities including small business and ganyu, a type of piecework, to make ends meet (Moyo, 2014). Yet, approximately one-third of Malawians are food insecure: lacking access to sufficient and nutritious food to meet their daily needs (Bezner Kerr & Patel, 2014). Rural smallholders particularly experience a persistent level of household food insecurity and child malnutrition (Classen & Bezner Kerr, 2015; Bezner Kerr et al., 2019). The drivers of food insecurity are dynamic and intersectional. A reliance on monocropped maize production places smallholder farmers at greater risk of food insecurity. Farmers rely on rainfalls for irrigation, which are highly variable with intense droughts and floods. Farmers face soil degradation from chemical fertilizer inputs, and increasing deforestation due to a reliance on forests for income and energy sources (Bezner Kerr & Patel, 2014). Environmental factors interact with historical and current political-economic conditions to exacerbate food insecurity for smallholder farming households.

## *Gender Inequality*

Gender inequalities and dynamics influence agricultural processes and outcomes in numerous and intersecting ways, and thus can act as a key driver of food insecurity (Bezner Kerr, 2017). Rural Malawian women play a crucial role in subsistence activities; they contribute more than half the agricultural labour and income generation (Bezner Kerr & Patel, 2014). Women face difficulties such as competing demands and heavy workloads, as they are also responsible for the majority of childcare and domestic activities (Bezner Kerr et al., 2016). Despite their role as crucial and active cultivators, women have limited control and decision making power over household food resources (Bezner Kerr et al., 2016). Women are also often treated as unequal partners in their households (Bezner Kerr, 2017). Decisions about family planning, finances, education, and agriculture are largely made by men (Classen & Bezner Kerr, 2015). Unequal decision making and divisions of labor are major challenges likely resulting from patriarchal gender ideologies, differential resource allocation, and less access to education and employment opportunities (Bezner Kerr et al., 2016).

Smallholder women face unequal access to land and other resources, holding generally less and lower quality land than men do (Bezner Kerr, 2017). Gender is a socially constructed category, deeply embedded in power relations (Mulwafu, 2011). Colonial and post-colonial regimes restructured rural societies, gender roles, and the production process and interfered with household relations, economies, and local autonomy (Mulwafu, 2011). The colonial 'hut tax' led to high levels of male migration to earn income, which in turn established a persistent pattern of women doing the majority of farm labor (Bezner Kerr & Patel, 2014). As men were forced to migrate, some groups brought with them patriarchal gender norms, asserting hegemonic masculine roles of men as heads of household, regarding men as warriors and providers (Bezner Kerr et al., 2016). Concurrently, colonial development schemes sought to restructure Malawian society's traditional land tenure and marriage systems to better uplift the rights and duties of men in order to develop a commercialized agricultural economy (Mulwafu, 2011). Such

schemes actively created and enforced gender roles that subverted the economic and social power of women, and emphasized male control, power, and violence (Mulwafu, 2011; Bezner Kerr et al., 2016). Within some groups, Malawian land was traditionally passed down through women, and colonizers changed the pattern of matrilineal marriage, as men had little security of land this way, to give more power and control to men (Mulwafu, 2011). Women performed the bulk of the agricultural work and were main producers of agricultural goods; colonial officials saw this as an obstacle to progress, and their work was relegated to the status of subsistence farming rather than being seen as valid producers (Mulwafu, 2011). This status reduced women's access to and ownership of land as colonial ideas about gender were enacted (Bezner Kerr et al., 2016). Rural women continued to face greater impacts from post-colonial and neoliberal interventions, notably, structural adjustment policies reduced health services thus increasing domestic responsibilities, and reduced access to agro inputs (Bezner Kerr & Patel, 2014). Policies that impacted land and agriculture coupled with male economic and productive advancement had lasting impacts for society that ultimately disadvantaged small farmers as well as women and food production (Bezner Kerr, 2017).

Unequal gender relations worsen food security and nutrition for many smallholder households (Bezner Kerr & Patel, 2014). Gender and social inequality occur at various levels including community and household settings (Bezner Kerr et al., 2016). Gender inequality remains a challenge in household relationships; particularly, labor disparities and decision making are key sites of micro struggles (Bezner Kerr et al., 2019). Women's limited control over agricultural resources can have significant effects on child nutrition and household food security (Bezner Kerr, 2017). Additionally, women have lower levels of education, which affects women's knowledge of food choices, nutrition and childcare (Bezner Kerr & Patel, 2014). Unequal divisions of labor combined with high food insecurity can also lead to more household problems including alcohol abuse and domestic violence (Bezner Kerr et al., 2019). As women play key roles in farming, food processing, and childcare, addressing gender inequalities to improve

decision-making and control over agricultural resources is a key mechanism to improve food security and nutrition (Bezner Kerr et al., 2016)

Gender relations are a crucial dimension of understanding and addressing food insecurity. Despite widespread articulation of gender inequalities, gender issues are still largely missing from discussions and attempts to achieve food sovereignty<sup>1</sup> (Bezner Kerr et al., 2019). It is important to understand the complexities of gender relations beyond what appears on the surface in order to adequately address inequities. Truly understanding gender relations is more nuanced than it might appear. Thus, it may be pertinent to explore patterns and perceptions about gender held between men and women beyond naming roles and responsibilities, access to resources, authority positions, and decision making (Bezner Kerr, 2017). Understanding these differences does not have to impose an agenda to reduce inequalities between men and women, but rather can seek the roots and meaning of such discourse (Bezner Kerr, 2017).

### ***Collaboration with Soils, Food, and Healthy Communities***

I conducted research in collaboration with the non-profit Soils, Food, and Healthy Communities (SFHC), which aims to promote social equity and food security with smallholder farming households in northern and central Malawi. SFHC uses agroecological, participatory methods of dialogue, experimentation and horizontal learning to improve food security and foster change.

Agroecology encompasses agricultural practices, scientific disciplines, and political and social movements (Wezel et al., 2009). Agroecology emphasizes synergy between humans and the environment and grounds itself in biodiversity, indigenous knowledge, and the social roles of women and youth in agriculture. Agroecology includes ecological and biodiverse practices to help communities

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<sup>1</sup> Food sovereignty strives towards the restoration of self reliance among farmers and rural people (Moyo, 2014). Achieving food sovereignty is ultimately about power relations and control over food production and distribution (Bezner Kerr et al., 2019).

increase soil fertility, sustain nutritious and diverse diets, encourage social equity, and build resilience against climate change (FAO). Biodiverse cropping systems particularly play a role in increasing resiliency among households, making them less vulnerable to drought, and economic and livelihood shocks and stressors (Bezner Kerr & Patel, 2014). Practices like diverse cropping, organic fertilizer, and soil conservation are labor and knowledge intensive, and require addressing power dynamics within and beyond households in order to address food sovereignty (Bezner Kerr & Patel, 2014; Bezner Kerr et al., 2019). Through community recognition of the significance of their own knowledge and capacity, people can reclaim agency to establish new power relations (Bezner Kerr et al., 2019). Transformational approaches thus emphasize farmer education, experimentation, and farmer-to-farmer teaching to bolster local knowledge within the rural context (Bezner Kerr & Patel, 2014). Food sovereignty and agroecology are ways to explore interrelationship between power, poverty, and environmental degradation over time (Mulwafu, 2011). Their applications have the capacity to repair stark inequalities resulting from the commodification of land and labor through capitalism, and disrupt social and ecological life (Bezner Kerr et al., 2019).

SFHC incorporates community knowledge, power, and autonomy to move towards healthy and ecological food security. Some argue that feminist participatory methods are also central to mobilizing agroecology to build food sovereignty and work to transform social relations. SFHC incorporates gender and social justice dimensions into the conceptualization and application of agroecology to attempt to address the ways in which capitalism exploits human labor and women's reproductive work (Bezner Kerr et al., 2019). A crucial change that has allowed for increased food security within many SFHC households has been shifting gender relations, where decision making and labor are more equitably shared (Bezner Kerr et al., 2019). Though adult farmers are embracing shared decision-making and shifting labor roles, it's important that equality enmeshes itself in household and community structures and relations. This requires a transfer of knowledge, not just among farmers but also to younger generations to sustain

change. SFHC has previously noted a low level of youth participation in their agricultural programs and has also observed high levels of gender inequality (Classen & Bezner Kerr, 2015). This study sought to understand how youth observe and experience any changes in their households, and what role youth can take on in altering gender relations as a necessary component of transformative agroecology in Malawi (Bezner Kerr et al., 2019).

### *Incorporating Youth Perspectives*

Though transforming gender relations are a crucial dimension of understanding food insecurity, gender relations among young people remain largely unexplored (Classen & Bezner Kerr, 2015). Previous studies have found that rural Malawian youth experienced significant food insecurity and extremely low dietary diversity, in part due to gender roles and shifting economic and social roles (Classen & Bezner Kerr, 2015). The array of processes and social relations youth encounter affect their access and quality of food (Classen & Bezner Kerr, 2015). Food sovereignty principles and agroecological methods attempt to uncover and transform these dynamics; however, agroecological outcomes are affected by the social relations within which they are embedded (Bezner Kerr et al., 2019). Patriarchal systems of power, combined with persistent poverty, work to sustain systemic inequalities that suppress agency (Bezner Kerr et al., 2019). Gendered social norms have particular propensity to craft power relations, as norms have differentiated and dispersed effects on one's thoughts, actions, and embodiment of these norms (Dejaeghere, 2016). When examining power dynamics and oppressive structures, there is limited research on youth perspectives and aspirations related to agroecology.

Inequality shaped by oppressive historical continuities provides challenges for young people to live as active citizens (Shefer et al 2018). Malawian youth in a post-colonial, neoliberal, and globalized context still experience many colonized goals, values, and processes via material and symbolic challenges (Mjelde & Daly, 2014; Shefer et al., 2018). Youth are faced with burdens of gender inequalities, lack of opportunities, and violence in homes and communities (Shefer et al., 2018).

Particularly relevant is the symbolic violence<sup>2</sup> where young people consistently find themselves represented in pathologizing ways (Shefer et al., 2018). Many Western-initiated development projects often present the West as the sole face of progress, simultaneously framing those marginalized by development as inadequate, passive, and immature in regards to addressing their own strife (Gabay, 2015). Youth are framed by development projects as a symptom of systemic issues, instead of as active participants in the environments and potential changemakers. Youth are typically cast as at-risk: experiencing neglect, marginalization, and destitution, even when discussing the potential of their communities to advance their lives (Ofosu-Kusi, 2017).

Situating youth as at-risk and vulnerable problematizes their agency as not positively channeled, and suggests that they're unproductive and unfocused, contributing to tension and unrest in their relationships with the larger community (Dejaeghere, 2016). Youth decisions are often ignored and dismissed as not rationally informed (Thangaraj, 2016). Thus, many community-engaged projects favor adult-centric approaches, undermining the value of young people's experiences (Shefer et al., 2018). The view of youth as incapable of influencing their surroundings and possessing limited rights and capacities is contrary to Malawian tradition and contemporary social roles (Ofosu-Kusi, 2017). Malawian youth participate in household farming and subsistence work to learn about their culture and productive environment. From here, youth play constructive roles in their families and social environments (Ofosu-Kusi, 2017). Youth work to support their families, assume responsibility for siblings, and contribute to community development (Ofosu-Kusi, 2017). Many youth involved in family affairs and subsistence farming have an impressive and intimate knowledge of the local economy (Thangaraj, 2016). Young people are engaged social actors who are both accountable for and under threat by the same concerns that face adults (Shefer et al., 2018). Consequently, youth regularly engage in activities to gain

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<sup>2</sup> Symbolic violence refers to impoverished minorities internalizing supremacy. Symbolic violence teaches people to misrecognize the social structure and inequalities inherent to the world as natural, which in turn naturalizes racialized assumptions that lead to strife.

independence and escape destitution (Ofosu-Kusi, 2017). In such contexts, youth are situationally conferred economic agency in regards to decisions about work and school, though this agency is often reflective of social constructions. In order to understand the world in which youth are expected to live and avoid presumptions, it is relevant to commit to listening to what youth have to say (Ofosu-Kusi, 2017).

Examining the ways in which youth use their agency and manage personal responsibility is one approach to understanding their current landscapes and future aspirations (Dejaeghere, 2016). Youth have the capacity to confound and propose vivid imaginations and perceptive views about situations and events when given the chance to be expressive (Ofosu-Kusi, 2017). In many cases, youth have imaginative concerns about their environment and are inherently motivated to initiate actions as well as participate in social efforts to restructure and protect it. Youth have a will of their own and use it to enact visions of a better life; as change makers they contribute to the socioeconomic development of their communities and actively strategize to make the best of material and sociopolitical conditions of their lives (Thangaraj, 2016). Youth are dually active economic and social agents working in response to familial and social obligations, but are also reflective of a dynamicism (Thangaraj, 2016). Therefore, youth have the capacity to make sophisticated and longer-term calculations of economic outcomes and aspirations (Thangaraj, 2016).

Though Malawian youth employ strategies to meet the changing pressure on their lives, they still face deeply ingrained age and gender inequalities that make it difficult for them to access enough nutritious foods to eat (Classen & Bezner Kerr, 2015). Agency engenders some degree of control over social relations in which one is enmeshed, which implies ability to transform those social relations in some way (Ofosu-Kusi, 2017). Agency is limited and mediated by structural difficulties and contextual realities (Ofosu-Kusi, 2017). Intersectional social identities that youth grapple with affect their agency in dynamic and complex ways (Dejaeghere, 2016). Gender norms and identities play a large role in

negotiations of agency. Though there is knowledge of how agency is differentially experienced, influenced, and acted upon by boys and girls, particularly in relation to educational access and opportunities, instances of how youth use such agency to challenge, shift and change gender norms remains less explored. Youth agency can be used to challenge and shift gender norms and relations among families, friends, and communities (McCleary, 2016). All individuals make sense of their environment and act in ways that attempt to manipulate or influence their surroundings, however minimal. Youth agency can be constrained by compulsory compliance to social norms; however, youth also exercise agency in their challenges to existing structures. Therefore, it is relevant to explore their capacities for dynamic change.

Youth are in a unique position to actively interpret and participate in their world while simultaneously envisioning a future of their own. Youth develop their own peer cultures, while concurrently participating in the prevailing social institutions and relevant adult cultures (Ofosu-Kusi, 2017). This vantage point situates youth as both engaged with and at the margins of change (Dejaeghere, 2016). This combined view presents youth with a unique and powerful position to create change outside of dominant ideologies. Youth collective action may cause a generational change which in turn spurs a collective consciousness for social and political issues, but youth must first feel empowered to impact their surroundings (Dejaeghere, 2016).

Yet, young people are rarely afforded the opportunity to present themselves as autonomous, engaged social actors. Due to their absence of outlets to express their voice, engagement with social issues and lived experiences should be explored and theorized in a matter that is relevant to them rather than relying on adult intervention. Centering socially marginalized voices contributes to their empowerment, develops their social identities, and builds social competencies. Such strengths and assets allow them to respond to community concerns and enhance their own wellbeing (Shefer et al, 2018). Incorporating youths' voices and visions is an essential step for understanding the roots of

inequalities and exploring where agency is culturally embedded at the intersection of food security and gender status (Dejaeghere, 2016).

Uplifting youth agency does not require making direct action towards one's own life and wellbeing by participating in external interventions, rather providing space and resources for discourse to occur. To address this, it could be useful to focus on holding space for youth to recognize and communicate their self capacity and responsibilities. Particularly, young Malawian women should be accorded a capacity to influence the situations and occurrences around them rather than being viewed as passive recipients of suffering (Ofosu-Kusi, 2017). Local knowledge is the significant factor in deconstructing damaging tropes. In engaging youth in conversations that gage their interrelated contributions to food security and perceptions of gender roles, we are extending knowledge and capacity building principles to youth by including their voices and embracing that they are an apex to transfer knowledge to future generations.

This study examined young people's views on dynamics among their peers, households, and communities, and prompted youth to express their knowledge as well as concerns, needs, and aspirations. It sought to explore if youth have a desire for new lifestyles and what activities are associated with their interests. This research also attempted to examine youth perceptions of challenges they face to help understand the nature and specificities of rural youth issues.

This research ultimately hopes to gain insight into whether evidence of improved gender relations in households which employ agroecological and equity practices have transferred knowledge to household youth and translated into their experiences. As youth have a stake in the agricultural process whether it's their nutrition or contributions, this research explores youth stories around livelihoods and gender dynamics. This study seeks to understand several questions: *What are youth aspirations in Malawi? What are youth perceptions of gender dynamics? What are their roots?*

## **Methods**

### ***Participatory Praxis***

In order to facilitate a discussion to explore Malawian youth power dynamics, agency, and empowerment within households and the community, a case study research design was used, with both in-depth interviews and photovoice. In order to address gaps in our knowledge about young people's experiences, it's relevant to attend to the issues that young people themselves put on the agenda (Shefer et al, 2018). Participatory research methods with young people address gaps in knowledge and simultaneously contribute towards positive social change (Shefer et al., 2018). Use of participatory praxis and attention to intersectional forms of marginalization and discrimination are central to mobilizing agroecology to build food sovereignty and work to transform social relations (Bezner Kerr et al., 2019). Participatory praxis gives youth a space to develop a critical consciousness about their gendered identifications and livelihood while positioning the youth as experts of their own experiences. Outcomes of such research methods are more likely to have an accurate understanding of the youth realities and thus make meaningful interventions to counter oppressive gender practices (Shefer et al., 2018).

Local voices emboldened with a critical, intersectional perspective and the ability to share their knowledge help us know how to move forward to heal, redistribute, and organize. As agroecology provides a sense of meaning and dignity stimulating creativity for farmers and their practices, the participatory process extends to the role of youth. Effective participatory methods provide contributive justice and allow participants to create meaningful work that requires creativity, close observation of ecological changes (Bezner Kerr et al., 2019).

### *In-depth Interviews*

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 18 youth from households that worked with SFHC. Their ages ranged from 10-18 years old and they were dependent on their parents. Interviews were conducted throughout the summer in both the northern and central regions. Youth were identified by local SFHC members and interviews were conducted around their homes. The interview questions sought to understand the nature and specificities of rural youth issues, perceptions and development of gender dynamics, and gage desire for new lifestyles (Appendix A). Questions were structured to leave room for youth to offer their own analysis of problems they face and suggest solutions.

### *Photovoice*

Photovoice is a feminist participatory method that engages and empowers participants through prompts about what to photograph. Photovoice allows youth to not only reflect on their own lives but also to articulate and raise awareness through the language of photos. This method not only helps the researcher gain knowledge about an issue like what barriers there are to enhancing food security, and then potential solutions at hand, but actively gives a voice to people to share what they know, exhibit potential, and capture attention (Gervais & Rivard, 2013). Photovoice can effectively prioritize the views of young people, which is critical as many agendas set by outside researchers may undermine knowledge and capabilities of young people and also conceal inequalities and power relations that exist in communities (Shefer et al., 2018). Photovoice is a way to start to even out power relations between researchers and those being researched as a tool to produce relevant local knowledge. The method is able to provide a platform for young people to represent community concerns viscerally and offer nuance to lived experiences of young people. (Ofosu-Kusi 2017). Images and narratives produced by young people can inform interventions and provide a platform to engage with young people about issues that are important to them. Used by youth who have little discursive potency, but have potential

to embody, promote, a social consciousness-raising form of meaning making, photovoice can be a useful tool to mobilize young people within communities. Giving youth a role in participatory action research that unearths changes in food security and gender inequalities is paramount. Creating the space for youth to discuss inequalities, recognize their different privileges and develop solutions together may be a powerful opportunity for groups to negotiate, contest, and overcome inequalities (Bezner Kerr et al., 2016). Youth discussions and diversity of views actively destabilizes social norms, increasing the likelihood of transformational change (Bezner Kerr et al., 2016). We must inquire about their view points and experiences of dynamics and realities of inequality, as well as look to them for their view of their self capacity and aspirations.

To address this, I developed the photovoice workshop plans and analysis with one of the SFHC staff. We discussed the research topic and questions and designed a workshop structure. Two sessions were then conducted in the central region, and the promoters identified and contacted 9 participants for each. A third session in the north was led by an SFHC staff member. We attempted to have an equal ratio of boys and girls in each session. The workshops were held in the afternoon in case any participants had school in the morning. Snacks were provided for each workshop which were held in the promoter's office space in the central region, and in an accessible open area in the north.

During the first workshop, we introduced the research topic and the role of photovoice in answering these questions. We explained the photovoice method in steps, namely participants using a camera to take photos on a topic. They would then write captions and discuss their photos with the group, and ultimately share their results with the broader community. Participants then learned and tested the cameras and were given time to review with each other. Participants had the chance to practice, and went around the area to take a test photo, and then present it to the group. After making sure all of the participants understood this objective and had any lingering questions answered, we introduced the photovoice prompts that they would use to take pictures. We gave hypothetical

examples of the prompts and how photos would be explained with understandable situations. We clarified that there was no right or wrong situation for pictures, and that the emphasis was on capturing their personal experiences. Before they took the cameras home, they were each given a visual form with camera instructions as well as a copy of the prompts. They had the evening and following day to take their photographs and reflect.

The group came back together for a second workshop at the end of the week. They brought in their cameras and the photos were uploaded to a computer so they could be visible and presented to the whole group. Participants either wrote or dictated their captions for the first prompt, *What is unfair?*, on sheets around the room so everyone could look around and share their experiences. Participants then presented their photographs and captions, and the group was able to discuss and ask questions about the content. After all the participants presented, the promoter facilitated brainstorming common themes or problems that were present in that subset of photos and captions. They then came up with solutions for these problems. This was repeated for the second question and its set of photographs, *Do you want a new lifestyle?*

Effective participatory consultation requires that participants are not just heard but are listened to and understood by stakeholders. This method demonstrates how solutions are different across villages, and through gathering information people can then share strategies and techniques with each other. Photovoice is co-learning and participatory; it increases the opportunity to demonstrate important knowledge coming from multiple places. Communities themselves know what they need, and they often know the solutions too when given the right tools and platform. To assist in the execution of this paradigm, participants discussed if they wanted to organize an exhibition to share their work with the community.



*Photo courtesy of Chipi Dzanja, SFHC staff. Promoter pictured presenting a photo taken by a participant at the community exhibition his team organized.*

### ***Analysis***

I used a grounded qualitative data analysis technique to analyze interviews and photovoice (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). I read all the interview and workshop field notes and transcripts and using In vivo coding, created broad and descriptive qualitative codes (Saldana, 2009). Some themes were raised directly by participants, while others were collectively observed during analysis.

## **Findings**

Major themes identified by the youth participants are considered both individual and community wide problems. The themes outlined below are those that seemed directly pertinent to the youth either now, in their future, or through their family.

### **Gender**

#### *Justifications for gender roles*

Participants would describe professions, chores, sports, activities, personality traits, and expectations that aligned with typical gender norms and roles. These ideas about gender norms were communicated by elaborating on activities that only boys or girls could perform, such as a young man claiming that only girls can cook and only boys can play football. Participants considered several activities relating to farming, housework, and other subsistence activities to be gender-specific. It was widely held that only women can do housework.

<b>Only girls can:</b>	<b>Only boys can:</b>
Cook	Build, mould bricks
Pound Maize and go to the maize mill	Go to the dimba, plant vegetables
Smear the floor	Carry firewood from the mountain
Sweep the compound	Kill mice
Wash plates, wash clothes	Play football
Play netball, dance	Fry chips, fetch honey

Probing participants into why these differences were present indicated very rigid gender roles for particular tasks. A young woman responded to why only girls can do cooking: *When we girls are here, why should boys cook, unless when we are not here* (Y5). A young man said that his sisters can go to the

maize mill while he cannot, because “it’s their duty.” He said the reason for this is “because they are females,” and that he would only be allowed at the maize mill if his sisters are sick (Y14)

A 13 year-old girl (Y2) described that while there aren’t any activities that only girls can do, only boys can go to the dimba<sup>3</sup> to plant vegetables. She described her role in dimba work:

*Interviewer: So if you wanted too you couldn’t go to the Dimba?*

*Respondent: I just go there to water the vegetables*

*Interviewer: Is there any way that you could be able to have a Dimba?*

*Respondent: No*

*Interviewer: Why do you think that only boys can have a Dimba?*

*Respondent: It is for both men and women but for planting only men can do that*

*Interviewer: How come?*

*Respondent: Men are more powerful than women.*

When probing participants’ objective answers on the presence of such gender roles, gender norms were actively employed as justification. Upon asking why, for example, only men can collect firewood from the mountain and not women, the participant stated it is because men are stronger than women (Y4: 15 year-old young woman). Statements like “that’s what suits them,” “can’t manage,” “don’t know how,” or “can’t learn” were frequently used to explain why boys can perform an activity that girls cannot, and vice versa. These explanations were used to explain personal or observed discrepancies between participants and their peers.

**Case Study 1:**

*Y9: 13 year-old male, Luke\**

Luke’s reinforcement of gender roles and his justifications illuminate the role of capacity in constructing gender norms and consequent roles.

He plays football with his friends who are all boys. He says he doesn’t play with girls because they

<sup>3</sup> A dimba is a garden along a stream or river bank inundated during the rainy season. Dimba cultivation is a strategy to produce crops all year around (Moyo 2014).

“don’t play an interesting football.”

*Interviewer: Why are the girls bad at football?*

*Respondent: Girls cannot score many goals*

*Interviewer: Okay. Do you think that they can learn to be better?*

*Respondent: No! they cannot learn.*

He describes how though football is the only activity girls cannot do, he is not allowed to sweep inside the house. He says he would like to but his sisters say he doesn’t sweep well. He says they are better at sweeping than him. He uses a similar reasoning for why only girls can wash dishes, not himself:

*Inter: Are there any other jobs that only girls can do?*

*Respondent: Yes, like washing the plates because I am not supposed to be washing them.*

*Interviewer: Okay, so why aren’t you supposed to wash the plates?*

*Respondent: Because I don’t know how to wash them well.*

*Interviewer: Do the girls wash them well?*

*Respondent: Yes.*

*Interviewer: Do you think you’re the only boy that washes plates?*

*Respondent: No!*

Descriptions of gender norms were affirmed by gender definitions of what characteristics an ideal boy or girl should possess. In response to questions about characteristics for an ideal girl, boy, husband, or wife, favorable characteristics for both genders were respect for parents, well educated, good behavior, and “working hard” or not lazy. Specifically, girls were favorably looked upon for their cleanliness, kindness, and friendliness.

<b>An ideal girl should:</b>	<b>An ideal boy should:</b>
Cook	Listen to and respect parents, be obedient
Have cleanliness, or good hygiene	Have good manners
Be able to sweep the house	Not be lazy, and be working hard
Wash plates and clothes	Be married, have a wife
Love her friends, neighbors, and be friendly	Look smart ( <i>referring to appearance</i> )

Be intelligent, or educated	
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Participants were also asked about marital decision making. Many participants described that in a marriage, both the husband and wife should make decisions together. However, several participants said that the husband will make decisions, citing older age, or that they will be the “head of household.” Participants who favored joint decision making highlighted shared responsibility and collective money making.

Not all participants, however, experienced or perceived normative gender roles. Though girls were commonly associated with the only gender *supposed to* or *able* to cook or wash dishes, male participants performed those chores as well.

**Case Study 2:**

*Y7: 17 year-old female, Regina\**

Regina explains that only boys can build houses because they are stronger. However, she also discussed that women surpass men in many ways, explaining that “*Some men are just men they don’t know other work like at the field they are unable to do anything the girls do better than them.*”

Though Regina did not compare her strength and ability to the jobs and attributes that are confined to men, she did recognize her own capacity and took issue with men not contributing in the field:

*Interviewer: Do you think that this is fair?*

*Respondent: No.*

*Interviewer: How do you think that you could change this?*

*Respondent: Just encouraging them.*

*Interviewer: Why do you think that this happens in the first place where the women do all the work and the man is doing nothing in the field?*

*Respondent: Laziness.*

The gender roles and norms participants observed were not met with apathy, but rather a recognition of how they impacted their personal and community livelihoods and wellbeing. Participants particularly noted a labor disparity in farming, where some women do more work than men between

the field and household chores. Photovoice participants observed this and noted “Many families could produce more if they worked together.” A particularly present disparity was that fathers only do farming and don’t help with other household needs or chores, they also use money for alcohol.



Photo 1, Photographed and captioned by a 17 year-old woman, Linda\* (Y39):  
*“Woman goes to fetch firewood and for her to find money she has to go up the mountain. She went to sell the firewood in order to find money to buy soap and use some of the money for milling at the maize mill. She doesn’t have any other option because her husband is always drinking, she has to take care of everyone and everything while her husband spends time and money drinking.”*

Photovoice participants discussed and envisioned a future without a gender imbalance. Explaining that Malawi is a country that relies on agriculture, they noted that “Many families would manage to produce more because they are working together. Malawi is well developed in terms of farming. Even with standard of living, it would improve if they all work together” (Photovoice group, central region).

### *Age Disparity*

An imbalance in labor, responsibility, and leisure was recognized to go beyond gender and reveal age disparities. Age was used as an explanatory factor for younger brothers and siblings not doing any or as many chores. Participants explain that this is “because they are young,” but upon inquiry, siblings were either the same age or older than when the participant said they started working. A female participant described how her younger brothers only draw water and play with their friends, when she had been doing much more at their age.

When discussing household decision making, several male participants stated that they would be the “head of household” because they are older, and female participants said that they would not be the head of household because they are younger. Some participants commented that despite this, the couple will still make joint decisions about money.

### *Poverty and Inequality*

#### *Not able to go to school*

Many but not all participants were able to enroll in and regularly attend school. However, they still expressed barriers to attendance, that when recurring led to dropping out. Participants mentioned occasionally getting sick and having to miss school, or needing to attend a funeral. However, many participants expressed missing school due to a lack of resources. Participants said that they miss school when lacking anything from writing utensils, books, notebooks, uniforms and clothes, and soap. Participants explained this and said that when they are not clean and are not properly clothed, they get sent home from school.

Some participants faced these same issues to the point that they could no longer continue school. Students said that they themselves or others that they know had to drop out because they “lacked money,” with school fees only part of the barrier. Dropping out was recognized as a common

problem; specifically that there is a gender disparity in terms of which students have to drop out, especially between siblings. Participants explained personal experiences or observed how a young girl may not have the proper materials or resources to be able to regularly attend school, but other siblings, particularly brothers, may still be able to attend.

Photovoice participants contextualize these experiences within their photos and captions, as well as in their group discussions:



Photos 2 & 3, Photographed and captioned by an 18 year-old man (Y20):

*“A young girl with a yellow jug on her head, a young boy with a blue shirt standing: the boy and girl are from one family. The parents told the girl not to go to school, and instead go to the borehole and get water to mold bricks with the parents. The parents sent the boy to school... There is gender there, boys are favored more than girls. It is a problem because the future for the girl has been doomed.”*

A 15 year-old young woman, Jane\*(Y29), commented on the photos:

*“The girl was told to drop out of school, while the boy was told to stay in school. This happens maybe because they want the girl child to do some household chores. Some parents think a boy child is more intelligent than a girl and that it is a waste of time and money to send a girl to school.”*

Participants noted that when girls are told to drop out of school, they are expected to work on profit-making activities. Girls assist in or individually sell goods or do ganyu.



Photo 4, Photographed and captioned by a 20 year-old man (Y26):

*“A girl with fritters while the boy stays in school, the girl was told to drop out from school to do business of parents. Many parents have the mentality that a girl child will not finish up school, and will get married, or should get married because of peer pressure. When parents don’t have enough money, they make the girl drop out, this rarely happens for boys.”*

When boys do have to drop out of school, the reasons for why this is the case were different. Participants noted how maybe the boy was rude or impolite to his parents, or he is the older child and has to work. Even so, the participants noted how a girl in this situation will likely have to marry, while a boy might do ganyu or be sent to do piece work elsewhere.

Participants drew a connection between education and a pressure to marry. Photovoice participants explained “if most people had education these problems would’ve been avoided. Way back people only cared about marriage so weren’t educated, now the cycle repeats where people are pushed into marriage”(Photovoice group, northern region).

### *Personal work contributes to food security*

Participants noted the obvious impact of food insecurity on their lives. Observations noted a lack of food in households and communities, and attributed reasons for this. Food security was often mentioned without being specifically prompted, whether in relation to aspirations or day-to-day activities. Participants enjoy farming activities and “feel good” after farming, stating that they feel better because they have more food, and feel their contribution helps to ensure that there is enough food. When inquiring about participants’ responsibilities, it was interesting to see a sense of responsibility coincide with comments on food security and an obligation to complete work. A 13 year-old young woman, Lucy\*, said that her chores make her feel good “because we have enough food after farming” (Y15).

In several cases, participants would express that they were obliged to complete a chore or activity rather than enjoying leisure time, because their personal work would contribute to their own and other’s food security.

A 14 year-old young woman (Y3), explains a situation where she wanted to do something but couldn’t:

*Resp: I failed to go watch football because I was pounding*

*Inter: would it have been acceptable for you to go watch football instead of pounding*

*maize Resp: No Inter: Why not Resp: that’s means we will not have food to eat*

### *Alcohol and Drinking*

Youth provided their views on drinking. They overwhelmingly describe that people who don’t drink are good people and relate drinking to the capacity to take care of one’s family. A 15-year old young man says that the difference between people who drink and people who don’t drink is that: “The ones who drink do not take care of their households while those who do not drink take care of their households” (Y16).

Participants noted differences in behavior and wellbeing between people who drink and those who don't:

<b>Qualities of people who drink:</b>	<b>Qualities of people who don't drink:</b>
They are Stupid, rude, crazy	They want to learn good behavior
Will have a bad future	Lower thinking capacity
They are not healthy, have injuries	They take care of their future
Do not take care of the household	They find happiness and peace
Fighting	

Youth described that the reasons to start drinking are peer pressure, which happens when people are sitting around with friends drinking and think they are now old enough to partake.

A 13 year-old young man (Y13) described how peer pressure takes hold:

*Inter: Who is likely to start drinking?*

*Resp: Boys, because they want to make their life happy.*

*Inter: What age do boys start drinking?*

*Resp: 19 years old, because they think that they are now old enough.*

Participants overwhelmingly saw that drinking brought about problems for the household and community. Specifically, money spent on alcohol could be for other things families need, like relish, soap, food, and clothes. Youth also explained how a problem in their communities was people fighting each other when they're drunk, and mentioned that people are killing each other.

Participants discussed these issues further, noting several reasons why people drink despite the known consequences:

<b>Why men start drinking:</b>
<i>Because of depression from having an argument with the wife the man decides to go for drinking (Y6: young woman)</i>
<i>They have nothing to do with the money, they don't plan about the money (Y18: young woman)</i>

*They drink because they have enough money from doing ganyu (Y14: young man)*

*There is a lack of agreeing in the household, men end up drinking because they do different things. They have always been drinking, and then there's a new reason to drink. When there is a fight, the only thing to solve it is beer so he doesn't beat the wife. Man doesn't like talking so he drinks to deal with it (Young men and women during Photovoice discussion, northern region).*

*Sometimes a man drinks while his wife goes to meet other men. The man thinks he can control the wife and drink whenever because he's the head of the house (Young men and women during Photovoice discussion, northern region).*

**Case study 3:**

*Y11: 17 year-old female Monica\**

Monica analyzed the presence and consequences of alcohol consumption in her community, noting themes of work ethic and gender disparities. Her explanations for this difference included peer pressure and addiction, starting with young boys.

She said that the difference between people who drink and those who don't is that *"those who drink alcohol they quarrel a lot in their houses while those who don't drink do not quarrel. Those who drink alcohol have no time to work while those who don't drink do have time to work."* Monica then explained that people are addicted to drinking so can't stop, which starts with peer pressure among young men. Monica's views on productivity impacted by drinking were contextualized by her experience with deprivation.

*"Money is a problem to buy soap for washing and it's difficult to find food. Doing ganyu is a solution. [It helps because] I find money after doing ganyu, so i use the money to buy what I am lacking like soap, exercise books for school, and pens."*

This is one of the many times she mentioned a lack of adequate necessities throughout the interview. She mentioned that she washes her siblings clothes, and that the soap comes directly from her doing ganyu. She explained why more ganyu is a necessary solution to her intersecting issues, and that there is nothing other than ganyu that can help:

*Interviewer: So do people not do ganyu enough*

*Respondent: They do ganyu enough*

*Interviewer: So why is there still a problem*

*Respondent: Because the payment is not that much to feed the whole family due to large families*

### *Unequal sharing of resources*

Participants highlighted inequality in their interviews and photovoice, especially when it came to resources for agriculture, food distribution, and wages. The inequality they experience is relevant to the consequences they suffer from an aforementioned lack of resources. Photovoice participants discussed an unequal sharing of resources in community with organizational handouts like fertilizer, seeds, and irrigation. Unequal sharing occurs because they are given to the village leader to allocate, and many village leaders favor wealthier community members or their own family members.



Photo 5, Photographed and captioned by a 21 year-old man, John\* (Y21):

*“Woman sitting with maize: subsidy problem. Only well doing people are the ones who receive the coupons, while the poor farmers do not receive the coupon. The village headman does not treat people evenly. Favoritism is also seen in the village when chiefs give help or aid to already well off households than poor households. They only give well doing people what they are supposed to receive. Favoritism is seen in a situation where one group of people has enough food to eat while the other group has nothing. Sometimes people do not even help each other because of different reasons.”*

In another instance of distribution issues relating to power, participants discussed how though ganyu is often looked at as a solution or coping mechanism for money issues, workers receive unequal payment for doing the same ganyu work.



Photo 6, Photographed and captioned by a 18 year-old man, Jacob\* (Y35):

*“2 men with a red board. They have done the same work but end up paid differently. This is unfair when people are working together on the same job but they have different wages. One man is earning 1000 kwacha, and the other is earning 2000 kwacha for the same job. This happens a lot. During ganyu someone is more likely to be favored if they are related to the boss.”*

During discussion, Jacob provided a solution:

*“Before work starts, the boss and worker have to agree on payment. This agreement should be signed as evidence when work is done. With ganyu if there’s no problem with payments, it’s the labor – they all get paid the same but some work more than others.”*

In response to the prompt *What is unfair?* Photovoice participants noted that there was unfair and unequal treatment among siblings. Some noted that it was also unfair when families didn’t share food with their neighbors’ kids. Participants noted that particularly, adopted children or orphans were not given an equal amount of food, resources, or school supplies.



Photo 7, Photographed and captioned by a 21 year-old woman, Mila\* (Y24):

*“I have taken this photo which shows two girls staying in the same family, and one child in the family is wearing school uniform, school shoes, and has carried a school bag. Girls are from one family, but the one was adopted, she is an orphan and is staying in the same family– she doesn’t have shoes, uniform, or a bag. This shows that there is favoritism because the parents are just buying things for their child. The parents are not treating them equally because one of them was adopted. This is common but being treated poorly is uncommon.”*

Even when children are not adopted, participants still noted that sometimes the family gave more or less food to some kids. Photovoice participants discussed:

*Mary: The younger kid received more, because the older child was adopted. But this will still happen with biological children*

*Steven: Maybe the child getting more is more polite!*

*Max: Parents favor certain children*



Photo 8, Photographed and captioned by a 18 year-old woman, Justice\* (Y34):  
*“I have taken a photo of two children, one having a lot of nsima while the other one has very little food. This is showing favoritism. I took this photo because girls have different amounts of food and the older girl had more food, the younger had less. This is unfair. It happens that some parents favor certain children”*

#### *Poverty as reason for strife*

Participants overwhelmingly mentioned that they lacked food, money, soap, and other necessities. Participants identified poverty as a reason for many of the inequalities and lack of resources that themselves and their communities experience, citing reasons like “because we are poor.”

Though many participants labeled their situations, not all felt solidarity in their experience of deprivation. Some participants recognized that their friends and neighbors struggled with the same problems, while others thought that they were the only family or young person faced with plight, and described their situations as unique. One participant, Maeve\*, a 12 year-old girl described how even her sisters are able to go to school so they don’t have the same problems as her, because they are able to do ganyu and take care of themselves (Y8).

## *Laziness*

Laziness was used as an explanation for various troubles. Emic perspectives saw laziness as a contributing factor in labor disparities. Several participants stated that the opposite gender isn't capable of a certain activity, or doesn't want to learn because of laziness. Laziness was used to explain a work ethic or capacity that is not productive and hinders household efforts such as farming and maintaining shelter.

Photovoice participants interpreted these disparities as poverty being caused by laziness. Throughout the photovoice process, participants described inadequate housing conditions, and strife felt in their community from drinking and fighting. They saw poverty as a salient force in these issues, and explained that if "[people in the community] were hard working they would have dimbas and could buy houses and food," and wouldn't have to go to extremes to find resources. Alluding to components of laziness like work ethic, capacity, and motivation, participants also mentioned that some people are poor because they don't have skills to manage money.

## *Aspirations*

### *Job Aspirations*

Participants described the job that they would like to have when they grow up, mentioning a doctor, nurse, teacher, nun, and farmer. Though differing aspirations, many of the reasons for these paths were similar.

<b>Reasons for job aspiration:</b>
To be educated
To help people (friends, relatives who are sick)
Food security
Money

Some participants said that they would be both a doctor, for example, and a farmer, assuring that their food security and livelihoods depended on farming.

Alongside career aspirations, participants mentioned that they wanted to seek a better lifestyle by moving to an urban area. They described urban centers like Lilongwe and Blantyre as places they admire that are beautiful. Participants mentioned that they would be able to become rich by moving, find everything they want, have the opportunity to eat well balanced meals and speak Chichewa. Several participants described that they needed to pursue their career in a new area because people in their village won't respect them.

**Case study 4:**

*Y15: 13 year-old young woman Lucy\**

Lucy had a unique position of not wanting to be a farmer in the future. She explained that "When I get educated I will employ people to work in my garden." She says she wants to be a teacher in the future in order to earn money.

Lucy explained that problems in her home included not having enough clothes. She says she also has to miss school because of lack of resources and money. She says that working hard is a solution to her problems. She says her mom works hard already, and that a solution to lacking clothes is farming and selling crops. She says that they currently both eat and sell their crops. She later explained that working hard meant working hard in ganyu.

Though Lucy aspired to be educated and have money, she emphasized the importance of farming in her everyday life. She says that farming is the activity that she enjoys the most, and she likes it "in order to have food."

*New Lifestyle*

Photovoice participants were given the prompt "Do you want a new lifestyle?" Many participants captured the difference between a "poor house" with a thatched roof, bricks, and no cement versus a house with an iron sheet roof. Participants noticed broader inequalities that resulted in

living in a “poor house.” Participants photographed and described the implications of the differences in housing situations:



Photos 8 & 9, Photographed and captioned by a 13 year-old young woman (Y10):

*“I have taken a photo of this house because the owners are very poor and are struggling with life, but also during the rainy season this house leaks. It might collapse one day and end up killing all the household members.”*

*“This kitchen makes me feel very sad because during the rainy season it leaks a lot to the extent that the rain water falls into the nsima when it’s being prepared and even sometimes during the dry season more especially when there is a whirlwind, bad things fall on the food being prepared.”*

Leaking thatch roofs were a commonly mentioned and discussed problem. Photovoice participants discussed how leaking during the rainy season was followed by climate change and drought, which affects the crops. Sam\* claimed that by destroying trees and burning them to mold bricks, they are destroying the environment which impacts the climate, for which their agrosystems are not prepared (Y19).

Participants explained that the inadequate structure had an impact on their hygiene. Participants explained that when “rubbish” and grass from wind falls into food being prepared, the food gets dirty when it is mixed with the grass. Linda\* explained that there is no hygiene in this situation

which may lead to sickness of household members. An 11 year-old boy commented that it's unhygienic, because people end up putting their hands in to get the grass out (Y38).

Participants also noted that houses with iron roofs are more “modernized,” and often photographed them in conjunction with technology like speakers, electricity, bikes, and cars. Descriptions of these innovations noted how they serve a leisurely purpose, but bikes can help with transporting water over long distances. Jane\* noted that modern houses bring development in the village and the whole area (Y29) .

Justice, who captured both houses explained: *“I have taken a photo of a grass thatched house showing that the person is struggling with life but also another one which is iron roofed showing that the person is living a good life, a modernized life”* (Y29).



Photos 10 & 11, Photographed and captioned by a 16 year-old young man (Y32):  
*“I have taken a photo of a thatched house showing an uncivilized situation. I have also taken a photo of an iron roofed house with burnt bricks showing modernization.”*

Mila\* also commented that a house with an iron roof and cement is beautifying the community, but this construction does not come without a cost. She had taken a photo of the house of a vendor<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The term vendor refers to local business owners with more capital who may buy and sell goods.

and explained that *“Vendors take money from farmers who are the workers but then benefit through the big house. Farmers sell to vendors because of poor markets”* (Y24). An 18 year-old young woman commented on how others may get money for an iron sheet:

*Iron sheets are fixed. You don't have to replace it every year like you do with thatch. Some people get money for a new roof from farming, others through salaried positions. Some harvest more and are able to build houses. Some do farming for food, some do for food and for business”* (Y33).

The group discussed the downsides of modernization, noting its impact on the environment. Participants discussed how modernized industries are not a good lifestyle. John\* took a photo of a book that pictured a smokestack (Y21) . He explained: *“[They] impact life here even though it's far away in a different part of Malawi. It has job opportunities. But it also impacts the environment: air pollution, noise pollution, impacts rain, destroys.”* Everyone in the discussion responded enthusiastically to this point. Participants continued to discuss their personal role in creating and addressing climate change.

### *Money*

Participants' aspirations included careers, housing, and moving to urban areas for a “better life.” Explanations for a change included needing or wanting more money. Lacking money was commonly mentioned as a problem due to poverty, and led to lacking necessities. Upon being asked about their future, participants replied that they would see a different future or a “better life” than they have now. Money's dominance in dictating future plans and goals is fitting with their experience.

In photovoice, money was often a common denominator in inequality, especially with parents or village leaders handing out money to children for food, or not having enough money to pay for school fees. When young men and women expressed an interest in self-sufficiency, they said they wanted to find money to pay for necessities. A keenness for self-sufficiency included aspirations of self-employment as a solution to earn money to ensure food security or attending school. Ganyu and dimbas

were commonly mentioned activities that can act as solutions for youth to earn money and make ends meet. When referencing people they admired, participants explained that they admire business-minded people, innovators, development, as well as self-sufficiency. Participants were very conscious of people's ability to save money, and what is a waste of money. Photovoice participants posed a connection between aspirations and solutions: *"When one is educated they have the capacity to think well, they find money to have better kitchens and houses"* (Photovoice group, northern region).

When participants were asked to project into the future, money was a priority. Participants mentioned wanting to work in a certain occupation in order to earn money. They indicated that money would be used to buy soap, pay school fees, buy a new roof, buy food and so on. Notably, a focus on monetary gains was often mentioned by young boys, who generally have more access to income earning activities like ganyu or dimbas, according to participant observations.

**Case Study 5:**

*Y12: 14 year-old young woman Stella\**

Stella gave insight into how she views gendered activities and expectations, and where her own self capacity fits in.

She explains that her younger siblings and her dad never do chores. She explains that her dad doesn't do chores because *"He is a man so he looks after the farm work."* She does not think it's fair that her dad only farms, because he needs to help with the household chores, too. She thinks that she can change this simply by telling him to assist in the household chores. Stella said that on Sunday, she will tell him to participate, and will feel better after the conversation.

She also explained that her younger brother only does some chores, and that he could definitely do more as well. She said that he doesn't help *"because he is lazy."* She says that a major difference between her and her siblings is that she takes care of herself while her brothers rely on their mom. Stella was very open about talking about her observations in her life. She explained that although she can't build a bathroom like boys, she will learn how in school because they are told not to differentiate between boys and girls when it comes to working. She is hopeful that in about a month, they will all be doing the same work.

Stella spoke about her experience in school, but she also mentioned the challenges she faced in order to attend: *“If I don’t do ganyu or have not been selected to play netball, I lack soap, exercise books, pens, food and clothes.”* She says that a solution to this is that she can start a business. She says she’ll be able to do this by doing ganyu and finding the equipment to start a business. Another problem she describes as unfair is lacking food and clean water. Her solutions for these issues are going to the dimba, and having more boreholes.

Though Stella had serious barriers to necessary resources, she recognized strengths in her responsibility and community, explaining that what she enjoys most about her community is farming activities, because that way people don’t lack food.

Stella reiterated the struggles at the end of the interview, explaining that *“life in the village and town is different, because here in the village you’re forced to get married young while in towns you continue with school.”* She says this happens because parents don’t know the value of school.

When looking to her future, Stella says she would like to move to an urban area:

*“I will see another life, because here in the village we just eat okra but in Blantyre I will eat different kinds of food and the meals will be balanced. Meals here are not balanced because a lot of food is not sold here and they are expensive.”*

## **Solutions**

### *Ganyu*

Although participants outlined a variety of problems they experience, they are not without agency. As participants described the conditions and consequences of material deprivation, they also offered solutions. When participants described ganyu as a solution, it acted as a direct remedy to issues of money and lacking resources, because the immediate output of their work is money to buy goods with. Maeve\* explained that doing ganyu is a solution that she could achieve by “looking for it.” Young men and women present ganyu as a necessary activity to make ends meet alongside expressing admiration for business and money-earning activities.

Participants explained how specifically doing *more ganyu* was a solution, as many people already did ganyu to make ends meet. Ganyu was often a cornerstone of money earning activities that

funded necessities. Participants and their families seemed to do ganyu often, and were willing to do more, which directly contradicts claims of laziness and work ethic being at fault for poverty and material deprivation. The absence of ganyu had consequences. When participants themselves or their parents did not do “piecework,” there were sacrifices with food security, schooling, and resources.

A 17 year-old young woman explained how failing to do ganyu results in food insecurity, but rather than more ganyu as a solution, farming is an avenue to find resources. She explains that her parents farm and do ganyu, and in order for farming to result in enough food to eat, they need to find resources (Y18).

#### *Dimbas*

Participating in activities for personal subsistence as a solution was not limited to ganyu. Several participants mentioned dimbas as a general solution to food insecurity, but others suggested that if they had their *own* dimba, they could make their own money. Several male participants explained that they already had their own dimba, but girls couldn’t start their own.

Sam\* took a photo of his dimba with chinese cabbage. When presenting his photo, he explained to the group that he used to beg friends for food, but then decided to grow his own vegetables. He said that he owns the dimba and he was encouraged by his friends to start one. Other participants commented that vegetables are a good source of income and vitamins.



Photo 12: Photographed and captioned by a 22 year-old man (Y19):

*“This is a garden of mustard. People are struggling to find relish but with the availability of seeds and encouraging irrigation will make people have relish but also be able to buy at a cheap price. Irrigation farming helps people to cultivate for several times in a year.”*

Youth explained that dimbas offer more than growing food for personal use, but you can take vegetables they grow and exchange them for maize, and can then sell maize to find money. In this way, they explained that dimbas attract vendors which would help people find a market. One group of photovoice participants contextualized dimbas as a solution:

*“Not everyone can be educated. If people can’t go to school they should farm and grow dimbas to reduce poverty. Some people are poor because they don't have skills to manage money. When they grow a dimba, they are able to find different markets”* (Photovoice group, northern region).

#### *Outside Interventions*

Photovoice participants spent a significant portion of their workshops discussing thematic issues and solutions to meet their needs. For many issues, the groups suggested outside interventions in communities could be helpful.

Participants from the central region proposed that organizations related to the government should encourage parents to educate their young girls. They suggested this could be announced on public radio stations. In retaliation to parents not adhering to recommendations, several participants suggested that there should be punishment for parents who do not oblige.

Participants in the northern region had a different approach, and stated that money rather than priorities needed to be addressed. They outlined that for people to get education, they need money. They spoke highly in favor of expanding a community organization that covers school fees and offers notebooks. Participants explained that the organization's presence incentivizes girls to go to school because they know they will receive something. The group highlighted the importance of addressing this financial gap because education provided a path for a better lifestyle. Other suggested activities included more civic education and incorporating strategies like drama.

## ***Discussion***

### ***Youth perceptions of gender dynamics and inequality***

Malawian youth described both class and gender challenges, and offered serious insight about agrarian change, food security, and equity. Youth were clear that labor disparities in their family impact them, and gendered realities hinder opportunities and prosperity, but there is a willingness and a capacity for change in most cases. Youth don't necessarily always view disparities as unfair, but throughout the consultation process analyze the ways in which dynamics impact them, their peers, and families.

Malawian youth presented an intimate knowledge and experience of gender roles and norms and were able to reflect on and articulate them. Previous studies found that with efforts at transforming gender relations through dialogue and training, some evidence of changing dynamics in labor and

decision making have emerged; yet, youth perceptions and experiences suggest that these dynamics are not translating to changed relations for youth (Bezner Kerr et al., 2016). There's little evidence that gender relations and attitudes have changed for young men and women, particularly regarding a gendered division of labor. Though young men do some housework, it is mostly considered a woman's duty, reflective of previous roles adults had subscribed to (Lentz et al., 2018). This is an interesting departure from the apparent transfer of knowledge and norms among the adult community, where men have not only reported feeling an increased sense of responsibility for predominantly female activities, but also felt that their new roles were becoming more socially accepted in the community and attached with less stigma (Bezner Kerr et al., 2016). Changing attitudes within the community are significant as group perceptions shape roles and norms<sup>5</sup>, whether through community support or disapproval (Bezner Kerr et al., 2016).

Young people's perspectives affirm an understanding of a fluidity of activities, though not necessarily deconstructed gender roles. Often, youth recognized that the barriers between gendered activities are fluid, citing realities that boys can and do participate in washing dishes and cooking; however, many participants maintained that they're not *supposed to* or expected to. These expectations have an impact on how youth spend their time in the home. Since boys aren't expected to cook, wash their own clothes, or do dishes, young girls frequently perform a greater amount of housework. Participants would also mention that a husband and wife *should* make decisions together, but that isn't necessarily what they experience or envision in their future.

Though not always explicitly articulated, young men and women defy the boundaries of gendered activities. At times, youth would make statements about gendered labor that deviated from

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<sup>5</sup> Particularly in Malawi, community level perceptions shape hegemonic masculinities that relate to responsibilities like childcare and domestic activities. Though men may not explicitly promote stark roles, complicity in them reinforces them, making exchanges of knowledge a key mechanism to transform gender norms (Bezner Kerr et al., 2016)

their peers views and previous data collection. A young woman adamantly understood that only men could go to the mountain to cut down trees and carry firewood, supposedly because they are stronger; yet, studies have shown that many women collect firewood and rely on forests for income and household tasks (Bezner Kerr & Patel, 2014).

Youth overwhelmingly expressed that without gender inequalities, their households and communities would be working together and producing more. Youth expressed a willingness and capacity for change. Young women recognized their ability to participate in different activities, and to discuss with people in their lives problems that they experience. Several participants also mentioned that they'll learn about gender and will learn to work together in school, or were confident that they can ask members of their household for things to change. Furthermore, young women are often confident that they are capable of learning an activity, but there's a difference between how they view their own capacity versus the capability and acceptability of their female peers doing the same. Though young people participate in and observe a fluidity of gendered activities, that doesn't necessarily mean that difficult issues in their lives have changed or that equitable practices are mainstream (Bezner Kerr et al., 2016). Young men and women would offer their willingness and capability to do certain tasks, but would follow with comments of their peers' incapacity to do the same activity, sometimes reasoned with laziness or not doing the activity correctly. Though both young men and women make remarks on what people holding certain gender identities are capable of, male opinions are shared from a position where they can impose and dictate how norms shape realities. Young girls express their capacity to engage in activities that are not within traditional gender norms; however, the social consequences of breaking notions of acceptability further entrench such norms. The strength of social stigma is important as there are otherwise no true distinctions that prevent girls from physically completing tasks. Norms and patterns from playground activities can persist all the way up to the allocation of land, resources, and water.

In addition to the ways gender creates a differentiation of acceptable activities, the performance of masculinity, particularly in its promotion of risky behaviour among young men, has detrimental impacts to all young people (Shefer et al., 2018). Alcohol is understood to be linked to masculine attributes in Malawian society. Young people reflected on the negative impacts of drinking on individuals that are consistent with previous studies (Bezner Kerr & Patel, 2014; Norweigan Church Aid Actalliance, 2016). Youth identified that drinking is an issue that propels other issues of inequality and violence in their communities. Youth also explained that peer pressure is the root of drinking problems, leading us to understand the performative role of alcohol in producing masculinities (Norweigan Church Aid Actalliance, 2016). In this assertion, youth also express an inability to combat or change the issue of drinking in their community. The use of alcohol in performative masculinities also plays a role in creating and perpetuating unequal gender relations in the home. In previous studies, women noted that sometimes men sold crops and used the money for non-household use, such as purchase of alcohol (Bezner Kerr, 2017). Generally, women are more likely to invest their income and crops more in household food, children's nutrition, and health than men (Bezner Kerr, 2017; Bezner Kerr & Patel (2014). This is a reality felt and recognized by youth. The gendered organization of labor is not inherently unfair, but the view of men as the sole possessor of disposable income which they use for the purchase of alcohol while women must always provide for the household contributes to feelings of unfairness. Drinking as an activity in particular exacerbates such feelings that men do not contribute equally to family wellbeing.

Age was also frequently referred to as a reason participants didn't do an activity. In dissecting gender, it may be important to incorporate the intersections of age in defining social norms and roles. Youth conceptions of their own incapacity are shaped by their gender, but age also plays a factor in determining decision-making capabilities and social structures.

### *Youth feel a personal responsibility for food security and subsistence*

Social inequalities profoundly impacted youth experiences. Young men and women described the consequences unequal access to resources has on their lives, and it's evident that such inequality affects future aspirations. Young people feel the responsibility to feed their families, and anticipate what lifestyle will bring them food security and meet basic needs. This contrasts with previous studies on youth experiences of food insufficiency and anxieties that suggested young people may reflect a lower feeling of responsibility to ensure there is food for the family compared to adults (Classen & Bezner Kerr, 2015). Though youth may not present deep anxieties as they may find avenues to subsist for themselves, young men and women explained that their labor is necessary for agriculture and the food processes that allow families to eat. Their insights reflect the critical role young people play in procuring household resources, particularly through their participation in household agriculture (Classen & Bezner Kerr, 2015). Though it might be a different obligation than adults to feed a family, youth felt obligated and responsible for their contributions.

Malawian youth effectively identify and articulate their grievances, and generate values and visions for their future that reflect potential solutions to their problems. Young boys expressed that unequal payment for ganyu is an issue that has real consequences for what they can afford for their family. The future-oriented outlook that stems from the youth positionality allows boys to focus on measures that will earn them money both now and into the future. Youth particularly noted dimbas as a solution, with an emphasis on their ability to bring food, income, and open up better markets. Youth solutions are also potentially reflective of a new neoliberal reality that stresses not only producing and providing for the home, but expanding to produce for an external market. However, youth are focused on income and self-sufficiency, as their system requires them to navigate feeding and caring for themselves with their family and precariously balancing it with work and school. Youth responsibility to

subsist and procure resources outside of household agriculture is particularly present in economically vulnerable households (Classen & Bezner Kerr, 2015).

### ***Dimbas: A gendered solution***

Youth looked to dimbas to ameliorate struggles with income and food production, and gave insight into why more youth do not have dimbas of their own. Youth farming in dimbas is a tradition and serves as agricultural training. Dimbas typically supplement what is produced in the main gardens and are used for immediate consumption, and allow children to practice to develop skills (Moyo, 2014). Farmers allow children from age of five onward to cultivate in dimbas as a learning process, and after 13 young adults have independent gardens for training and to produce their own food for consumption (Moyo 2014). Traditional practices reveal how youth gain knowledge about the value of dimbas, and why they understand dimbas as a good practice for food security. Rural youth have also been found to have different levels of dietary diversity compared to their households, and may buy or source items outside of the home (Classen & Bezner Kerr, 2015). Young people have a limited opportunity for income outside of the home, which may explain their proclivity and positive view towards dimbas as a means of subsistence (Classen & Bezner Kerr, 2015).

This understanding and aspirations to have and produce a personal dimba are complicated by gender roles and inequalities. Participants in northern and central regions explained that only boys can start their own dimba. Workshop discussions in the central region further illuminated that boys are often encouraged by their friends to start one. Participants assured that a young woman couldn't just start a dimba on her own, while boys were often encouraged to do so and reaped the benefits. As control over land is a fundamental inequality facing female farmers, there may be a connection between land ownership trends and conceptions of agency that contribute to views that girls are not able to start their own dimbas (Bezner Kerr, 2017).

### *Internalizing Inequality*

Disenfranchisement was no accident, it was a methodical scheme to reteach, control knowledge and agricultural practices and resources (Mulwafu, 2011). Neo-colonial and neo-liberal influences are not simply the will of those in power exerting interventions over communities. Power works through systems of knowledge and discursive practices to provide the meanings, norms, values and identities that not only constrain actors but also constitute them (Gabay, 2015). Hegemonic development projects have acted in this way to shape imaginations and practices for individuals and communities, and have taken hold to shape narratives of deprivation. Global development projects often pathologized problems<sup>6</sup> to be at an abstract fault, consequently blaming people for their handling of destitution. These development frameworks relegate structural issues which might make it difficult for parents in Malawi to keep their children in school, provide clothing, food, etc. as secondary to actions that individuals could be and should be taking to alleviate such conditions and problems all in a world that is naturally unfair and requires resilience of individuals to master conditions (Gabay, 2015). Such rhetoric and actions served to further sensitize Malawians to their poverty, and contributed to a cycle of blame.

Internalized blame is evident in youth descriptions of why people are poor and experience material deprivations. Young people posed that some people are poor because they don't have the skills to manage money, which reflects the neo-liberal value of personal responsibility and individualism. Perceptions of inadequacy are particularly interesting in light of recognitions of inequality within villages, for example recognizing the concentrated power of village leaders, and highlighting wealth concentrated among vendors rather than smallholders.

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<sup>6</sup> There is a difference between addressing poverty and pathologizing it-- listening to and respecting solutions that people in poverty identify is not the same as putting responsibility on people to fix conditions due to structural inequalities that drive the global economy (Gabay, 2015).

Coupled with blame for issues, youth will often scapegoat laziness as an explanatory factor for material deprivation and food insecurity. The stereotype of the 'lazy African' was created and enforced by colonists<sup>7</sup>, and has weaved its way into contemporary discourse on poverty and lived realities. Laziness is a trope that's historically been used to justify conquest and oppression (Ronnback, 2014). Colonists created a stereotype that allowed them to simultaneously exploit and blame people for their poverty, which has ramifications for internalized perceptions of poverty for contemporary youth.

Though youth have an understanding of how inequality shapes their communities, hegemonic narratives are invoked to blame communities for their poverty citing inadequate management of resources and food production. As young people discussed their difficulties managing a lack of agricultural resources, they reflected on their communities use of natural resources and national industries, relating them to causing climate changes like droughts and floods. Their discussions show that Malawian youth have an understanding of their relationship with the environment and that they are grappling with the issues of climate change; however, their dialogues also may stem from narratives of blame and incompetency consistent with colonial accusations of Malawians destroying the environment and blame for mismanaging production<sup>8</sup> (Mulwafu, 2011). In light of historical and neo-liberal factors, it is not surprising that youth face the burden and blame for poverty and environmental degradation.

In workshops, youth also often brainstormed solutions that suggested outside interventions for community problems. Though through their nuanced grievances respondents acknowledged the

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<sup>7</sup> The stereotype roots itself in colonial observations of indigenous social systems: claims of laziness rose from misunderstanding women's role as agricultural producers, and relegated men as inefficient and lazy (Ronnback, 2014).

<sup>8</sup> Colonial officials maintained the perception that Malawians were ignorant or inefficient with natural resources (Mulwafu, 2011). Malawian methods of field and crop rotation left reserve space in case of drought, but colonists saw this as unused space that could be used to maximize production and orchestrated the destruction of indigenous resilient methods. Hegemonic interventions destroyed coping mechanisms for droughts and resource management, imposing expansion of commercial farming associated with destruction of forest areas. Deforestation is currently a major problem in Malawi, rising at an alarming rate.

potential harms of external development projects, youth continue to look for solutions outside of their community. Outside intervention was embedded in ideas of successful solutions to solve problems of inequality and gender disparities. This contradicts the fact that old colonial strategies of coercion and punishment don't help solve environmental and community issues (Mulwafu, 2011). Moreover, a keenness for outside interventions may connect to the view held by global development projects that local nonprofits are inept, unavailable, and poorly equipped to communicate effectively (Gabay, 2015).

### *Modernized Aspirations*

Education was looked upon favorably and as an admirable achievement by many youth. Pursuing education was also frequently seen as a solution to a myriad of household and community issues, to the point that a lack of education was seen as putting one's future in jeopardy. Particularly, education was a path out of destitution; many participants expressed valuing their education in order to make money in the future and feed their families. Via the pursuit of education, young women are positioned to choose from a traditional life to a more urban, more modern one (Dejaeghere 2016). This assumes that education affords youth agency and allows them to acquire skills and dispositions to act as productive and reliable members of society (Shirazi, 2016). Moreover, a focus on agency through education to empower youth rests upon uncritical and unspecified assumptions of what schooling does (Shirazi, 2016). Producing a skilled workforce is an economic benefit that prioritizes formal education in place of local knowledge that are the foundation for real progress (Moyo, 2014). The educational resources that promise to propel youth are not necessarily accessible, nor does valuing them take into account what farmers learn at a young age. Rather, the cultural process of farming creates a push and pull between sacrificing food security to afford school, or ensuring food security for oneself and family by dropping out of school. Though stigma associated with dropping out of school remains, youth actively engage with and challenge assumptions about the universal promise of education (Shirazi, 2016). Participants identify the importance of education, alongside familial and other relationships in

contributing to an expansion of agency, however youth also explicitly recognize the power of a patriarchal social order to constrain outcomes.

The word *modern* was frequently used by youth to explain changes and progress they looked forward to. Money, education, urbanization, and modernization were seen as avenues to achieve a new lifestyle. Modernization was employed to justify why participants wanted the new lifestyle of a “modern house” versus a “poor house”. Modernization rests on the assumption that backwardness and traditionalism of societies are barriers to teleological progress (Moyo, 2014). African farming practices are seen to be backward and inadequate for profit and development (Moyo, 2014). Modernization defines needs, values, and appropriate culture needed for development to take place (Moyo, 2014). When young men and women captured a photo to depict the lifestyle they admired, several participants took the same photo of a vendor’s house, explaining that it has better structure and is modernized compared to “uncivilized” thatched roofs that many smallholders have. The rhetoric of modernization permeates how youth view their communities, find value, and imagine their futures.

Through the imposition of modern values, there has been a teleological shift toward market aspirations and the accumulation of wealth among youth. Studies have found that as youth are increasingly responsible for procuring their own and household needs, there is little incentive for young people to work on food production, as access to cash more adequately fits their needs and desires (Classen & Bezner Kerr, 2015). Many youth were focused on income-earning activities now or in the future. These findings are consistent with other studies where elders observed that beyond seeking the necessary non-agricultural employment, young men and women are clouded by the allure of money (Classen & Bezner Kerr, 2015)

### *Interrogating ganyu as a solution*

Ganyu was mentioned as an avenue to acquire money and resources necessary to meet an individual's and family's needs. Almost half of SFHC households had previously relied on nearby casual on-farm labor, ganyu, as a main source of income and food during the growing season (Bezner Kerr et al., 2019). Recent findings have suggested that households in the northern region using agro-ecological methods are increasing the amount of land that they farmed and decreasing reliance on ganyu as a source of income. Ganyu was a prominent topic in the central region where such methods are only just taking hold, and youth described a reliance on piecework. Though youth present ganyu as a potential solution to deprivation and food insecurity, the social processes of ganyu work reinforce precarity and existing power relations. Ganyu presents a way to mitigate seasonal food insecurity in the short-term, however as a livelihood strategy, ganyu perpetuates vulnerability (Bezner Kerr, 2005). This is illuminated by an issue photovoice groups focused on, where girls have to drop out of school to do ganyu in order to make ends meet<sup>9</sup>.

As youth and their families rely on ganyu, they explained that, specifically, doing *more* ganyu is a solution to alleviate circumstances. This is contextualized by the fact that ganyu wages have not kept pace with the rising cost of living, such that poor families are doing more ganyu and getting less for their labor (Bezner Kerr, 2005). Youths' understanding that there is a need for more ganyu is an informed observation. Wage depletion is not merely an elite conception, but is socially understood and experienced, and in light of this youth present the only plausible solution they see. Just because youth mentioned that ganyu acted as a solution does not mean they are complacent, and workshops were a chance for youth to examine and to process together.

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<sup>9</sup> Ganyu can be described as an individual's rational economic choice, but its role as a solution to household and community issues ignores the exploitive characteristic and historical context of ganyu. Ganyu is a cheap source of labor for wealthier farmers that reinforces food insecurity rather than helping to reduce it (Bezner Kerr, 2005).

## ***Conclusion***

Youth demonstrated and cultivated agency for themselves and their peers throughout the consultation process. They expressed capacity and resisted dominant hegemonic narratives that have seeped into their norms, practices, and activities. Youth have the power to transfer their values and norms to generations to follow, and it is important that further work hones their capacity and ability to do so. Malawian youth are a dynamic group; they offer insight into the intersections of class and gender impact daily lives, and envision realities they want to enact. When doing gender training for adult participants, youth should also be included as they are the next generation that this will impact. Ultimately, youth expressed an interest to continue workshops and other activities with SFHC. Their mentioning of civic and community engagement as solutions for many issues should be interpreted as a call to action to provide youth with the materials they need to discuss and organize with each other and be integrated in the participatory process.

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- a. How did this make you feel?
  - b. Do you like having responsibilities?
    - i. Why?
  - c. What does it mean to be grown up?
13. What do you enjoy doing most?
- a. Why do you like doing this activity?
  - b. How often do you get to do this activity?
  - c. Are there any barriers you have to do this activity?
14. Are there any activities or chores you don't like doing?
- a. Why don't you like them?
  - b. Why do you do them?
  - c. How often do you have to do this activity?
  - d. Is there any way you would change this?
15. Do you see any problems in your home?
- a. Is there a solution?
16. Do you see any problems in your community?
- a. Is there a solution?
17. What do you enjoy most about your community?
18. Can you think of a time you wanted to do something but couldn't? (like a leisure activity, community activity, any work)
- a. Why don't you get to do this activity?
    - i. Would your siblings be able to do these activities?
    - ii. Which siblings?
    - iii. Why do you think this is? (difference of gender or age?)
  - b. Would it be normally acceptable for you to do this activity?
  - c. Do other people seem to have this same problem?
    - i. Why do you think this is?
  - d. Do you ever miss school for any reason?
19. Is there an activity your siblings can do but you're not allowed to?
- a. Why do you think they can?
    - i. Is it because of their gender? Their age?
  - b. Would it be acceptable for you to do this activity?

- c. What is something you can do when you grow up that you can't do now?
20. Are there jobs that only girls can do?
- a. If so, which ones and why?
21. Are there jobs that only boys can do?
- a. If so, which ones and why?
22. What do you think an 'ideal' boy/girl should be like?
- a. What does it mean to be a man?
23. What do you think an 'ideal' husband or wife should be like?
- a. Who would make decisions about money when you're married?
    - i. Why?
    - ii. Do parents usually split this responsibility?
    - iii. Why?
  - b. Do you want to get married?
    - i. Why?
    - ii. Do you feel any pressure to get married?
24. Do your parents go to gender trainings with Carasso?
- a. Have they told you anything about what they've learned?
  - b. Is gender something that people talk about?
25. Do you know anyone who doesn't drink alcohol?
- a. What do you think of them?
  - b. Why do you think they don't drink?
    - i. What is the difference between them and people who drink?
26. Do you know anyone who drinks a lot of alcohol?
- a. What do you think of them?
  - b. Why do you think this happens?
  - c. What are the problems with drinking?
  - d. Is there a solution?
27. Who is likely to start drinking?
- a. Why?
  - b. At what age would this happen?
  - c. Are people in relationships more or less likely to start drinking?
28. What do you hope to do when you grow up?

- a. Why?
- b. Why don't you want to be a farmer?
- c. How will your life be different with this type of job?
- d. When you grow up, do you think you will have the same responsibilities that you do now?

29. Where do you want to live when you grow up?

- a. Why?
- b. Why don't you want to live here?
- c. What will be different there?

Thank you for your responses. Do you have any questions for me?