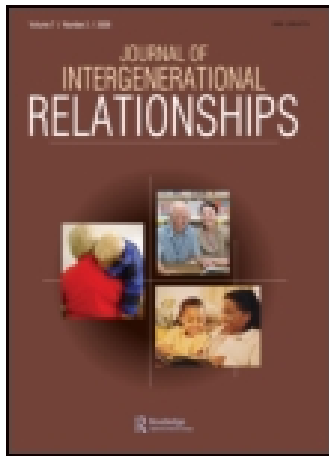


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Intergenerational Continuity and Change in Conceptualization of the “Child” Among Guji People of Ethiopia

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Research

Intergenerational Continuity and Change in Conceptualization of the “Child” Among Guji People of Ethiopia

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The rapidly growing globalization that embodies new technologies has greatly characterized intergenerational difference by fostering change and hindering continuity of values and traditions. However, the effects of cultural change on intergenerational continuity and change in less technologically developed societies have not been documented adequately. This article presents change and continuity between adults and children in conceptualization of the “child” in the context of the Guji people of Ethiopia. It discusses how the meaning of “child” is variable across synchronic generations among the Guji people and how this variability reflects discontinuities and continuities in intergenerational transmission of local knowledge. The difference between adults and children in their knowledge of generational structure is observed as a ground for their divergence in conceptualization of the “child.” Accordingly, for adults, one’s position in generational structure is a basis for identifying somebody as a child. However, for children, one’s level of physical maturity is a basis for defining somebody as a child. The data on which this article is based are drawn from 10 months of ethnographic fieldwork among the Guji people.

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KEYWORDS child, change, continuity, children, adults, Guji people

INTRODUCTION

Several studies present that globalization and technological development have greatly characterized intergenerational difference by fostering changes and hindering continuities of values and traditions (Keeley, 1976; Leis & Marida, 1995; Luescher & Pillemer, 1998; Mills & Wilmoth, 2002). However, the intergenerational relationship among societies in Africa embodies both continuity and change (Leis & Marida, 1995; Oduaran & Oduaran, 2004; Ruggles & Heggeness, 2008). Among the Guji people of Ethiopia, an intergenerational relationship is described as an arrangement consisting of extended family that includes ancestors from the father's lineage (Berisso, 2002; Debsu, 2009). This extended family network includes five patrilineal lineages which the Guji people call the *warra Guji shanani* (the five Guji family lineages) and to which women are affiliated through their husbands (Jirata, 2013; Van de Loo, 1991). The five lineages are called *botoro* (great, great grandfather), *abaaboo* (great grandfather), *akaakoo* (grandfather), *abbaa* (father), and *ilma* (children). Jirata (2013) states that in this intergenerational network two points are notable. First, there is a close social relationship between adults and children based on the norm of intergenerational interdependence. Second, the intergenerational relationship among the Guji people is gendered as it involves gender-based roles in the process of socialization. Accordingly, fathers and grandfathers are responsible for socialization of boys while mothers and grandmothers play the role of shaping girls. According to Berisso (1994), through the network in extended family, both grandparents and parents have the obligation to care for children in line with the Guji norms and values. Jirata (2012) adds that children play pivotal roles in maintaining the network and reinforcing the social as well as economic connections among extended family members.

On the other hand, the Guji people exercise a traditional scheme of leadership known as the *Gada system*. Hinnant (1977) describes the *Gada system* as a complex system of ranking, authority, and decision making that consists of a successive generational structure that rotates every eight years. According to Hinnant (1977) and Legesse (1973), the *Gada system* consists of generational grades that succeed one another every eight years in assuming progressive roles and responsibilities. The generational grades (from the lowest to the highest hierarchy) are called *Suluda*, *Dabballe*, *Qarre*, *Dhajisa*, *Kusa*, *Raba*, *Dori*, *Gada*, *Batu*, *Yuba*, *Yuba Gada*, *Jarsaa*, and *Jarsaa Qululu*. Members of the first four grades are identified as children (*xixiqqa*) whereas those in the last eight grades are adults (*gurgudda*). Put in other words, social hierarchy is the central organizing principle through which the generational

grades are grouped into two categories as adults (*gurgudda*) and children (*xixiqqa*) (Berisso, 2002; Jirata, 2011; Van de Loo, 1991). These distinctions reflect that intergenerational relationships among the Guji people are based on social hierarchy in which children are positioned as subordinates to adults. Respect for elders is the recurrent norm that governs the interactions between children and adults.

In the literature on global childhood studies, it has been discussed that conceptualization of somebody as a child or as an adult, as well as the relationships between children and adults, vary across cultures (Prout & James, 1990). In some cultures, age is a basis for identification of somebody as a child. In other cultures, social maturity (the capability to play social roles) is used as the basis for such social categorization (Lancy, 2008; Montgomery, 2009). However, among the Guji people, categorization in the generational grades is not based on age or social maturity but on patriarchal lineage (Jirata, 2013). According to the Guji generational categorization, a child remains exactly five stages below his father. For example, if the father is in the *Batu* generational grade, the son should be in the *Dhajisa* generational grade. In this tradition of intergenerational hierarchy, it is the generation of a father that determines the generational position of a child. In other words, somebody is identified as a child or an adult based on the generational position of his father.

However, little has been documented about whether such traditions of conceptualizing the “child” and understanding the relationship between children and adults are in states of change or continuity. Similarly, conceptualization of the “child” beyond age and social maturity has not been well addressed in studies of childhood and intergenerational relationships. These gaps of knowledge have initiated my interest in documenting how the child is conceptualized among the Guji people and whether such conceptualization is in a state of change or continuity. I particularly focus on discussing the way in which adults and children conceptualize the “child” and the continuity and change between them in such conceptualizations. My discussion is based on the following questions: (a) How do Guji adults and children identify somebody as a child? (b) Are there differences and similarities between these generations in identification of somebody as a child? Through answering these questions, I demonstrate how the concept of the “child” goes beyond age and social maturity variables and contribute to knowledge about dynamics in intergenerational change and continuity.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Studies show that continuity and change in intergenerational relationships are expressed through differences and similarities in conceptualizations and valuations of a social phenomenon (Aldous, 1965; Hurme, Westerback, &

Quadrello, 2010; Keeley, 1976). For instance, Luescher and Pillemer (1998) and Leis and Marida (1995) express that patterns of intergenerational relationships are indicators of continuity and change between children and adults. This finding means that the existence of continuity and change between children and adults is manifested through the nature of intergenerational relationships (Mills & Wilmoth, 2002).

Aldous and Hill (1965) assert that family is the central institution for continuity of cultural transmission. Their study illustrates that there are ample opportunities for a family to introduce children to traditions of a society. Thus, intergenerational continuity that ensures the stability of a society is dependent on the intergenerational socialization that results from close interactions between parents and children at a family level (Vander Ven, 2011). In other words, ensuring continuity through socialization of children and transmission of traditions are the primary functions of a family. Aldous and Hill (1965) describe the term *change* as discontinuity in transmission of traditions from generation to generation. Such discontinuity is expressed through the differences between children's and adults' local knowledge. According to Aldous and Hill (1965), the lack of social cohesiveness between parents and children exposes children to competing influences outside the family. As a result of such influences, the younger generation loses ancestral traditions and values, which leads to cultural discontinuity. Hanks and James (2004), Hurme and colleagues (2010), and Vander Ven (2004) also state that, with greater societal complexity, characterized by new ways of life, children become less knowledgeable of adult values and practices. The differences and similarities between adults and children in articulation and interpretation of cultural practices cause the continuity and change in conceptualization of the child. However, whether the continuity and change are inversely related or occur in parallel with each other requires further research.

In line with this argument, the intergenerational continuity and change in conceptualization of the child is part of the cultural difference and similarity between adults and children. It is in this context that the continuity and change between adults and children in conceptualization of the child becomes more meaningful.

As stated by Lancy (2008) and Montgomery (2009), the concept of the "child" is interpreted differently in different social and cultural contexts. In some cultures, childhood may end at 15 years and, in other cultures, it may go up to 20 years. In some cultures, social maturity, which is signified through social roles of a person, has been used as a basis for distinguishing a child from an adult. It is also different for boys and girls. Most of the time, childhood comes to end for girls earlier than it does for boys (Montgomery, 2009), which means that the universal convention that presents 18 years as the upper age limit for childhood is not compatible with the cultural conceptualization of childhood. In line with this perspective, the "child" refers to two different concepts: the subjective, discursive body and the objective, physical body. In the subjective sense, the "child" represents an idea which

is meaningful in a social context. In the objective sense, the “child” refers to a physical person, an objective child. In line with such dual conceptualization of the child, age and social maturity have been illuminated as alternative variables for identifying somebody as a child.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND SETTING

The data in this article are drawn from ethnographic fieldwork that I carried out among the Guji people in southern Ethiopia. I did the fieldwork for 10 months in two rounds (from July to December 2009 and from May to August 2010). The Guji people, whose population is estimated to be 1.6 million, according to the Ethiopian Population and House Census, reside in the southern part of Ethiopia and speak Oromo language (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [FDRE], 2008). Predominantly, the people inhabit rural areas that consist of hot lowland (below 1500 meters above sea level) and warm semi-highland (1500 to 2000 meters above sea level). See Figure 1.

The Guji live on agro-pastoral activities that involve animal rearing and crop cultivation. Their common wealth includes sheep, goats, donkeys, and cattle, on which their pride is centered. Households that do not have cattle are considered to be *Iyyessa*, meaning poor. Cattle and cattle products are significant not only for economic purpose but also social and ritual activities (Berisso, 2002; Van de Loo, 1991).

Two methods were used to obtain data discussed in this article: participant observation and narrative interview. I lived among the Guji people for an extended period of time (10 months) and participated in their everyday work, social events, and cultural practices. During the participation, I observed practices and traditions related to intergenerational relationships,

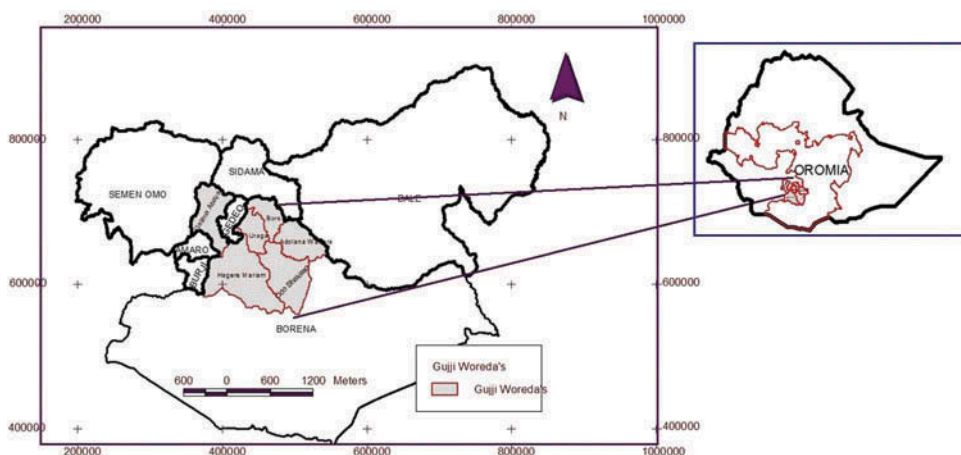


FIGURE 1 Location of the study area.

with my focus on the ways adults interact with children. I also participated in interactions among members of the generational grades and related practices such as rites of passage. The narrative interview was aimed at generating data about how adults and children identify somebody as a child. Thus, I completed narrative interviews with two generations: adults and children. As part of the narrative interview, I told tales to groups of children and adults and elicited their views based on the contents of the tales. The tales were related to issues of intergenerational relationships. I took the tales from the repository of the Guji oral tradition that I collected as a part of my PhD research. One of those tales is discussed in this article. The tale is about a man and a boy who were walking together and came across a river on their way. After I told the tale to members of each group (adults and children) on different days, I asked them the following question: "Who should cross the river first?" My intention of asking this question was to explore how both adults and children identify somebody as a child. The question opened further discussion with the groups of adults and children. Thirty children (13 girls and 17 boys) and 12 elderly persons (four women and eight men) were participants in the narrative interview. Children in the age range of 7–14 years were targets of the study.

INTERGENERATIONAL CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE "CHILD"

I told a tale about a man and a boy who were walking with each other and came across a river on their way. The man and the boy stood near the river and argued about who should cross it first or who should lead in crossing it. After telling the tale to members of both groups, I asked, "Who should cross the river first?" The tale is one of the Oromo oral narratives popular among both children and adults of the Guji people. The tale goes as follows:

Once upon a time, two persons, Boru, who was a 45-year-old man, and Galgale, who was a 15-year-old boy, were traveling together. On their way, they came across a river. Boru stopped and said to Galgale, "I am *Dhajisa* and you are *Raba*. I am your junior according to my generational grade. It is you who should cross this river first." Galgale replied, "No, I am younger and junior to you. I am 15 years old. You are an old man and should cross the river first." While the two were arguing with each other near the river, another man came up behind them and asked them, "What are you arguing about?" Boru replied, "I am junior to him according to my generational grade and it is him who should cross this river first." Galgale also said, "As you can see, he is old and senior. He should cross this river first." After listening to the answers from the old man and the young man, the man who came from behind said, "You cannot agree to cross this river. You had better go back."

Members of each group reacted to the question “Who should cross the river first?” and their reactions are presented as follows.

Adults’ Reactions

Galgale is senior to Boru according to our culture. We have a system in which our people are promoted from one *luba* (generational grade) to the next *luba*. There are 13 *luba* in our *Gada system*. These are *Suluda, Dabballe, Qarre, Dhajisa, Kusa, Raba, Dori, Gada, Batu, Yuba, Yuba Gada, Jarsaa, and Jarsaa Qululu*. Those in *Suluda, Dabballe, Qarre, Dhajisa* are children. Those in *Raba, Dori, Gada, Batu, Yuba, Yuba Gada, Jarsaa, and Jarsaa Qululu* are adults. Those in *Kusa* are youths. The *Kusa* are in transition from childhood to adulthood. Boru is in *Dhajisa*; therefore, he is a junior; thus, he is a child. Galgale is in *Raba*; therefore, [he] is a senior and considered to be an adult. Boru is in a junior position and is culturally a child. But Galgale is in the senior position and culturally an adult. Galgale should cross the river first. (Uddee)

In our culture, a man in *Dhajisa* is a child and the one in *Raba* is an adult. It is a senior who should cross a river first. A junior crosses a river after a senior does it. Thus, it is Galgale who should cross the river first as he is an adult according to our culture. (Waqoo)

Even if a person is physically old, he is a child if he is in *Suluda, Dabballe, Qarre, Dhajisa*. A person is considered to be an adult (senior) if he is in *Raba Dori, Gada, Batu, Yuba, Yuba Gada, Jarsaa, and Jarsaa Qululu* although he is physically young. Thus, according to our culture, Galgale is senior to Boru and should cross the river first. (Morama)

Children’s Reactions

It is an elder person who should cross the river first. A child should not cross a river before an elder person as an elder is always respected. Accordingly, Boru should cross the river first as he is in an adult position. (Dureeti)

Boru is an adult man and Galgale is a child. It is Boru who should cross the river first. A child cannot cross a river ahead of an adult man. A child should honor an adult person. (Roba)

Galgale should not cross the river before Boru because Galgale is a child and Boru is an adult. It is Boru who should cross the river first. (Melaku)

INTERGENERATIONAL CONTINUITY

Among the Guji people, crossing a river is one of the traditions that involve the norm of intergenerational hierarchy. It is this norm that is manifested through tale just discussed and the reactions to it. The Guji people call crossing a river *malkaa ce`u*; *melka* means “river” and *ce`u* literally means “crossing”. The river (*melka*) is a holy place where the senior members of the Guji people pray to God (*waaqaa*) and Earth (*lafa*) to seek solutions to their social problems. It is perceived to be an honored place where elderly persons come together to resolve interpersonal conflicts through processes of mediation, negotiation, and blessing. Thus, when they cross such an honored place, the Guji people demonstrate the value of intergenerational respect, based on intergenerational hierarchy in which some people are categorized as the generation of seniors (*gurgudda*) and the others as juniors (*xixiqa*). This norm dictates that the seniors lead the juniors in crossing a river. As indicated in the aforementioned tale and subsequent reactions, both children and adults are aware of this norm. For instance, the adult informants stated that Boru cannot cross the river first because he is a child (junior). The children also stated that Galgale cannot cross the river first because he is a child (junior). The reactions from both generational categories reflect that both children and adults are conscious of the norm that a person in a child social status cannot cross a river before a person in an adult social status. What is notable from this discussion is that children, similarly to adults, understand the “child” as a concept that represents a person who is in the lower social position. This similarity denotes two forms of intergenerational continuity. The first is the continuation of placing children in the subordinate social position. The second is the continuation of the norm of social hierarchy and values of honoring a senior. As shown in the quoted texts, children and adults are aware of the values of respecting the senior and their reactions are convergent on the point that it is the senior who should cross a river first. This finding indicates that, similar to adults, children are cognizant of the norms of social hierarchy. They know that someone who is in the upper social position is always honored, which, in turn, shows the continuity of the norm of social hierarchy. In other words, both children and adults agreed that a child is a person who is in the lower social position. This similarity shows the intergenerational continuity in conceptualization of the “child” as a person in the lower social position. However, children are different from adults in their variable of identifying a person as a child. This difference is discussed in the following subsection.

INTERGENERATIONAL CHANGE

The difference between adults and children in conceptualization of the “child” is vivid from the aforementioned reactions. Adults conceptualize the

“child” as someone who is in one of the lower generational grades (*Suluda*, *Dabballe*, *Qarre*, *Dhajisa*) and thus positioned in the Guji generational structure as a junior. For adults, the concept of the “child” refers to social position in which persons in the stated generational grades are placed. This structural categorization has been used by adults as a ground to identify some individuals as children and the others as adults. Thus, adults’ meaning of “child” is based on the ideal cultural position that goes beyond age and social maturity. In this culture-based conceptualization of the “child,” which the Guji call *akka uumaa* (according to culture), it is not individuals’ ages or social maturity that are applied as variables to identify a person as a child but the generational grade to which he belongs. For example, Elema (60-year-old man) stated, “I am a child because I have not gone through *Lagubasa*.” Another man, Nigusse (50 years old), added, “I have been considered to be a child. I am not eligible to participate in *Jila* [ritual] because I have not yet gone through *Lagubasa*.” *Lagubasa* is a rite of passage from childhood to adulthood and is symbolic practice that creates the divide between the two generations (the generations of children and adults). This rite of passage allows a Guji person to pass from *Kusa* generational grade to *Raba* generational grade and involves cleansing, purifying, empowering, educating persons in the child status through testing, reunion, doting, and training. These cultural activities are expressed through symbolic acts such as trial attack, killing of animals, exchanging of tobacco, advisory speech, drinking of *hexo*, rebuking, and blessing. The integration processes of the ritual are marked by four symbolic practices. First, the liberated groups put down their spears and hold a decorated stick known as *bokku*. This stick symbolizes membership in the adult generation and authority that members of this generation exercise. Second, the liberated generation strike fire, which represents that the generation has entered into legitimate husband-hood and fatherhood status. It is also a symbol for legitimization of independence and possession of one’s own family, which may include house, wife, children, and property. Third, the liberated generation eats food with members of the adult generation; this practice represents the social integration of the liberated generation with the members in the adult generation. This cultural concept of the “child” is not compatible with the global concept of childhood which is based on age.

In contrast, the children asserted that a child is someone who is physically young. As it is possible to note from their reactions, the contemporary Guji children are less aware of the cultural way of identifying a person as a child. The children are familiar only with the natural way of identifying the “child,” which focuses on one’s level of biological maturity. This finding implies that children’s conceptualization of the “child” is based on biological (physical) maturity but not cultural position, the practical, physical appearance but not the ideal position in cultural structure. As a result, the culture-based understanding of the “child” becomes nature-based which, in

turn, reflects a change in conceptualization of the “child.” This way of conceptualizing, in turn, implies that the culture-based way of understanding the child has not been transferred from the adult generation to the generation of contemporary children. The bodily development and behavioral change that are observable on a person as well as marriage that follow these physical and behavioral changes are bases for identification of a person as a child for the present children. Accordingly, a person who is not physically big, behaviorally unsettled, and biologically not ready for marriage is a child. In other words, for the children, a child is someone who is not physically big and unmarried, as indicated in the following quotation.

Tadesse: What type of person is a child?

Ashagire (male, 10 years old): Person who is small (*xiiqaa*), not big (*guddaa*), who is not married, who is as small as me.

As shown in this quotation, children identify a person as a child or an adult based on physical size and biological maturity expressed through marriage. In this context, “child” refers to a person who is physically small and young in age (Alanen, 2001) and childhood ends in marriage for both sexes. This way of conceptualizing the “child” is closer to the universal meaning of “child” discussed by Lancy (2008) and Montgomery (2009).

The culture-based concept of the “child” by the adult generation becomes nature-based among the generation of children. As a result, children’s participation in relationships with adults is based on the social hierarchy built on one’s level of biological maturity. Parents and grandparents, as members of the adult generation, understand that social hierarchy is based on the place of a person in the generational structure, but children are different from their parents and grandparents in that they do not understand and exercise the cultural schemas of identifying a person as a child or an adult. This situation concretizes that the meaning of “child” is fluid and emergent of the cultural and social contexts.

The discontinuity between adults and children in conceptualization of the “child” is caused by intergenerational differences in knowledge of the Guji generational structure. Adults have deep knowledge of the generational structure and are governed by its norms and values. However, children do not have knowledge about the generational structure and the norms it encompasses. Children’s lack of knowledge of the Guji generational structure and the meaning of “child” is perceived by adults as cultural ignorance of the new generation. This perception of the young generation reveals that there is an emerging intergenerational discontinuity of knowledge in the eyes of the older generation(s). For example, Uddee Netere (a grandfather, 75 years old) states the following:

The present children are ignorant. They do not know their generational grades. They are not interested to learn about it from us. They do not

know our values and norms. They cannot differentiate the seniors from the juniors. For them the senior is someone who is old. Our grandchildren are culturally literate.

Adults construct children's ways of identifying somebody as a child as cultural illiteracy. For adults, the contemporary children's illiteracy of the cultural meaning of the "child" is a loss of knowledge about generational roots which they perceive as an identity crisis. The following words of Jilo (60-year-old man) illustrated this point: "Our grandchildren are being married to their sisters and brothers for they do not know their generational grades. They do not know their fathers and children of their fathers who are their brothers and sisters. This is disorder." Within the generation of adults, the social network among individuals is based on generational structure. Members of the same generational grade are brothers and sisters as they are considered to be children of the same father. As the elderly persons asserted, marriage between members of the same generational grade is considered to be a violation of the societal norms. Thus, adults construct children's lack of knowledge about generational grades as cultural incompetence which leads the young generation to footlessness. Such kinds of intergenerational change have been described by Luescher and Pillemer (1998) as ambivalence within close relationships between adults and children as well as by Beaton, Norris, and Pratt (2003) as changing roles and boundaries within intergenerational relationships. Both studies indicate that intergenerational differences are caused by differences in social interactions, understanding of local knowledge, values, and interests.

However, children understand their lack of knowledge of the Guji generational structure in a way that is different from adults' understanding. For children, the nature-based concept of the "child" is correct and modern. Buraqa (12-year-old boy) said, "Our parents and grandparents cannot identify the old from the young. Sometimes they identify an old man as a child. Other times, they identify a child as an old man. How can a child be identified as an old man?" Another child (Sooretti, 11-year-old girl) added the following:

My mother tries to treat me in the way her mother treated her. She does not understand that the present time is different from the past time. She did not go to school but I am attending school. I know the present very well but my mother knows the past very well. I speak from the present but she speaks from the past.

For Buraqa, the nature-based concept of the "child" is simple and logical. He understood it as emergence of a new idea and new way of positioning individuals as children and structuring the social hierarchy between them. For Sooretti, children's lack of knowledge about the Guji generational grades is a new way of life. She argues that children are different from adults in their

conceptualization of the “child” as they have more access to the new ways of life introduced through formal education.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this article, it is shown that both continuity and change are observable in intergenerational relationships among the Guji people. The idea of intergenerational hierarchy through which children are positioned as juniors and adults are perceived as seniors is continuing from adults to children. However, the intergenerational change is stronger than the intergenerational continuity. For adults, age-based social maturity is presented as social disorder and underestimation of ancestral values. However, among the generation of children, age-based maturity is exercised as the logical and clear way of social presentation. Such intergenerational difference and negotiation on the concept of the “child” shows that the meaning of “child” is not only different from culture to culture but also varies across synchronic generations within a culture. Among the Guji people, children’s differences from adults in conceptualization of the “child” are part of intergenerational change.

The change from the culture-based conceptualization of the “child” to the nature-based identification shows the change from an abstract (metaphorical) way of identifying somebody as a child to a concrete and real way of differentiating children from adults. This change is part of the shift from abstraction (abstract thinking) to concretization which is observable among the Guji people at large. As a result of this shift, the young generation, including children, depends on the observable, physical appearance (body) to identify somebody as a child. In this emerging trend, the physical size and biological maturity of a person are considered as measures of maturity. While the concept of culture-child goes beyond age and body, the body-child pertains to these variables. In other words, the “child” is a cultural construct although the basis for construction of the concept is different across generations within a culture. On one hand, cultural position which is determined by grades in a generational structure is a basis upon which to identify somebody as a child. On the other hand, biological maturity which focuses on bodily (physical) change is a ground for distinguishing a child from an adult. However, cultural position is less persistent and more intermittent than biological maturity because of its complexities and incompatibilities with the modern ways of life.

In general, as indicated in this article, in a less technologically developed society such as that of the Guji people, intergenerational relationships are characterized by both continuity and change. The continuity is manifested through the intergenerational transmission of knowledge which is still active among the Guji people. The change illustrates that, even though there is an aspect of cultural transmission, there are growing differences between

adults and children in conceptualization of the “child” and such difference is attributed to the growing expansion of exotic knowledge to which children are exposed through school and media. As shown in this article, adults and children are similar in their concerns for social hierarchy as a central principle in intergenerational relationships. On the other hand, they are different in their understanding of who should take the higher or the lower position in the social hierarchy. This reality serves as evidence that there is continuity within change or, while some aspects of social values go through change, other aspects continue from generation to generation. Thus, it is clear that change and continuity in intergenerational relationships are not inversely related (Aldous, 1965). Even though economic, social, and cultural changes alter the traditions of families and transmission of knowledge, there is continuity in some features of a culture as far as there are active intergenerational relationships. Such forms of intergenerational relationships maintain the existence of cohesive family and stable society.

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