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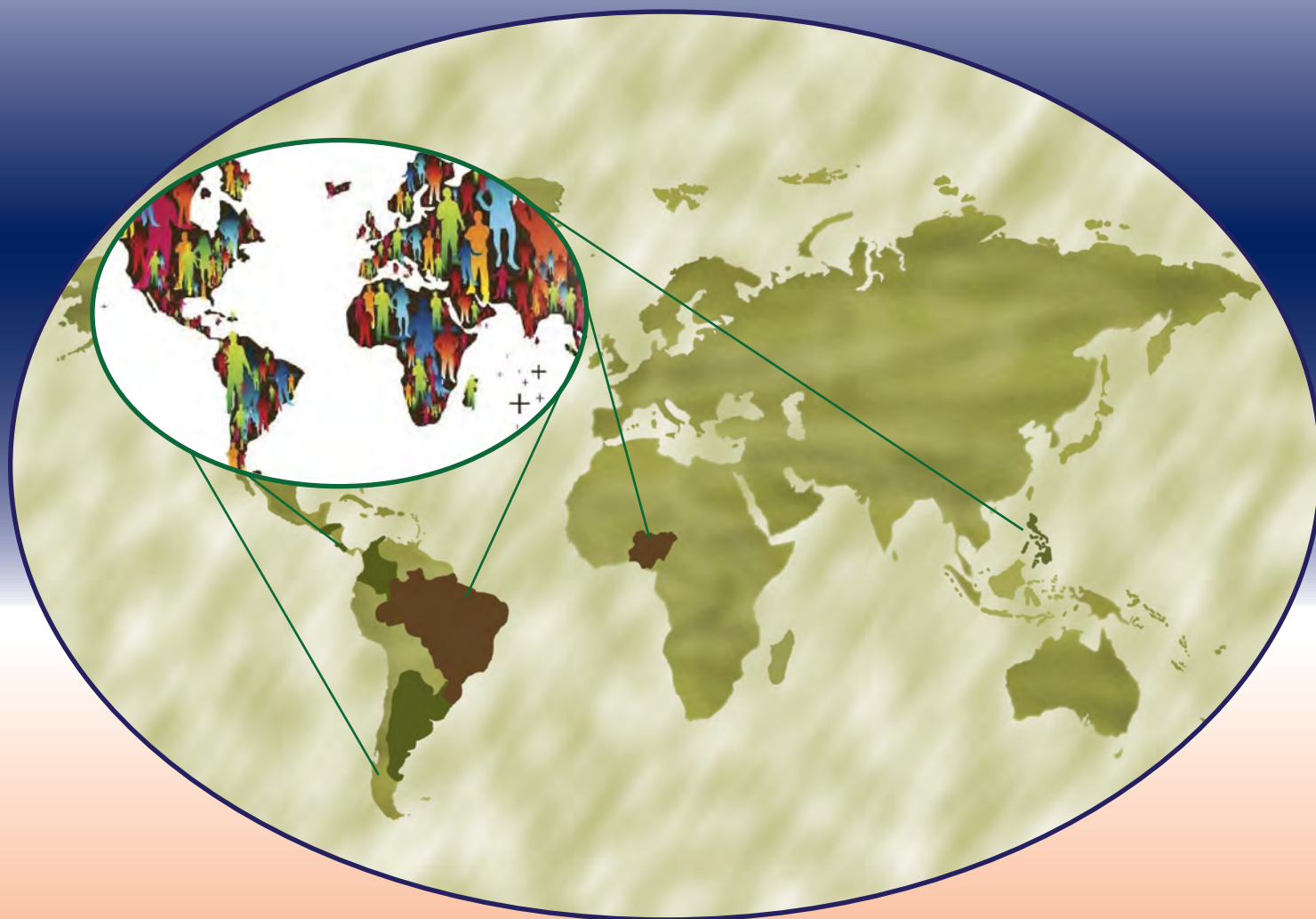
YOUNG VOICES FROM THE GLOBAL SOUTH: STORIES OF VULNERABILITIES AND RESILIENCE

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PRESENTATION

Since 2009, Brown International Advanced Research Institutes (BIARI) has gathered outstanding young faculty members from the global south and emerging economies to engage in two weeks of sustained and intellectual dialogue with leading scholars in their fields.

Each year BIARI participants join a dynamic alumni community, whose teams can apply for seeds funding for longer term research. In 2014, this seed was awarded by the BIARI Alumni Research Initiative 2013-2014 to nine of their alumni from Colombia, Honduras, Costa Rica, Argentina, Brazil, Nigeria and the Philippines, who formed the Children and Youth Studies Cluster in BIARI 2013 to further analyze different topics of the youth in seven developing countries of Latin America, Africa and Southeast Asia.

Awarded this grant, and with support of the Universidad Militar Nueva Granada (UMNG), the cluster convened in Bogotá, Colombia, from May 25 to 31, 2014, to collate their research and weave it together with the aim of publishing their compiled work, as well as to personally submit their research (scholarly articles and short video documentaries) to the academic community of UMNG at the conference entitled **"Young Voices from the Global South: Stories of Vulnerability and Resilience".**

The conference held on May 29, 2014 in the Germán Arciniegas auditorium at the Universidad Militar Nueva Granada discussed topics concerning young people and their issues regarding factors such as: Mortality and Violence, Fertility and Migration, and Leisure and Art. The works presented were divided into three segments. Each segment ended with the comments of the discussant of the session and questions from the audience.

The first segment of the conference dealt with the subject of young people and their issues on mortality and violence with the works: Youth, Mobility and Traffic Accidents in Brazil, by Ana Carolina Soares Bertho, Ph.D., Universidade Estadual de Campinhas; Prison Violence in Honduras; by Lirio Gutierres Rivera, Ph.D., Foundation Rückwärts und Vorwärts Denken; Beyond Child Soldiering: Understanding Children and Violence in Colombia through Film and Photography, by Niousha Roshani, Ph.D., University of London.

The second segment of the conference pertained the subject of young people and their issues on employment, fertility and migration with the works: NiNis (neither in school nor working) in

Colombia: Characterization of the Activity Conditions of the Youth, by Adriana Carolina Silva and Jaime Andrés Sarmiento, Ph.D., Universidad Militar Nueva Granada; Teenage Pregnancy and Education in Costa Rica, by Milena Castro, Ph.D., Universidad de Costa Rica; The Capabilities List of the "Anak ng OFW": the Key to Sustaining Resilience and Mitigation Vulnerabilities, by Mark Anthony Abenir, Ph.D., University of Santo Tomas.

During the final segment of the conference, the works related to the subject of young people and their issues on leisure and art matters were presented. The works were: Youth and Street Art: Strategies Developed to be Heard While Changing Their City, by Jimena Ponce de León, Ph.D., Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento; Urban Youth Patrons of Improvised Viewing Centers in Southwest Nigeria, by Joshua Omotosho, Ph.D., Federal University Oye Eikiti.

David Rosen, Ph.D., from Farleigh Dickinson University was the discussant of the first section of the conference. Dr. Rosen identified the transitional context of the countries where each study took place as commonalities of the works presented in this first session. Transitionality given by key factors that had been present in the Global South for years, such as intensive urbanization, continued population growth, growing inequality and widespread social connectivity.

Bianca Dahl, Ph.D., of the University of Toronto and Clarence Batan, Ph.D., of the University of Santo Tomas, discussants of the second section of the conference, highlighted how the works presented not only showed the challenges faced by youth, but also dismantled the stereotypes that these are solely negative states of being. Instead, they also revealed the complex ways in which youth find both affirmation and struggle through seemingly marginalized states.

Finally, Ximena Pachón Castrillón, Ph.D., of the Universidad Nacional de Colombia, as the discussant of the final segment of the conference, emphasized on the concept of youth, reminding us of the importance to recognize that there are many and varied ways of being young.

A complete compilation of the discussants' commentaries and extended abstracts of the papers given by the speakers are presented below.

Editors and organizing committee members

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Youth, mobility and traffic accidents in Brazil[*]

Ana Carolina Soares Bertho

Escola Nacional de Ciências Estatísticas (ENCE)

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE)

carolbertho@gmail.com

Traffic accidents are a worldwide concern. In order to reduce the growing traffic violence, the United Nations created the Decade of Action for Road Safety 2011- 2020. In Brazil, over 43.000 people died in traffic accidents in 2011. But the deaths are only part of this terrible phenomenon. In the same year, more than 154,000 people were injured in accidents, and many were left with permanent sequelaes.

Using mortality data from 2008, Chandran et al. (2013) showed that men had a reduction of approximately 0.8 years of life expectancy at birth due to deaths from traffic accidents while women had life expectancy reduced 0.2 years.

Many studies about traffic accidents have been produced within several areas of knowledge using different approaches. In a simplified way, it can be said that there are five main approaches: 1) Epidemiological, which defines diagnostics involving the victim's profile by age and sex, the kind of injuries, years of life lost in accidents; 2) Individual responsibility, which speaks up for the fact that traffic accidents are mainly caused by bad behavior adopted by drivers and pedestrians; 3) Technical approach, which considers road infrastructure, automotive technology and monitoring of traffic; 4) Sociological approach, which analyzes the supply of public means of transportation, the effects of new traffic laws, and the symbolism involved in car ownership; 5) Economic approach, which relates the occurrence of traffic accidents to economic conditions in the country. According to this approach, in developed countries, the motorization rate (number of vehicles per population) increased as a parallel process to the average income growth. This caused an initial rise in traffic mortality, followed by an "adaptation," wherein mortality rates start decreasing, given the increasing number of vehicles.

All of these studies contribute to understanding traffic accidents, but they are restricted in some aspects. They can be summarized by the lack of consideration that those events may be the "tip of the iceberg" of a number of problems; urban segregation, difficulties to get job opportunities near home, inefficient public transport system (leading to overuse of motorcycles and automobiles), and poor infrastructure conditions. It is known that the major mortality rate among young people, especially men, is related to those who are more likely to travel long distances to work, study or for entertainment purposes, though behavior is important. On the other hand, children

and older people are more exposed to pedestrian accidents. Children of low socioeconomic conditions go to the streets looking for recreational spaces, thus increasing the risk of traffic accidents, due to the "competition" with cars (de Andrade & de Mello, 2001).

A case study carried out in Campinas, an important city in Southeastern Brazil, showed that in 1996 and 2000, most deaths by traffic accidents involved people who lived in outskirt areas, slums (locally known as favelas), and areas with the highest ratio of people with low education (Aidar, 2003). Soares (2010) found that in 2006, most motorcyclists aged 15 - 29 who suffered traffic accidents lived in some of the poorest areas of the city.

Alcântara, Ribeiro, and Moraes (2011) state that Brazil is going through a vicious cycle in urban mobility: there is an incentive for the use of private transport (manifested, for example, in redu- cing taxes and the facilities for purchase), while in urban public transport, the lack of political prioritization was observed. This means that reducing the number of users, increasing costs and impacting fare price will generate a loss of demand by encouraging private transport, therefore restarting the cycle (Alcântara et al., 2011). In this context, it is not surprising that motorcycle sa- les climb 20 per cent every year, with monthly installments for purchase of property value costs that are almost the same as the monthly expenditure on public transport tickets.

These authors also argue that the increase in population travel times is one of the signs of wor- sening mobility conditions. Data from the National Household Sample Survey (PNAD for its Por- tuguese acronym), suggest that the individual's travel time between home and work in the main Brazilian cities increased by approximately 6 per cent between 1992 and 2008. Moreover, they point out that the percentage of people who spend more than an hour to make this shift increa- sed from 15 to 20 per cent. This would be an indication that, despite the investments made to improve the transport network, they have been insufficient to stop the increase of individual transport and the degradation of urban transit, which, in turn, leads to traffic jams.

In Brazil, during the last decade, the motorcycle has become a popular means of transportation among young adults. Considered as more flexible in traffic and cheaper than the car, it has be- come an important asset to combat unemployment since it has enabled people to access jobs far from their homes and has served as a working tool for people who work as couriers. Howe- ver, what seemed to be a solution has become a problem as it made users vulnerable to traffic accidents leading to fatalities (Soares, 2010). Therefore, there is a need to analyze the role of social processes in traffic accidents by understanding the relationship between traffic accidents vis-à-vis the victims' characteristics: urban segregation and socio- economic conditions of life, factors that lead to precarious mobility.

From a case study in Campinas, a city of over one million inhabitants located in the southeastern region of Brazil, this study aims at describing the characteristics of victims of fatal and non - fatal from 15 to 29 years of accidents that occurred in municipal public roads in 2009. Data regarding

the conditions of everyday mobility of victims and together with qualitative questionnaires show the structural context in which accidents occur. The study proposes a way to research traffic accidents which considers that traffic accidents are the result of social processes, not just of individual behaviors.

Two databases were used. The first one was produced by the Municipal Department of Transportation. The raw materials used in this database are the official reports by the Military Police regarding accidents with fatal and non-fatal victims that occurred in municipal public streets. The second database was the Origin-Destination Survey (O-D). This survey was carried out in the Campinas Metropolitan Region in 2011 and its aim was "raising up-to-date information regarding the population's movements on a typical working day" (STM, 2012). The survey was done through sampling, and all members of selected households answered the questionnaire.

Finally, there were eight qualitative interviews taken by young adults aged 22 to 29, answering questions about conditions of mobility, choice of motorcycle as a means of transportation, and stories about traffic accidents.

The study highlighted motorcyclists, who amounted to 64.3 per cent of victims, aged 15 to 29, in Campinas. Qualitative interviews were carried out with eight motorcyclists from ages 22 to 29 who work in Campinas. These interviews were conducted to illustrate why young people choose to use motorcycles, the advantages and disadvantages of using this mode of transportation, and their involvement in traffic accidents.

The study found that people aged 15 to 29 amounted to half of the victims who live in Campinas, although this age group corresponds to only one quarter of the total population. Comparing mobility rates by age groups (number of displacements per person), it was noted that they do not have greater mobility than older adults (45- 49 years).

The analysis of mobility shows that almost half of these young people use public transport and only five per cent of them use motorcycles. This percentage is high in comparison with the displacement of the entire population, which is 3.1 per cent, though it is low considering the number of motorcycle victims.

By analyzing the interviews, it is possible to understand that, for the respondents, the motorcycle offers a possibility of "running away" from a poor and inefficient public transport system. It is cheaper, faster, and, for those with little education, it is a working tool, whether as the primary means of employment as deliverymen, or doing extra jobs to supplement wages. Traffic accidents are seen as a negative point in the use of the motorcycle, but, at the same time, are treated casually, as if they were unavoidable.
Seven of the eight respondents have been involved in more than one traffic accident. Even so, their answers showed that they could not imagine their daily routines without a motorcycle.

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Criminalizing youth: The politics of punishment and incarceration in Latin America

Lirio Gutiérrez Rivera Foundation Rückwärts und Vorwärts Denken

Amnesty International Berlin

liriogutierrez@hotmail.com

Over the past few decades, the prison institution has become increasingly visible in many countries in Latin America, especially in countries with high levels of social violence, crime and delinquency. Media and human rights reports have documented the rise of the prison institution pointing out the harsh conditions of the prison population as a result of overcrowding, poor administration and infrastructure, violence between inmates, and constant human rights violations, among other things. Prison riots and violence have become constant in Venezuela, Brazil, and in Central America, especially in Honduras where, in the past decade, prison violence, riots, and poor infrastructure have left around 1,000 inmates dead.

This gradual deterioration of prison life and the general collapse of the prison system are linked to governments' public policies for crime control, which, in turn, are part of global and international policies to control and reduce crime. Global strategies such as the "War on Drugs" have influenced Latin American governments' public policies leading to a "security" agenda that has restructured many state control institutions, particularly the police, the criminal justice system, and the prison. This "security" agenda has led to the massive incarceration of 'delinquents' and 'criminals', many of whom are young male adults. This suggests that governments' 'security' agendas target and criminalize a specific population, that is, young male adults from the underclass. Furthermore, the criminalization and incarceration of underclass male youths appear to intersect issues of gender, race, and class that have received little scholarly attention, an aspect that I expect to further develop in this paper.

In particular, I am interested in exploring the role of the state in criminalizing underclass male youths, restructuring the prison system, and shaping the lives of the prison population under crime-control policies or the 'security' agenda. Another issue I explore is how these public policies intersect race, class, and gender. Focusing on the case of Honduras, where I have conducted fieldwork in the prison, I show that the government's criminalization of male underclass youths is linked to historical racial constructs that can be traced to the colonial period. Drawing on

Garland (2002) notion of culture of control and Quijano and Ennis (2000) "colonial matrix of power", I look at how the Honduran government's 'security' agenda is connected to historical racial constructions in order to dominate specific groups as well as to how it is reshaping gender relations and constructs in the contemporary prison.

The high levels of crime, delinquency and violence that emerged in many countries in Latin America, mostly in the nineties, forced governments to adopt public policies to reinstate public security. This 'security' agenda is not exclusive to Latin America. Indeed, it is connected to the globalization of drug consumption as well as to the modification of traditional ways of "regulating crime and criminals" (Garland, 2002) as well as to changes in the institutional level (e.g., the expansion of the criminal justice system or the increase of sentences of imprisonment issued). As Garland points out, this control and regulation of 'criminals' is directed at the poor and minority groups which are the groups mostly affected by recent political and economic changes. Furthermore, the poor and excluded are perceived as different or as the 'Others', who have nothing in common with the middle or the dominant classes and are intolerable, immoral, and disorderly (Garland, 2002), thus subject to social control.

Contemporary crime control policies are linked to historical constructs based on race set in the colonial period. These historical racial categories, as Quijano and Ennis (2000) explain, naturalize biological differences structuring the 'racial' differences hierarchically, thus the idea that some 'races' appear naturally inferior or superior to others. In Latin America, racial categorizations were strongly shaped by the colonial experience. Europeans, who were at the top of the social pyramid, were considered superior to the indigenous and black populations – the latter were enslaved. The notion of "race" changed in the nineteenth century with the independent movements. Inspired by liberalism, elites abolished slavery and dismantled the indio notion; instead they started incorporating the notion of racial mix, also known as mestizaje, which was generally in favor of 'whiteness' (or European look-alikeness). Despite these changes, indigenous and black populations were still considered inferior, disorderly, and wild.

The historical racial categories that emerged in the colonial period have proven to be long lasting, exercising control over certain "races". This is also the case in the contemporary 'security' agenda of Latin American governments, which sets out to control and dominate certain social groups –in this case, underclass male youth. The history of the modern prison is closely linked to issues of race and class. The modern prison emerged in the late nineteenth century. It was molded on the European and North American prisons which sought to reform and discipline the individual in order for him or her to be part of society. However, as studies have pointed out, the prison in Latin America continued reproducing divisions along the lines of race and class. These divisions are still present today in the governments' contemporary 'security' agenda. Surprisingly, 'race', as well as class and gender, are rarely addressed or discussed.

Since the 'security' agenda was introduced in the late nineties, the Honduran government has been criminalizing and incarcerating young underclass male adults. The official discourse perceives the poor male youth populations – especially those who are involved in gangs or maras – as disorderly, violent, and immoral who deserve to be locked up because they threaten Honduran society. The recent changes in the penal code, which includes an increase in sentences penalizing gang membership, indicate the interconnections between the government's 'security' agenda and the elites' fear of the lower classes with laws that preserve race, class and social divisions.

These public policies have influenced the prison institution to the point of considerably restructuring the prison order as well as the lives of inmates, guards, and visitors. The prison 'order' regulates the lives of the inmates and controls the prison resources. Because prisons are severely understaffed, administrators have delegated supervision and control of many aspects of the prison life and prison resources to the inmates. These usually are the most trusted and oldest inmates. This inmates' leader works closely with other inmate-supervisors to control prison resources (for instance, food, medicine, drugs, arms, etc.) and other inmates. This prison 'order' is hierarchical and, in a way, reproduces similar race, class, and social divisions found in Honduran society.

The Honduran government's 'security' policies modified this existing prison 'order', making it harsher. For instance, imprisoned maras members refused to take part in the prison 'order', instead establishing their own 'order' in a part of the prison. This has created violent tensions with the other inmates regarding the control of resources and space, which has resulted in deadly consequences.

One aspect that has changed in the existing prison 'order' is certain inmates' gender identities and relations. When inmates arrive in prison, they have no choice but to take part in the prison 'order'. This means that inmates are constantly negotiating their resources, their welfare, and their identities in order to survive in prison. Gender relations between the inmates tend to reinforce or modify the construction of masculinities, which, in the context of the prison, is used to assert dominance over other men. This is evident in inmates' sexual practices in which some inmates (especially the ones who have supervising roles) will force others to adopt the subordinate "female" role as a way of demonstrating power over the prison ward and the person. Violence has also become a common practice among inmates which can be linked to masculinity constructs. Violent practices are a way of gaining respect and power, and of generating fear over other inmates. In some cases, violence is a result of the inmates' challenges generated by existing dominant masculinity constructs.

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Beyond Child Soldiering: Understanding children and violence in Colombia through creative research methods

Niousha Roshani

Institute of Education University of London

nioush@gmail.com

Children, defined here as being under the age of eighteen, residing in areas of armed conflict or other prolonged situations of violence often become perpetrators of violence (Boyden, 2004; Kuper 2005; Rosen, 2005). Commonly referred to as 'child soldiers', these children are presented primarily in media, academia and policy as passive and vulnerable victims of forced conscription. However, emerging studies present evidence that many children participate in conflict of their own volition, utilizing creativity and resilience in agency to improve their circumstances (Hart, 2006b; Honwana, 2006; Poretti, 2008; Rosen, 2005, 2007). Colombia has some of the worst humanitarian indicators in the world: it has been ranked first in the world in forced displacement (Martínez, 2011), third in child soldiering (Save the Children UK, 2008) and crime enjoys a high level of impunity (Amnesty International, 2012). Colombian children are directly exposed to the detrimental consequences of conflict, including but not limited to landmines, forced or obligated recruitment, displacement, and sexual violence. With limited or no access to healthcare and education, their development and opportunities are greatly compromised. Many Colombian insurgent forces use children as sicarios or hitmen for many purposes of the operation of the group. Children are initiated by being granted with simpler tasks such as delivering messages, storing or transporting drugs and arms, to more complex duties such as killing, disappearing bodies, kidnapping, and terrorizing a region for increased control of the territory. Although child sicarios are being used in armed conflict operations, and should therefore be included in the category of child soldiers,[1] they are rather excluded from national and international programs and policies that address child soldiering. Child sicarios members represent an important childhood space in Colombia, as they are ostracized by society, effectively forcing children to choose between securing economic capital by collaborating with a militia or social capital by working to avoid association with all armed groups.

Based initially on the sociology of childhood developed by James and Prout (1997), on the relationship between violence and social capital by McIlwaine and Moser (2004); Rodriguez (2011), and on agency and resilience raised by Boyden and Mann (2005), this research argues the importance of expanding the current outlook on children's experiences in the Colombian conflict beyond child soldiering to include informants, reporting, resource acquisition, forced migration/displacement, voluntary conscription, and a myriad other occupations in order to successfully design and implement policies and practices for child protection and peace building efforts. The efficiency of creative methods is acknowledged in understanding children's perspectives of their

[1] According to the Cape Town Principles of 1997 developed under the auspices of UNICEF, a child soldier is defined as "any child - boy or girl - under 18 years of age, who is part of any kind of regular or irregular armed force or armed group in any capacity, including, but not limited to: cooks, porters, messengers, and anyone accompanying such groups other than family members. It includes girls and boys recruited for sexual purposes and/or forced marriage."

own realities; the benefits are two-fold: they will improve children's perceptions of their daily lives through self-actualization, while simultaneously eliciting data sets that engage narratives of the child's lived experiences (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004; Morrow, 2001). Thus, employing arts-based research methodologies, this research focuses on the ways in which children negotiate their daily responsibilities and strategies for survival in order to establish a more robust understanding of the children's own motivations in conflict participation. By engaging these issues through the lens of artistic methods, this paper seeks to understand children's experiences and perspectives of the Colombian conflict and break from the tendency of limiting them to child soldiering. Hence, it seeks to provide a link between the various dynamics of children's participation in the Colombian war in order to break from a general tendency in public policy and implemented programs to interpret the lives of children in armed conflict via the languages and scripts used to understand adults.

This research utilized a combination of various qualitative methods to examine children's responses to violence in Colombia. Responses were collected from both verbal and artistic expressions using various media, but predominantly photography and videography. The data analysis was done at different levels during and after data collection. The data collection and initial analysis were run on a rolling basis. Children participated in the formulation of the topics and then (a) looked at the pictures and footage in groups and selected particular ones that 'told the story' of issues brought up in the group activities; and (b) presented their work to each other. Children were encouraged to explain their own productions either in groups or private. The final analysis of the data was thematically coded ensuring triangulation. As complete objectivity is impossible in gathering and analysing data, all reporting included critical reflection on limitations and possible alternatives, and bias in analysis was reduced by consulting reports of advocacy organizations, and communities. The research was conducted in several regions of Colombia since 2005, but primarily in communities of La Pradera, in the district of Aguablanca, Cali, Valle del Cauca (one of the most violent areas of the city (Urrea & Quintín,

2000) and in Comuna 13, Medellin, Antioquia with the collaboration of Fundación Pazamanos, which works to empower youth in marginalized sectors. Preparation for each workshop included general orientation and immersion, setting up the research workshop space, identifying possible research participants and workshop assistants as well as training the latter. The research was based in community centers from which the participants were recruited. The document objectives and activities were presented to the participants with the support of a community leader and/or a social worker. Both the children and their families were fully informed of the course and all participants enrolled voluntarily. For data collection I held a workshop in each location for a period of four weeks each on a daily basis. Workshops and group activities were designed for 12 to 20 participants (accounting for possible dropouts) between the ages of 9 to 18 years old. The workshops encompassed 3 aspects of the children's lived experiences: My Life, My Family, and My Neighborhood, developing activities such as (a) group discussions, b) self-portrait, (c) freely written accounts or drawings of 'My Life' spatial maps, (d) timeline drawings, (e) drawn maps of 'My Neighborhood', (f) photography and filming. In addition to these activities, other means were

also used such as voice recordings instead of writing, orally sharing their perspectives, or simply showing me their work without allowing me to keep it.

Among the findings, group discussions were not very successful given the issue of trust that exists between different youth belonging to different gangs. Hart (2006a) confirms that in contexts of war, revealing information through open discussions may put children, their families and the community in danger. There were certain topics that the participants did not mind speaking in groups and actually would actively engage in discussion, such as those outside of the community. Age in this case was not a main factor, extroversion counted more. In discussing power relations, it is important to point out that there were fewer girls than boys, with a ratio of at least 4:1 in both communities where I led the workshops. Girls had a tendency to speak out less than boys, keeping mostly to themselves; however, they were more expressive in the arts that they produced. The educational level of the children was also a factor in their participation in the activities. Some of the participants had not completed many levels academically and had difficulty or no ability to read or write. This issue became manifest when children were taught how to write and compose a manuscript before learning to use a film camera, as well as any writing assignment. There is a great mistrust in the national government, the national army and police; and children perceive the state as the perpetrator and the cause of the conflict in Colombia. Children are often beaten and mistreated by the state forces as they are often misidentified as belonging to a particular insurgent group as is also the case of Aguablanca in Cali. Another phenomenon that proliferates in large cities in Colombia are child hitmen who are hired by offices, and in both of my case studies, many of the children worked or were still connected in some way to one of these criminal institutions. Many of the participants in Cali

were or had been involved in some manner with one of the armed groups providing a diverse range of services as a means for survival and financial income. Children are prominent agents in political conflicts (Boyden, 2004), which raises great issues in peace building processes: the actions of child participants in armed conflict do not conform to contemporary understandings of the 'child' (Berents, 2008) as passive victims. However, children clearly understand their circumstances and available options as discussed, and make decisions of their own volition based on their perceptions of the world around them.

Finally, the situation of war-affected children in Colombia is largely under-reported in academia, the media, and in the non-governmental and inter-governmental sphere, especially given the magnitude of the problem as compared to other conflict zones. Thus, there is an urgent need for in-depth research to understand how childhood evolves in the conflict situation in Colombia, to redefine the criteria for identifying child soldiers, and to bridge the gap between the 'rights' accorded to children by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and the realities of their lives in the context of other socio-cultural factors and influences. The institution of war is especially present for children who have not been exposed to any other lifestyle. Increased militarization by the former and current government to 'fight' insurgent groups has caused an increase in violence, forced displacement, use of children in armed conflict as child soldiers, and child trafficking within and across borders.

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Discussant commentaries

David M. Rosen

Department of Social Sciences and History Fairleigh Dickinson University

rosen@fdu.edu

All of these studies take place in the context of major changes arising in the Global South many of which have been going on for some time, but which continue to have great impact upon the lives of children and youth. The key changes include intensive urbanization, continued population growth, growing inequality, and widespread social connectivity. I will briefly discuss all of these aspects before turning to the papers.

1. Urbanization and Population Growth

The main trend is urbanization. More and more people are living in cities. More than a million people migrate to cities every day and it is frequently estimated that by the middle of this century nearly 70 – 75 percent of the world's population will be living in cities. Both urbanization and population growth are a phenomenon particularly associated with the global south. Latin America is already more urbanized than Europe and its cities are expected to absorb enormous population growth over the coming decades. Many, if not most of this population, will be young and poor.

2. Growing Inequality

This unprecedented urbanization is located in low-income areas. This is not simply an issue of the Global South but of the North as well. In Europe and the Americas, both class divisions and the gap between the rich and the poor are increasing. These phenomena offer cities and nations an unbelievable challenge and, virtually, all of it will happen in the poorest areas of the world. This will provide a challenge for health, education, transportation, and governance.

3. Connectedness

The growing urban population is far more connected. Not only simply with cell phones and social media, but in the way that people are also part of widespread networks of social relationships. These relationships transcend urban and rural boundaries as well as regional and national ones. People regularly work, commute, enter into social and commercial relationships, and participate in information flows across wider social networks than in the past. All of these factors have an important impact upon the issues raised in the papers presented today.

4.   About Soares' paper

The key problem of Soares' research work is how to link particular sets of behaviors namely motorcycle accidents to larger social processes, particularly the dynamics of social class. The broad parameters are clear. Motorcycle accident victims are mostly young men from poor neighborhoods (*favelas*) on the outskirts of the city. Most victims of motorcycle accidents are young males between ages 15 and 29. What seems clear from the research is that the choice to use a motorcycle is a rational choice within the framework of transportation resource structure: urban segregation, poverty, and poor public transportation. Basic factors such as cost, flexibility, and ability to adapt to the informal economy of cities seem key. Also cited in the paper are the many policy incentives which favor the privatization of transport. Several cultural factors, including the romanticization of the motorcycle, also appear to profoundly influence these decisions. All this suggests that within the class-based system of resources available to young adults in the favelas, the use of the motorcycle appears to be a reasonable rational choice.

The real problem is risk –motorcycles are dangerous – and understanding the factors that expand and/or reduce this risk is crucial. Motorcycles are inherently risky. This riskiness is recognized throughout the world. In the United States they are sometimes referred to as "donorcycles" since victims of accidents are frequent sources of organ donations for medical transplants. The riskiness is high throughout the world, but as cities expand into hinterlands, government resources become increasingly taxed. As cities take over rural areas, populations are more distanced from sources of employment, social services and food supplies all of which now require complex infrastructural subsystems to hold societies together. The continuing connectedness of the core and the periphery of cities makes commuting part of the class dynamics of cities as people in wealthy areas require services from others who cannot afford to live in these areas. How are urban areas to be serviced in the absence of substantial investment in mass transportation? No wonder the Brazilian government promotes motorcycles. Such a risky activity seems necessary for the organization of urban life, but the allocation of risk for the maintenance of urban life falls disproportionately upon the urban poor.

Beyond this, people in cities are increasingly connected with the informal networks that are central to the organization of social life. Indeed, the paper itself seems to suggest that the problem of motorcycle accidents is not easily connected to the use of the motorcycle as a practical tool, but may be deeply tied to the satisfaction of class-cultural needs. We need more information about the contexts in which motorcycle use takes place to be able to draw clear conclusions, but it is evident that the motorcycle is already integrated into the social lives of a wide variety of people for whom everyday life would be unimaginable without it.

5.   About Gutierrez's paper

Rivera's research work discusses the impact of contemporary crime control policies upon Latin America youth and especially the "security" agenda and the "war on drugs", which emerged to control lower class youth and which also roughly corresponds to racial classifications first developed under colonial domination. The key question here is for what a racial system of imprisonment appears to be created without any reference to race? It is a critical example of the wider problem of mass incarceration which has brought about in Latin America and in the United States the mass imprisonment of poor young men, male members of the underclass. All this takes place in the context of growing gaps between the rich and the poor, another problem which appears to be widespread across both North and South America.

The paper exhorts that nowadays the use of the word culture is designed to suggest that the poor live out an impenetrable almost unknowable way of life. This contrasts with many earlier ideas about poverty that held that the poor had middle class values, but that poverty prevented them from realizing these values. From this latter perspective, the poor were not an alien culture, but the situation of poverty constrained individual choice. Culture, the way of life of the poor, was seen as an adaptation to circumstances.

Today the culture of the poor rather than being understood as a form of adaptation is seen as a product of bad choices. This idea seems to justify a new caste system built out of bad choices. Although this approach uses the word culture, the way that it is used has nothing to with the idea of culture as this is understood in anthropology and sociology –namely as a historical construction linked to the reality of people's place in this world.

The creation and maintenance of racial caste systems of imprisonment subject to state level penetration and control require a variety of conceptual and structural magic tricks. This is clearly done in the United States where an allegedly and formally colorblind legal system produces a racially organized system of mass incarceration. How can we get such a system when everyone involved in its organization sincerely denies that no racial bias or animus is involved? But the outcomes are clear: in the US, the majority of drug offenders are white, but more than 75 per cent of drug offenders in prison are black or what are called Latino in US culture.

It is crucial to look at the mechanisms by which these disparate rates of imprisonment are created. In the US it is partly linked to the legal expansion of police discretion in making drug arrests. Such a system is clearly being created in Honduras. In both systems, the United States and Honduras, large populations of people are now imprisoned. We also need to think of the many additional people who have been in prison, who are now out of prison, and who are subject to penal control. Those who have been in prison also find it difficult to get a job. Their punishment for a crime follows them for life but given the large number of people affected it also contributes to

the poverty of society. The prison and penal control and post imprisonment forms of penalty and social control in the twenty-first century also contribute to the creation of the very impoverished communities that are the target of legal and penal control.

6.   About Roshani's paper

Roshani's research work addresses the problem of children associated with armed conflict and armed groups. She looks at the Human Rights Document titled Cape Town Principles, which defines any person under 18 that is part of any armed force or armed group in any capacity.

The children she studies are a mix of children, some formally associated with armed groups or with criminal gangs with ties to armed groups. She recognizes the difficulties of distinguishing the boundaries between war and crime. This is an old problem. Although in the past we have talked about a right of revolution, which no government recognizes, thus all rebels are considered criminals.

My thought is that doing empirical research makes it difficult to get around a variety of the legal and moral conceptual traps: these include easy acceptance of terms such as child soldier, abuse, exploitation, resilience, trafficking, and narcotrafficking. All these concepts force us to pigeonhole the lives of children into a predetermined set of concepts created not only by social scientists but also by civil society, law enforcement, the criminal law, and political leaders.

What we need to start with are thick descriptions of children's lives and then we can decide whether they fit into any of these categories. It is important to remember that these categories are not created by social scientists as guides to research, but as legal and moral concepts. We can later decide if any of these makes sense.

The recent report by UN Secretary General makes clear that the recruitment of child soldiers is largely a phenomenon of armed groups and not of the armed force of nation-states. Only 8 nations now directly recruit child soldiers. The problem is largely one of armed groups –so called non-state actors. Now virtually every group mentioned in the UN list of non-state actors is rural. But it is increasingly clear that the locus of violence is shifting. As more and more of the population finds itself in cities, we increasingly find armed groups in cities. One recent example is the Jamaican army attack on Tivoli Gardens, a so called "garrison community" in urban Kingston, which was as well armed as any traditional armed group.

Roshani starts by orientating us to her main research sites in Cali and Medellin. She hopes to situate the children and youth she studies across a social network and also to pay attention to ideas such as "agency" and "children's voices". I tend to think of the use of ideas such as "agency" less as a rigorous framework of analysis and more as an orientation towards children's lives. She wants to situate the children that she studies within a set of complex interconnected

networks that straddle the boundaries between war and criminality. I think this is an important way of looking at this issue. There is some evidence from her drawings how children describe this network and she also pays attention to how they manage their lives with great resilience given the dangers and opportunities surrounding them. It would be helpful if it were possible to have stronger biographies of children as a way of illustrating this process.

These have all been terrific papers illustrating the challenges that children and youth face in the rapidly urbanizing spaces of Latin America. I congratulate all the panelists for their exciting research and look forward to further contributions from them.

Session 2:
Young people and their issues on employment, fertility and migration

Conferences:

NiNis (Neither in School nor Working) in Colombia: Characterization of the activity conditions of the youth

Adriana Carolina Silva Arias, Ph.D. & Jaime Andrés Sarmiento Espinel, Ph.D., Universidad Militar Nueva Granada

Teenage pregnancy and education in Costa Rica

Milena Castro, Ph.D., Universidad de Costa Rica

The capabilities list of the "Anak ng OFW": The key to sustaining resilience and mitigating vulnerabilities

Mark Anthony D. Abenir, Ph.D., University of Santo Tomas

Discussants commentaries:

Clarence M. Batan, Ph.D., University of Santo Tomas & Bianca Dahl, Ph.D., University of Toronto

NiNis (Neither in School nor Working) in Colombia: Characterization of the activity conditions of the youth [*]

Adriana Carolina Silva Arias & Jaime Andrés Sarmiento Espinel

Faculty of Economic Sciences

Universidad Militar Nueva Granada

gesma@unimilitar.edu.co

The demographic transition in Latin America is at the stage where the percentage of people that are capable of creating wealth is growing, drawing attention to the concerning situation of young people who are unemployed and the lack of public policies to revert this state (Abdala, 2004). The burden is growing specifically for a group of young people who are neither in school nor working (NiNis, for its acronym in Spanish), which are at greater risk of social exclusion given their inactivity and their insufficient capabilities (ILO, 2012).

Cárdenas, de Hoyos, and Székely (2011) analyzed the idle youth in eighteen countries of Latin America. They found that Colombia had the ninth highest proportion of NiNis between 15 and 18 years old in Latin America in 2009 (the third country in absolute terms) and was the Latin American country with the largest increase in NiNis from 1989 to 2009 (4.2 percentage points - 319,000 youths). This is alarming given that in 2010, for every two Colombian youths who didn't study, one was unemployed, and 5 per cent of those who didn't study or work had already formed their own family (Marchionni et al. 2010).

These young people face a greater risk of joining the illicit economy (Kolev and Saget, 2005) and remain unemployed in adulthood (Douglas et al., 2006). Despite the large proportion of NiNis in Colombia, there is a gap in the literature regarding their socio-demographic profile and understanding the challenges they face in life, information necessary to propose adequate policies to reduce their vulnerabilities.

Following the definition of youth adopted by ILO (2012), we extract from the 2012 Great Integrated Household Survey (GEIH) a subsample of individuals between 15 and 24 years old who were neither studying nor working. Specifically, NiNis were design and implement policies and practices for child protection and peace building efforts. The categorized as young people that did not indicate to study or work as their main activity in the reference week of the survey.

There are three types of NiNis. The first refers to those young people who are principally engaged with household tasks, the second refers to those looking for a job, and the third refers to those that perform any activity different to job search or household tasks.

In Colombia during the year 2012 most of the NiNis were women who were devoted to domestic chores due to the weight of family responsibilities in their decisions. Young people who neither study nor work in Colombia continue reproducing intergenerational traditional gender patterns.

Among Colombian men and women NiNis who perform housework, it is observed that while women indicate family responsibilities as the main reason for their inactivity, men, in contrast, indicate problems directly related to the labor market conditions as the main reason to be inactive. This is evidence of the assignment of roles according to gender, proving that women are responsible for the reproductive work, performing household chores and the care of people in the household.

The role of household activities performed by the Colombian youth becomes important. Thus, household production processes are reproduced intergenerationally. The unequal distribution of domestic tasks in households imposes additional workloads in women from an early age, hindering early entry to education, which, in turn, prevents them to acquire professional experience and thus their employability (Batthyány, Genta, and Tomassini 2012). This situation is rooted in family characteristics of these young Colombian.

The increased labor force participation of young men combined with the increased participation of young women engaged in housework shows that in Colombia there is still a marked sexual division of labor. This division of workloads increases during the course of life, where, from an early age, the male corresponds to the generation and provision of financial resources, while women are responsible for housework, caregiving and affection to their members. Thus, these two different activities seem to indicate that there are no signs of cultural changes in playing roles within households.

In conclusion, it is considered necessary to assess the daily effort to create goods and services in the domestic sphere to understand that most female Colombian NiNis from an early age are not really in a state of "inactivity". Thus, it is considered relevant to highlight their domestic work because it adds responsibilities and workloads that are not always recognized and valued as well as compromises their educational and career paths at both present and future.

The reduction of inequities among population groups should be one of the foundations in the design, monitoring and evaluation of public policies (PNUD & Consejería Presidencial para la Equidad de la Mujer, 2005). Given the above, the study of gender roles is considered relevant in youth households in Colombia, as a determinant of the barriers that young people face to study or work.

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Teenage pregnancy and education in Costa Rica

Milena Castro

Centro Centroamericano de Población

Universidad de Costa Rica

milena.argentina@gmail.com

According to the latest Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey on Maternal and Child Health, fertility rate in women between ages 15 to 19 in Costa Rica is about 54 live births per 1,000 women. Women without education or only with primary education have a fertility rate from 3 to 6 times higher than women with a secondary level of education. The rate goes up to 98 births per 1,000 women in rural areas. This situation shows a clear relationship between education level and the likelihood of having more children at an early age. It also delays or interrupts the enrollment of women into higher education or other activities for personal development.

Hence, this study aims to describe women that have had children before they turn 19 years old for various reasons in order to understand what the education needs for these women are. There can be a generalized feeling among the Costa Rican culture, maybe present across borders, that teenage pregnancy is completely wrong. Therefore, decomposition of this dichotomy allows the observation of the fertility mechanisms taking place in this pattern. This represents a question of how we, as human beings, understand our own population specificity.

To feed this analysis, the results of the latest Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey on Maternal and Child Health funded by UNICEF in 2011 were reviewed. This report was collected after interviewing 7,288 households across the seven provinces of Costa Rica (San José, Alajuela, Cartago, Heredia, Limón, Puntarenas and Guanacaste). In each household, women contributed to maternal and child health monitoring.

836 of the surveyed women were between the ages of 15 to 19; 12 per cent of them had a child and four per cent of them were pregnant with their first child at the time of the interview, equalling a percentage of 17 per cent of teenage women that had already begun maternity by 2011. At that moment, 24 per cent of the adolescents from rural areas had initiated maternity, in contrast to only 11 per cent of adolescents from urban areas. Only 12 per cent of this group of women had secondary or higher education, and 38 per cent were classified in the lowest quintile of the wealth index. The higher percentages of adolescent women that had started their maternity responsibilities were identified in coastal provinces like Puntarenas (30 per cent), Limón (26 per cent), and Guanacaste (21 per cent). Thus, adolescent women from coastal provinces, rural areas, and with low educational attainment confront the most difficult economic situation for their future.

Teenage pregnancy reflects a social inequality problem, as the weight of the complexity of the situation relies on teenage women living under socioeconomic deprivation across borders (Väisänen, Murphy, & 2014). Therefore, three perspectives interact with the dynamic underlying the situation of a child having another child; a comprehensive approach must be knitted, taking into account the actual fertility patterns; the implications of the current social development of the adolescents; and the biological transition creating the possibility of an adolescent to bear a child (Block, Saltzman, & Block, 1981). An article written by Gilchrist and Schinke (1983) describes the negative consequences reflected in the social and psychological issues, increasing the probabilities of quitting high school education among teenage parents and making it harder to recover the time for the satisfaction of their education needs.

In order to derive a course of action to attend the needs underlying fertility patterns in Costa Rica, different actors should be recognized as crucial for a better construction of our reproductive social desires.

Fertility is the most important factor for the prevalence of the human species. Therefore, the responsibility of its action should be among the main priorities in education. Recognizing us inside a social responsibility should expand the discussions needed from the inner circle of the household, transitioning to a more transparent and socialized education starting at the primary level and building a continuous sexual education among adults in their different spaces of interaction.

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The capabilities list of the "Anak ng OFW": The key to sustaining resilience and mitigating vulnerabilities[*]

Mark Anthony D. Abenir

Research Center on Culture, Education and Social Issues (RCCESI)

University of Santo Tomas, Manila, the Philippines

mdabenir@gmail.com

In 2010, a total estimate of 214 million people – about three percent of the world's projected population of seven billion – lived outside their country of origin and many of whom are parents from developing countries (UN, 2013). This magnitude and complexity of international migration has triggered worldwide attention to the issues faced by left-behind children (Abramovich, Ceriani Cernadas, & Morlachetti, 2011; de Haan & Yaqub, 2009; de la Garza, 2010) given the ever increasing worldwide trend in international migration (IOM 2011, 2013). The growing concern for these children is crucially linked upon the issue that their right not to be separated from their parents against their will is being violated (OHCHR, 2005) since their parents are forced to separate from them to overcome economic constraints in their home regions and to provide for their children from afar (Abramovich et al., 2011; de la Garza, 2010) . In the Philippines, where 10 per cent of its total population of 90 million are Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) (Commission on Filipinos Overseas, 2010), there is a conservative estimated count of between 3 to 6 million children who are considered left-behind by one or both their parents (Bryant, 2005; Tobin, 2008). These children are locally known as the *Anak ng OFW* (Child/Children of OFWs), and studies about them have delved on understanding the impact of family separation on their individual welfare such as their (a) economic condition (Custodio & Ang, 2012; Ducanes & Abella, 2008), (b) health and nutrition status (Edillon, 2008; Scalabrini Migration Center, Overseas Workers Welfare Administration, Episcopal Commission on Migrants and Itinerants-Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines, & Apostleship of the Seas-Manila, 2004; Smeekens, Stroebe, & Abakoumkin, 2012), (c) educational performance and career aspirations (Ang, 2008; Espero, 2009), (d) psycho-social well-being (Battistela & Gastardo-Conaco, 1996; Carandang, Sison, & Carandang, 2007; Parreñas, 2006), and (e) transnational relationship and power relations with their migrant parent(s) (Madianou, 2012; Parreñas, 2008; Uy-Tioco, 2007). But there is limited understanding on how family separation impacts the functionings and capabilities of the *Anak ng OFW* that contributes to their experience of resilience and vulnerabilities.

In order to fill-out the literature gap mentioned above, this study made use of the Capabilities Approach (Nussbaum, 2001; Sen, 1999) in understanding the experiences of resilience and vulnerabilities in the lives of the Anak ng OFW. Its main thesis argues that understanding the impact of family separation on the functionings and capabilities of the Anak ng OFW will help us to determine what list of human capabilities specific to their context should be safeguarded.

This is to ensure the benefits that the *Anak ng OFW* have gained from their parent(s)' migration can be sustained and the negative consequences brought about by family separation can be mitigated. Through the use of focused ethnography, this study draws qualitative and quantitative insights from 2,446 *Anak ng OFW* from all over the Philippines and whose average age is 14 years old. The data gathering methods used were survey questionnaires, focus groups or small group sharing sessions, and participant observation. They were conducted within the years of 2011-2013 during counseling workshops held with these children by a non- governmental organization catering to OFW families known as UGAT Foundation, Inc. The author of this study was a volunteer consultant and counselor of UGAT during the time of the study.

Research findings reveal that the specific capabilities that the *Anak ng OFW* need to be safeguarded are: (a) the capability to live a good and prosperous life, (b) the capability to form enduring transnational ties, and (c) the capability to reconstitute the social structure of their families. There are seven functionings that contribute to the resilience of the *Anak ng OFW* under the capability to live a good and prosperous life. These functionings are: (a) being able to study in good quality schools, (b) being able to acquire basic needs, (c) being able to realistically hope for a bright future, (d) being able to enjoy the comforts of life, (e) being free from the bondage of debt, and (f) being able to save money for future needs. But certain situations occur that may undermine children's capability to live a good and prosperous life, that is, when remittances sent by their migrant parent(s) cause family tension or when such remittances are not sufficient to address the needs of the family due to either low salary received and/or undocumented migration status of the migrant parent(s). In addition, there are three characteristics that contribute to the resilience of the *Anak ng OFW* under the capability to form enduring transnational ties. These are: (a) being able to receive transnational parental support, (b) being able to transnationally convey thoughts and emotions, and (c) being able to establish transnational emotional bonds. However, these can be undermined and contribute to children's experience of vulnerabilities when transnational communication is hampered by lack of access to the internet. When there is lack of transnational communication between the Anak ng OFW and their OFW parent, they are said to experience lack of parental support, are negatively influenced by peers, and have difficulties with their studies. Furthermore, children's resilience is further fortified when functionings such as (a) being able to live in gender egalitarian families, (b) being able to enjoy the recognition that OFW families are transnational families that have different needs, and (c) being able to pursue immediate family reunification are promulgated under the capability to reconstitute the social structure of their families. If such capability is not fulfilled, then the Anak ng OFW experience various vulnerabilities related to (a) maladjustments to the migration of their mothers, which often result in feelings of loneliness and lack of parental support that are often compensated by spending time with questionable peers and crying more often; (b) feelings of inadequacy and isolation when unique needs of one's OFW family is not recognized; and (c) the occurrence of estranged relationships when prolonged separation occurs, especially in cases where the migration status of the parent is undocumented. In the end, the aforementioned capabilities listed in this study can serve as a guide to crafting migration and development policies that are sensitive to meet the needs of the Anak ng OFW in particular, and left-behind children by migrating parents in general.

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Discussants commentaries

Clarence M. Batan
Faculty of Arts and Letters University of Santo Tomas
cbatan@hotmail.com

Bianca Dahl
Department of Anthropology
University of Toronto
bianca.dahl@utoronto.ca

1.	Vulnerability and Resilience

Each of these papers highlights a particular challenge that young people face in their lives (stigmatizing conditions). Castro's research work about teen pregnancy shows how it usually causes limited education. Silva and Sarmiento show the growing population of youth without jobs or opportunities to study and the paper of Abenir shows the children who grow up without the care of one or both parents. Yet, what unites these papers and makes them so compelling is that even though they show the challenges faced by youth, they all dismantle our stereotypes that these are solely negative states of being. Instead, they reveal the complex ways in which youth find both affirmation and struggle through seemingly marginalized states.

It is evident from Castro's work that larger stats show a bleak picture of young women's educational trajectory upon teen pregnancy. But qualitative data shows perseverance as well as the strength of family ties.

Somehow, Silva and Sarmiento might have shown the emergence of a new life stage, similar to Jeffrey Arnett's concept of emerging adulthood, where there are most young women working at home performance domestic labor and where, although many young people are disheartened, many seem not too troubled by their state. Interviews of Silva and Sarmiento show that they had not given up hope.

Finally, Abenir's presentation included not only a significant sense of deprivation and emotional loss of parents, but also higher outcomes on education, health, etc.

Youth utilize creative means (ICTs) to remain connected, and many have financial means of doing so only because parents are working abroad Amidst the larger theme of vulnerability and

resilience, these papers remind us that youth make use of and even create their own safety nets as they respond to forms of vulnerability associated with changing demographic patterns like early fertility, transnational labor migration, and unemployment.

2.   Emerging Importance of Mixed Methodologies

In recent work in demography, there has been a noticeable increase in mixed research methods particularly over the last 15-20 years. As White, Judd, and Poliandri wrote in a 2012 article in Sociological Methods,

"One of the intriguing and seemingly promising developments within several branches of social science in the last several years has been the use of mixed methods… A new generation of studies might provide insight that conventional approaches alone could not…. including the pos- sibility of producing knowledge that otherwise would not be captured using one method alone, providing more confidence in findings, allowing for a wider variety of views, investigating an issue that would otherwise not have been possible, and understanding why or how a certain study component did not work" (43- 44).

While Abenir's study design intentionally integrated qualitative data with survey data, the other two studies began from a purely quantitative approach, and the authors increasingly came to rely upon the insights of the interviews they conducted for their video projects.

In Castro's paper, the quantitative data indicated poor outcomes for teenaged girls who fall preg- nant.

Delving into the statistics, she found a remarkable disparity between urban and rural girls in this state – in rural areas, 24 per cent of girls had initiated maternity compared to 11 per cent of girls in urban areas. Furthermore, this status was correlated with low education levels – of the ado- lescent women surveyed, among the group who had only completed primary education, 47 per cent had commenced maternity. This seemed to show a bleak outcome for teenaged mothers.

Yet, Castro's interviews instead brought to light another story hidden in this data, in which young mothers, though forced to overcome stigma and educational interruptions, also seemed happy, grateful for their children and their family support.

It is a strong reminder for us to not assume that our categories of vulnerability fit neatly into diffe- rent contexts. We´d like to encourage her to continue exploring the range of experiences young women have with regard to teenage pregnancies through qualitative interviews.

For Silva and Sarmiento, the quantitative story was clear: the phenomenon of NiNis has vastly increased in Colombian society in recent years.

Their interviews strongly supported the quantitative finding that the concept of NiNis – so popular in policy and academic circles – does not capture the range of experiences of young people out of work and school.

Further, quite significantly, Silva and Sarmiento found that none of the young people they interviewed identified themselves as NiNis. Though many of them were discouraged by a lack of job opportunities, they all seemed to articulate a belief that their future would be more hopeful.

We'd like to endorse our support for their future research that will aim to explore the very different categories of young people out of work and school, with a goal of highlighting the needs they themselves articulate.

Abenir's study design was mixed from the outset, but we wanted to highlight one particular strength that stands out from his study; he conducted qualitative research first, using that to inform his quantitative study design. As a result, he was able to identify and compellingly quantify the areas of need for these young people.

We highlight this as a particularly strong method in generating mixed data that can most compellingly influence policy.

All these mixed methods approaches clearly highlight what Patrick Heady put forth in a 2007 article called "The Way People Experience the Events that Demographers Count" (Heady 2007:557). For each of these papers, mixed methods allowed them to not only calculate the prevalence of particular problems faced by youth, but to begin to understand how the young people themselves understand and make use of these states of being.

3.   Family

While much more could be said about these excellent papers, in the interests of time, we'd like to end on a final point, which is that these studies all underscored the central importance of family for young peoples' wellbeing.

Think of the teenaged mothers in Castro's study who depended on their parents to help them care for their children.

Consider the NiNis in Silva and Sarmiento's paper who either devoted their time to helping their family with domestic labor, or whose economic inactivity was supported by parents who themselves worked to support their out-of-work children.

Think of the devoted parents in Abenir's study, who splintered their families in order to ensure that their children, though emotionally devastated by their absence, would have access to the best education and health outcomes.

We'd like to conclude our comments on these papers first by urging the four authors to continue foregrounding their use of mixed methods as a means of making sense of children's vulnerabilities and strengths, and to continue to recognize that even as youths are a crucial population category whose decisions and choices affect broader society, they are also embedded in a network of social relationships and familial connections that ultimately continues to be foundational for their demographic outcomes.

We'd also like to pose several provocations, questions, and suggestions for their future research efforts:

a. Although Abenir's use of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach shows promise as an organizing principle behind his project, all three of these papers would benefit from an additional engagement with theoretical frameworks on youth vulnerability and resilience.

    i.   Does it matter whether the form of vulnerability they face is an acute crisis such as teenage pregnancy, or a status such as NiNis that only becomes apparent as it evolves slowly over time?

    ii.   What other frameworks are available for thinking about the experiences of vulnerability when such a large proportion of the youth population in a geographical region shares the same status of vulnerability?

    iii.   How have various disciplines thought about resilience, and what does this concept actually encompass in the literature?

b.   Methodological precision

    i.   The survey data that Silva and Sarmiento drew upon determines "NiNi" status only through questions about what the young person did in the week prior to survey.

       i.   Seek data that is more accurate about duration of NiNi's status

    ii.   We'd like to see clearer calculations from Castro on whether household composition correlates with educational outcomes for teenage mothers – to test the "family as buffer" hypothesis.

       i.   We'd also like to encourage her to try to whether (to what extent) young women are dropping out of school because they fall pregnant, versus dropping out of school first and then falling pregnant.

       ii.   Those distinctions have implications for policy.

    iii.   We'd like to encourage Abenir to carefully plot his findings according to whether the child in question has a father, a mother, or both, overseas, given this is so significant for the children's psychosocial wellbeing.

      i.   We would also like to see him attend more carefully to factors like the child's age at parent migration, household composition and sibling effects, etc.

c.   Policy

    i.   For Abenir's paper, it seemed clear that Anak ng OFWs are not adequately supported by Philippines law.

      i.   We would like to see him grapple with larger implications of focusing on transnational families rather than the kids in families without overseas parents, or the larger economic status driving families to splinter

    ii. Castro: contraceptives, knowledge about sex education – how can data refer to that?

   iii. Silva & Sarmiento: Need to find a way to separate youth's narratives that they're actively job hunting from their /present behaviours – not clear whether they're accessing the market actively, a big implication for their status.

Session 3:
Young people and their issues on leisure and art

Conferences:

Youth and street art: Strategies developed to be heard while changing their city

Jimena Ponce de León, Ph.D. (C), Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento

Urban youth patrons of improvised viewing centers in southwest Nigeria

Babatunde Joshua Omotosho, Ph.D., Federal University Oye Ek

The capabilities list of the "Anak ng OFW": the key to sustaining resilience and mitigating vulnerabilities

Mark Anthony D. Abenir, Ph.D., University of Santo Tomas

Discussants commentaries:

Ximena Pachón Castrillón, Ph.D., Universidad Nacional de Colombia

Youth and street art: Strategies developed to be heard while changing their city[*]

Jimena Ponce de León

Human Development Institute (IDH)

National University of General Sarmiento, Argentina

jimenaponcedeleon@gmail.com

In this research, Street Art means a world-wide artistic movement which refers to visual arts in public spaces. Often expressed through graffiti, mural art, stencil and stickers, it has become an icon of youthful expression in Buenos Aires since the year 2000 (Ponce de Leon, 2010). At the beginning, being a graffiti writer meant to challenge other youth groups by painting only their signature and the one of their crew. But as time went by, their work topic has changed, as well as their goal, their aesthetics, and the practice itself. One of our aims in this research is to understand why and how those practices have changed.

Being born in a democratic regime, these groups of young artists are able to express themselves through social yet individualistic frameworks since they grow up in a civic-free environment. Even though Argentina has a very strong history with art in public spaces, this group of young street-art artists made a fresh new start.

The main hypothesis of this research is that Street Art exalts young artists' capabilities and their human development. It has strong consequences in their society too. Besides, it also plays an important role in the construction and appropriation of the Buenos Aires visual identity.

Regarding my methodological and technical tools, this research was developed over the course of five years from an interpretive paradigm, and its goal is to generate qualitative data. I have conducted thirty in-depth ethnographical interviews and I also used participant observation as a way to get into their everyday lives, interactions and networks. Those voices were tape recorded and incorporated to the research trying to respect literally their words and intentions. For this project, I added an audiovisual product. This approach is not only useful to communicate widely the results of this research, but it is very powerful in refreshing youth studies since it allows young artists to show their ideas and as expressed by them without much theoretical mediation. Hence, their voices are clearly heard.

Our theoretical framework is based on Nussbaum (2011) and Sen (1999, 2007) Capability Approach, as well as Schneider (2006) idea of appropriation of art. Following those basis, I realized Street Art works as a resilience tool: it has become a way of overcoming vulnerability

situations they face in their everyday life. What this means is that I analyze Street Art as a powerful and very effective youth strategy. There are no random words in the last statement: in fact, they feel they empower themselves by doing so. Especially, I found and analyzed four different processes in which young artists choose to use Street Art to mitigate structural needs. By using Street Art, these groups of young people turn those necessities into values and personal belongings in terms of: (a) their sociability need, (b) their professionalization need, (c) their political expression need, and (d) their communitarian work proposal.

The second part of our research is focused on the appropriation process of Street Art. I explore how local private entities, foreign companies, offices of the State and policy makers, and citizenship, in general, consider and perceive Street Art. I found out that there is a different appropriation grade among the listed social actors I mentioned before. The effects of the process of appropriation affect the Street Art development because it creates new conditions for producing it. Neither travelling and working in different urban landscapes nor working indoors at art galleries or private spaces contribute to their collective development as artists of the street. Basically, since their pieces are not yet considered part of the Buenos Aires cultural heritage and valued enough, young artists decide to change their scenario into a recognized one. Hence, there is a need to go farther with the study of the relationship between Street Art and the creation of local identity in Buenos Aires since it can be part of heritagization process and so it gives a deep feedback in freedom perception.

However, there is still a paradox: even though street artists use this tool in the four ways we mentioned above, they use a very strong power to push their message just because they use walls. They call everyone's attention whether the audience likes it or not. Their voices are on the streets.

As they speak, express and paint freely, they develop not only a personal but a sense of general freedom that makes both them and all citizens feel stronger as human beings in terms of human development.

The results are positive in terms of confirming our hypothesis. Street Art makes young artists feel stronger since they develop a wide sense of freedom, the need to grow professionally, in creating their networks, as well as in expressing themselves or making their whole neighborhood be aware of the possibility to do so.

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Urban youth patrons of improvised viewing centers in southwest Nigeria*

Babatunde Joshua Omotosho

Faculty of Humanities and Social sciences

Federal University Oye Ekiti babatunde

omotosho@fuoye.edu.ng

Facilities that are expected to provide recreation and entertainment in Nigeria for youths are either not available or have become obsolete due to obvious and peculiar challenges facing the country. However and in spite of this challenge, youths have continued to navigate these hurdles through different means and one of which is the creation of football viewing centers (where a small or medium sized hall is usually constructed with planks and equipped with wood benches for the spectators and a large television set is connected to cable networks to accommodate about fifty spectators or more who pay a token fee for the purpose of watching football matches). While this is a welcome development, it also raises some questions as regards the youths involved, the kind of social relations existing among these groups and implications of their actions on the wider youths and the general society. This study therefore aims to examine youths in football viewing centres in Ado Ekiti and Ibadan, southwest Nigeria.

The creation of football viewing halls by youths in Nigeria can be seen as a welcome development considering the disadvantaged positions they find themselves in relation to youths elsewhere who have access to recreation facilities. However, one is also curious of who these youths are and their activities in these centers, the prevailing culture that is obtained in these halls and how the activities within the halls affect their actions, that of other youths and the entire society. This becomes important considering the activities of youths and its implication on the social structure in the last two decades in Africa. Studies abound on the youths in relation to gangsterism, prostitution, trafficking and among others. A study of these youths within these spaces becomes more important considering the assertion (Biaya, 2005) that brutal violence may not be the only means of expression among youths. To him, games, posture, consumption and leisure also serve as instruments used by youths to affirm their historical presence as a social group and actors in their respective societies. He further argued that once leisure is spatialized, it becomes a founder of street culture. The question that readily comes to mind is whether this assertion holds under these new creations among youths in Nigeria.

Furthermore, attention over time has focused on youth marginalization, negative roles and its implications without a proper examination of creative and survival strategies embarked upon by the youths in urban society and ways of harnessing such activities for the benefit of youths and

the larger society. Youths are actors with goals, intentions and are able to make decisions based on their ability to interact, which allows them to examine possible courses of action, and consider their relative advantages and disadvantages and then make choices (Blumer, 1969; Manis & Meltzer, 1978; Rose, 1962). Consequently, the following research questions become important in this study: Who are the youths patronizing these halls? What are the social activities and culture existing in these halls? What kind of relationships do they establish as they meet in these halls? In what ways do their actions in these halls impact on them, other youths and the wider society?

A review of existing literature regarding youths suggest that most analyses and discourse centre on youth and children as objects of activity in terms of socialization education and among others (Aghatina, 2002; Chingunta, 2002; Diouf, 1996; Hérault & Adesanmi, 1997; Honwana & de Boeck, 2005; Igbinovia, 1988; Taylor, 2002) without a critical analysis of their creations within the spaces they occupy. Honwana and de Boeck (2005) gave an analysis of youth studies overtime in Africa into the following areas: youth and politics, participation in armed conflict and their rehabilitation, how they evolved and their roles within the society. Furthermore, they highlighted studies conducted on youth economic development within the labor market, involvement in religious movements, student movements and other associations. Other areas they listed were gangs and criminal association and marginality of youths. Works on youths have also paid attention to youth culture (Amit-Talau & Wullf, 1995) but as opined by Honwana and de Boeck (2005) attention has been placed on their capacity for rebellion and other social vices. This study therefore seeks to modify and further the youths' debate by understanding one of the 'positive intentions' and contributions of youths in terms of their creative activities, their subculture and how has it affected the social space they occupy in Nigeria. Relevant sources for literature shall be sourced from reputable journals and expert bodies on youth studies, they shall be classified based on their themes and importance, and the relationships between them shall be examined before summarizing them.

The essence of any research in Nigerian youths in literature has documented them as victims and agents of social vices. This study modifies and extends this debate by examining one of the relevant creations of youths in the country as a form of resilience due to distortions within their social milieu. In this regard, it aims to understand the youths involved as well as the social relations among them, the youth subculture in the viewing centers and implications for the youths and the wider society in Nigeria. It is believed that this study will contribute to gaining knowledge as far as youths and entertainment space is concerned. It is believed that this study is relevant to the African Humanity Fellowship based on its uniqueness in contributing to some knowledge on the youths within entertainment and recreation space; a discourse which cuts across disciplines in the field of humanities in Nigeria and Africa.

In eliciting the required data, the study was conducted in Ado Ekiti, southwestern Nigeria. Thus, participant observation, in-depth interviews and key informants became the instrument used in this study. The use of these instruments became important considering the ethnographic nature of the research.

Three key issues formed the focus of this study; first, it tried to understand the kind of social activities that pervaded the improvised viewing centers; secondly, it examined the benefits that are associated with the patronage of the youths to the center; and, lastly, the impact of youths' engagement within these halls on their lives as individuals; and, finally, the relationship between the viewing center and the immediate environment in which they are located

Describing the key characteristics of the study respondents, the majority of them were in the age group 21-26 (78 percent) while the remaining age group (27-30) constituted 22 percent. The researcher was interested in the frequency of patronizing the place and the interview results revealed that a high number (63 percent) of them visited it regularly; about 25 percent visited the place mostly on weekends while the rest did so whenever they had the opportunity. The respondents were asked to explain why they like coming to the viewing halls. The first response from virtually all the respondents were primarily to watch soccer matches, however, in the process they claimed that other interesting issues and activities came up. In addition, on why they visit the improvised viewing halls, the assertion of all the respondents regarding what they come to do within the halls was to watch soccer matches and their responses during the interview and through observation attested to this. Besides watching matches, they network, make friends, listen to discussions and arguments about the current realities in the political world, among others. The respondents were asked about the place of the improvised viewing halls and their immediate environment. Three key issues, from observation characterize this synergy, and this ranged from, pollution, economy and security.

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Faculty of Economics Sciences

Discussants commentaries

Ximena Pachón Department of Anthropology

Universidad Nacional de Colombia

xpachonc@unal.edu.co

This international conference socializes the results of the research "Young Voices from the Global South: Stories of Vulnerability and Resilience", an effort that analyzes various aspects of youth in seven developing countries in the regions of Latin America, Africa and Southeast Asia.

It is a commitment to "the youth," given the importance to recognize that there are many varied ways of being young. Throughout the twentieth century, young people appeared in different social scenarios; this situation caused significant changes in them. Youth in the twentieth century became a force that energized the daily life of these countries and assumed an increasingly prominent role, which was clearly evident in Colombia through the 1991 Constitution and the public policies aimed at youth, which emerged after Act 375 of 1997 as well as policies such as the childhood and adolescence code. The visibility achieved by the youths and the role played by them is related to the introduction of technological systems and products such as the internet and social networks that extended their cultural and political production frameworks.

At this meeting, the youths are the protagonists. They weave a thread through the different papers, from which a disagreement arises and repeatedly appears with the horizon of life prescribed by society, without intending to abandon it - they want to do more. They ask in various ways, they demand to participate fully in the public life of their communities, cities and countries and be able to grow personally and contribute to history.

The lectures presented in the last session focused on the activities and voices of the young people who develop their existence in two distant places, the city of Buenos Aires, Argentina, and the distant city of Oye Ekiti in Nigeria.

These lectures dealt with highly sensitive issues regarding the youth, their relationship with art, leisure and entertainment. The two authors, as social scientists presented structured projects in which in depth interviews and observations appeared as the key tools to gather their data to construct their papers.

Contrary to the traditional tendency to consider the negative aspects of youth, the investigations of Dr. Ponce and Dr. Omotosho showed the active and positive role played by young people. These works show us an active youth, which empowers their situation and seeks to achieve what

the state and society has not provided them. Young people who struggle from different scenarios to highlight their presence as subjects of history, as people with the ability to create social spaces in broken and unstructured societies, and the capacity to create bonds of friendship that can replace the traditional family ties that have been possibly broken. Young people that through their actions are demonstrating their potential, an asset that governments and political leaders have ignored. Therefore, these works indicate the importance to do further research about the youth in order to clarify how they should be taken into account in the design of public policies.

Hence, the importance of addressing social, economic and political issues in the study of youth was present in the two papers. Thus, in the social aspect, the value of sociability for this population was highlighted and, in the economic aspect, different coping strategies employed by the youth were exposed. Lastly, the political side of the researches was evident in showing the need for states to open spaces where young people may express their views in relation to what happens in their communities, cities, countries and the world.

1.   Sociability

The two papers expose the importance of sociability for these social groups, classified as young. Young people in one way or another create spaces and situations in where their need for sociability can be developed.

In the Buenos Aires case, Dr. Ponce shows the need for sociability as one of the aspects that underlie the occurrence of street painting. For the youth, art performance becomes a medium to develop their social life.

In Nigeria's case, Dr. Omotosho highlights the sociability aspect in his work; the interviews performed in his study make evident the motivations behind young people attending the viewing centers. This activity allows them to exchange ideas, discuss politics and everyday life aspects. Moreover, the author finds that young people have clear reasons to go to a specific viewing center; one key element is the type of people that they will find there. Age, status and personality of the spectators play an important role in their choice.

2.   Making a living

It is interesting to see how the youth of such different countries, specifically in historical and social contexts, find ways to professionalize through divergent activities. This economic aspect is very important; the studied youth generating their own income through art in Buenos Aires, and through the sale of goods and gambling in Nigeria.

As time goes by, young street artists in Argentina make more polished work, which allows them to gain visibility and recognition. They start being requested by international and national galleries, a fact that implies commercial purposes, thus providing them with a source of revenue.

However, Dr. Ponce shows how some critical aspects emerge in this situation: aspects such as instability, not having a regular income, not having a fixed market value for their work. Thus, custom painting suggests a precarious way of life. However, this irregular and informal way of work has certain values for young artists: they are their own bosses, who can paint freely, choose where to work, and decide their own challenges. As young artists, they feel they have the power to make their own choices, they can decide in what to work to strengthen their capacity and self-esteem. That feeling of strength is the fuel that keeps them imagining and producing, something paramount in explaining the drive behind their art.

Dr. Omotosho finds that aside from the main motivation behind the gatherings in the viewing centers, which involve relaxation and socialization, an evident need to earn a living is a factor that motivates attendance. The youth gather to make bets, sell products, gamble and practice other means of making any small amount of money. This economic activity has become a source of livelihood.

3.   Young people and politics

This is a very important matter in relation to youth and their issues. Their need for political expression, and the need of states and governments to open spaces where they can fully express their point of view in relation to what happens worldwide.

While working with young people, as well as in any aspect of social reality, it is important not to isolate them from the society in which they are immersed, from the socioeconomic structure and the place they occupy, from the politics and culture. Largely, these aspects determine the regulation of cultural forms that young people assume, their integration and the assessment that society built on them. Young people want to grow personally and have full participation in public life.

The street performers' case studied by Jimena is very telling in this regard. She shows us how if this action takes place in public spaces, it has a strong political sense, there is an intention by the artist or artists to express and propagate certain ideas that tend to be very anti-establishment. We see this in art in general, in the painting, musical, literary, dramatic expressions associated with youth. Jimena shows how when Argentina was economically sinking, there was an invasion of stencils with political messages, how social movements replicated this type of intervention and adopted this technique as a means to support their claims. How their imagination turned powerful and, finally, the walls made the citizens think about recent events of their history, where inequality, poverty and neglect were present. Artists, with this point of view, believe they have the right

to turn public spaces and walls into their means of expression, but so do young people through other media such as videos, social networking, music, dancing, among others. Art in all its many forms is one of the most powerful means by which societies express themselves; the youth with all their rebelliousness and creativity do it in a very special way.

Dr. Omotosho's investigation in this regard shows how multiple works done on youth in Africa indicate that the leisure and recreation not only serve the function of socialization for the youth, but also are aspects used by young people to assert their historical presence and role as social actors in their respective urban societies. Young people appropriate these spaces and affirm their existence. They take the social clamor and in the absence of state and government, they create their own leisure and recreational spaces, given the inability of the state, the authorities, and society in general, the ones responsible for providing such spaces these youths have, in their own way and with their own resources, created them. Thus, young people are the protagonists of this initiative; they are the owners, creators and administrators as well as the customers.

This empowerment of their own reality is a political act against an indolent society, a way to show their disagreement with a lifestyle that isolates and discriminates them, that limits their path of development and integration into the adult world.

4.   On the concept of youth

Regarding this aspect, it would be interesting for the authors to clarify what their considerations are about the category of youth. We know there is no consensus about this term and it is not a category easy to define, but it is important to know what the authors have in mind when working on it.

Despite Professor Omotosho explores the difficulties inherent in the definition of youth, showing how this concept cannot be limited to biology or age, he doesn't give a further explanation about what he considers by youth. The youth category for Jimena is even more diluted, because it does not refer to it by means of the concept worked on sociology, anthropology or history, nor does it refer to the difficulties that it entails in social research. The age group Jimena works with is even larger as she includes Richard who is 27 and Kate who is 35, thus the question about the concept of youth she uses remains vague in her research.

Youth is a concept whose construction is related to its context and, furthermore, youth could be recognized as passengers in transit who have a temporary space in a particular society, whose experience varies by gender, social class, ethnicity, among other variables.

Moreover, youth is part of our experience in general. Historians may have never been workers, peasants or nobles, but none of them can deny being once young. Youth is therefore something

that everyone carries in one way or another, which leads one to compare what you see with what you remember. Any judgment on youth therefore carries an implicit judgment about our present or past youth.

Hence, what does youth entail to Dr. Ponce and Dr. Omotosho in an environment where youth varies in meaning and validity?